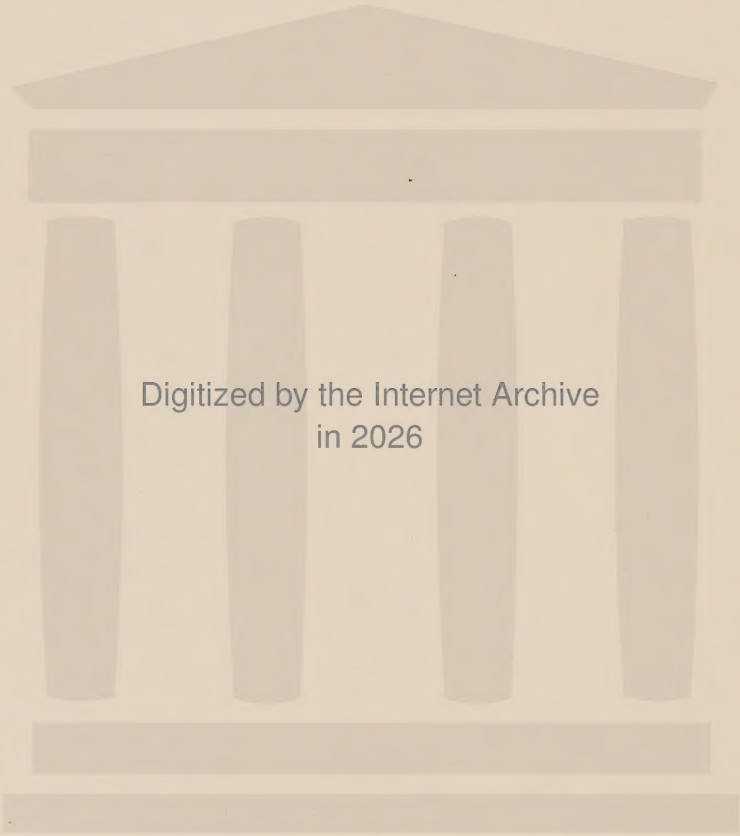
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CONGREGATIONALISM

OF THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS

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WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CERTAIN

RECONDITE, NEGLECTED, OR DISPUTED PASSAGES

IN TWELVE LECTURES

DELIVERED ON THE SOUTHWORTH FOUNDATION IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT ANDOVER, MASS., 1876–1879.

With a Bibliographical Appendix

BY

HENRY MARTYN DEXTER

VOLUME I

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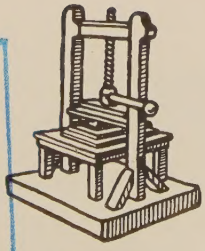

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TO

THEODORE DWIGHT WOOLSEY, D. D., LL. D.

EX-PRESIDENT OF YALE COLLEGE,

AND

EDWARDS AMASA PARK, D. D.

ABBOT PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AT ANDOVER:

TO

THE EARLY STIMULUS OF WHOSE FRIENDLY AND DISCREET INSTRUCTION,

AND

THE LATER INSPIRATION OF WHOSE LUSTROUS EXAMPLE,

MUCH OF WHATSOEVER MAY HAVE VALUE

IN IT IS DUE;

THIS VOLUME

IS

(WITH PERMISSION)

RESPECTFULLY, GRATEFULLY, AND AFFECTIONATELY

INSCRIBED.

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
MAR 9 1971

Le vrai n'est pas toujours vraisemblable.

French Proverb.

If men could learn from history, what lessons it might teach us! But passion and party blind our eyes, and the light which experience gives is a lantern on the stern, which shines only on the waves behind us!

S. T. Coleridge, Table Talk, 18 December, 1831.

For considering the wonderfull number, and the difficultie that they haue that would be occupied in the rehearsall of stories, because of the diuersitie of the matters,

Wee haue endeuoured, that they that would reade, might haue pleasure, and that they which are studious, might easily keepe them in memory, and that whosoeuer reade them might haue profite.

2 Maccabees [*Genevan Version*], *ii: 24, 25.*

It is not the least debt which we owe unto History, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors, and out of the depth and darkness of the Earth delivered us their Memory and Fame: In a word, we may gather out of History a Policy no less Wise than Eternal, by the Comparison and Application of other men's fore-passed Miseries, with our own like Errors and Ill deservings.

Sir Walter Raleigh, Preface to History of the World, Works (1829), ii: v.

Take wings O Booke, and fly abroade with speed,
The things in thee are good for men to reed;
Which haue not seen what thou canst to them show,
And what thou speakst is meete for all to know:
Who would discern some things amiss that bee,
Within the Land of our Nativitiee.
To such thou shalt be iudged wondrous kinde,
Because thou canst right well informe their minde:
In such a sort as they shall bettred bee,
And well advantag'd by the things in thee.

Prelude to Henry Barrowe's Platforme, etc. (1611), 4.

Introduction.

ALTHOUGH by no means inconsiderable in size, this book is yet, strictly, an episode. I cannot remember when I had not a singular interest in the first settlers and fortunes of New England; and, born within ten miles of Plymouth Rock, always esteemed it great good fortune when my occasions took me into the ancient town. On growing up to learn that in my veins were blended the blood of that restless and sometimes testy Puritan who bargained with *Poquanum* for Nahant, and to whom a jury gave 40*s.* damages against Gov. Endecott for an assault, and of that amiable Pilgrim who died in the Secretaryship of the Plymouth Colony which he had held for nearly forty years, having given to the world the first Record of its fortunes; I began almost to esteem it a filial duty to study closely our primitive annals. And this the more that the polity of my fathers, which, against strong temptations toward other church folds, I was learning especially to value, so intertwines its post-reformation records with those annals, as to make the two nearly inseparable. I began to collect material of all sorts, and in several visits to the *incunabula* in the North of England and Holland, added to the common stock of knowledge much that had been overlooked, until the purpose was gradually formed of writing anew the history of the Old Colony. I went abroad again in the closing days of 1870, to undertake directly that labor. But it soon made itself clear that one cannot adequately understand the Plymouth men, or their work, without a deeper insight than any past

writer had gained, into the reality of their religious position, purpose and atmosphere. To this it became indispensable to restudy the English Reformation, to trace the gradual development of its distinctive ideas; comprehend exactly how Separatism stood related to the Establishment on the one hand, and to various collateral forms of dissent on the other; mark the germination of the modern ideas of civil and religious liberty; assign them to their true originators under God; and not only ascertain the precise stand-point of the Pilgrim Fathers, but determine how much they received from those who had preceded them, and how much — if anything — were original with themselves. As a help in the researches thus suggested, a list of treatises on church government and related themes was commenced, which gradually expanded into a folio MS. Bibliography of some five hundred pages, and some eighteen hundred titles, for the sixteenth century alone.

While pursuing these general studies after my return, I was notified, in 1875, of my election to the Southworth Lectureship upon Congregationalism in the Theological Seminary at Andover, for the three years' term then next succeeding; with the intimation that were my lectures to be flavored with history more strongly than with philosophy, such procedure might not be unacceptable to the Trustees. I undertook the task largely because it lay directly in my path, and I dared to hope that I might thus do Christian scholars a service for which possibly my privileges of preparation had been exceptional; and because — though involving much labor by the way — my supreme purpose might be advantaged thereby. I spent six further months in special study in England, Holland and France, and the present volume is the result.

The first necessity was to get back into direct intercourse with the men themselves who laid the foundations of modern Congregationalism, since it was always their misfortune that the pen of immediate history for Church as well as for State, was held by writers who saw not how any good thing could come out of Nazareth; and who, often beginning in a misunderstanding that was radical, nearly always ended in a misrepresentation that was reckless. In many cases, and those most important, the difficulty of doing this is excessive, because their humble volumes and pamphlets — always printed on the sly, whose possession was felony, and which were often burned by the hangman; between such special hard usage, and the natural abrasion of from two to three hundred years — are almost unknown even in quarters so insatiate of such literature

as the rich repositories of the British Museum and the Bodleian. "Out of the eater came forth meate." And but for the fact that the two archbishops seem to have caused to be preserved in their collections at Lambeth and York Minster many of the books whose authors they harried and hanged for writing them, it might now be impossible to find several of those treatises.

Robert Browne had been dead for three generations, and Barrowe and Penry for nearly five, when Neal began the series of modern histories seeking to do them better justice. But he, and Brook eighty years later, could do little more in regard to some than recast what Fuller and other church writers nearer their own time, had written. Hanbury, a quarter of a century after, recognized the impossibility of understanding the early Separatists except through better acquaintance with their own literature; and it would not be easy to overstate the value of his unwearied labors in collecting, describing, and in part reproducing their volumes. But forty years ago the various restrictions which barricaded the York and Lambeth libraries were such, that even if this diligent investigator had somehow become aware that upon their dusty shelves were reposing the means of hearing from the father of the Brownists, and from the self-baptizing John Smyth, their own version of their own views, access might have proved to him so difficult as to be impracticable. The temper of the present is different, and I have found nothing but good will and hearty help from all whom I have had occasion to approach in my search for the *principia* of modern Congregationalism. And in thus discovering and gaining access — at Lambeth, to Browne's books, and especially to what was really his autobiography for the most critical period of his life, and to some of the scarcest Mar-prelate tracts; at York, to Smith's *Principles and Inferences*, and particularly to his *Retractation of his Errours;* and, at Cambridge, to George Johnson's *Discourse*, much of which gives as full, and I have no doubt as faithful, an account of the business church meetings of the Barrowists of Amsterdam, as could now be obtained from the professional reporter of a morning journal — opportunities of knowledge have been enjoyed which, unless they have been deplorably misused, ought to freight these pages with some special value. If I may not venture so large a claim for data heretofore undiscovered on this side of the sea, it is not for want of diligent search, but because too many gleaners have gone before. I have, indeed, the satisfaction, from the original manuscript in the rich

collection of the American Antiquarian Society, of offering to my readers for the first time the opportunity to compare the possible Cambridge Platform of Ralph Partridge, with the actual Cambridge Platform of Richard Mather. I believe I may also say that there is no treatise — in Europe or here — known to exist, and to offer important aid to the just comprehension of any person, passage or period herein treated, but — sometimes indeed after years of endeavor, and an expenditure which in anything but the pursuit of useful knowledge would be reckless extravagance — has been somewhere and somehow consulted. It seems an odd thing to find such men as Cotton Mather, and even the two earlier worthies whose names he bore, complaining of the difficulty of coming to the sight of books of many generations before them which we can consult with ease; but it is very certain that — with scarcely any exception — Neal and Brook and Hanbury could do much better to-day in gathering trusty material for their volumes, than was possible in their own time.

As to the results of these investigations, it does not become me to speak with assurance. The enthusiasm of long and at last successful inquiry for facts which have eluded the research of generations of previous investigators, is very apt unduly to exalt the importance of the discoveries which it has made. And he who claims from the public the re-hearing of an old case, on the ground that he is able to produce new evidence which ought to reverse all former verdicts; must be prepared for the rigidest sifting of his claims, and may be sure they will be rejected — by the simple force of inertia — unless he have the very best proof, and plenty of it, of the substantial justice of the position he has taken. As to what I have herein presented which is new to our Congregational literature, I respectfully ask the most rigid inquest of those experts who are competent to pass upon the issues that are raised.

I trust, however, that many intelligent readers may be interested in the endeavor to make clear in detail to what a condition the papacy had reduced England; an endeavor in which I was surprised to find myself to so large an extent a pioneer, yet without which much that came after can only imperfectly be comprehended.

I hope also that the view which I have taken of Robert Browne may aid toward a fairer judgment of a long maligned, eccentric,

infirm, and probably insane, yet I must think a mainly good and singularly clever, man.

It will be seen that I reach a kindlier estimate of the quality of the famous Martin Mar-prelate pamphlets, than any preceding investigator. It is my impression — for I assume that Mr. Maskell, who printed in 1845, had been the most diligent of previous special students of this subject — that I am the first writer able to gain sight of the entire collection on both sides, and to examine it without violent prepossession against the Separatist writers, and their work. It is high time that the senseless denunciation of these extraordinary and effective publications, on the part of those, who, having no knowledge at first hand of what they affirm, simply reproduce vile slanders that are old, should give place to an intelligence and candor of criticism which can fairly recognize their distinguished fitness for the exigency which they met; acquit them of all baseness of thought and indecency of speech; and admit their influential place among those intellectual forces which were powerfully moving the England of that day. They are surely none the less worthy our regard, in that they furnish the first instance in the English tongue of the employment of satire as a successful weapon against ecclesiastical wrong.

I have ventured an entirely new theory of their authorship. Mr. Edward Arber, F. S. A., Lecturer in English Literature, etc., in University College, London — who is just now adding to his already large claim upon the gratitude of scholars in the English tongue, by reprinting in verbatim most of these Mar-prelate tracts — in an *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Mar-prelate Controversy* — published in London in April last, and since the Lecture on that subject in this volume passed through the stereotyper's hands — has done me the honor to print a brief statement of my hypothesis, which on his request I had furnished for that purpose, and has frankly added thereto the expression of his total dissent from my conclusion. His adverse judgment is mainly founded upon the evidence of various sorts contained in the depositions in the *Harleian MS.* No. 7,042; from which he concludes Job Throckmorton to have been Martin. Having for more than six years had in my possession a copy of that manuscript, the considerations on which his conclusion rests are not new to me. And without assuming — what I should be the last to claim — an equal degree of critical acumen or knowledge of the subject, I may yet say, with all respect, that I

find nothing in Mr. Arber's argument to shake my conviction previously reached. I firmly believe that Martin was speaking the truth in all soberness, when (as appears on p. 196 herein) he declared that he had neither wife nor child; while if Udall be a trusty witness for Mr. Arber, when he again and again cites him to some other point, why is he not also worthy of belief when he declares (as on p. 194 herein) that no minister was Martin? But if Martin were a bachelor and no minister, Job Throckmorton, who was both a minister and the father of a learned and eloquent Member of Parliament, seems to be ruled out of the case; while, so far as I am aware, there is a total absence of all that internal evidence to support the notion of his authorship, which I have shown to be abundant in the case of Henry Barrowe.

The two lectures on the Barrowists of Amsterdam cover ground previously little known. But by the careful collation of their publications, and those of their enemies, of the period; by the important help of the *Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ*, the Amsterdam city records, and the MSS. collections in the Library of the Mennonite Seminary there; and especially by the constant study of the invaluable newly discovered volumes of John Smyth and George Johnson, it has proved possible to unravel most of the problems of the subject, and present a fairly clear consecutive narrative of a remarkable passage in the Anglo-Dutch history of Separatism.

I have no doubt that many readers will be both disappointed and displeased with that portion of the lecture on John Robinson, which seeks to show that the popular conception of the prophetic drift toward modern Liberalism of his "Farewell Address" is founded upon misapprehension on the part of writers unfamiliar with his works and unacquainted with his spirit, who seized words out of their connection and strained them from their real significance to shape them toward an utterance unnatural to the time and impossible to the man; a misapprehension favored by the excessive rarity of that book of Edward Winslow which is our sole authority for what the Pilgrim pastor actually said. It has seemed to me that John Robinson was great enough to bear the honest truth told in his case; of whatever unearned laurels such telling may relieve him. I might have added, from hundreds of records in my possession, almost indefinitely to this lecture in the way of elucidation of the Leyden life of our fathers — of their shops and homes, of the Pastor's house where they brake bread upon the Sabbath day; of their

buyings and sellings, and the trades by which they lived; of their marriages and burials, and of all which made up their Dutch life; but it seemed better to reserve these facts for other employ.

In the two lectures on the Congregationalism of New England, I have endeavored to make it clear that the essential Barrowism of its first hundred years, and of the Cambridge Platform — a fact unnoted by previous writers — solves the mystery which has hung about the Ruling Elder system of our fathers; and that the irrepressible conflict which that system involved between the two polities mingled in it, accounts for the unrest and half-heartedness prominent in the later portion of those earlier days. There was no dishonesty, and nothing said for effect, when John Cotton and others wrote to England their distrust and dislike of democracy; for they were not as yet democrats either in Church or State, and they meant every word that they said. I have endeavored also to awaken some well-earned, if long delayed, gratitude toward that reformer, whose brilliant qualities the leading men of his own generation were slow to recognize, to whom, under God, the rehabilitation of essential Brownism was due; and to write the name of John Wise of Ipswich vastly higher upon the roll of the great, influential and useful of the land, than it has been the fashion to rank it.

The discussion of Ecclesiastical Councils has been extended beyond all possibility of use as a lecture simply, in the desire to take advantage of the opportunity to treat the subject with some completeness in all its important bearings, and offer to the students of such matters some clews both to the actual working of so important a feature of the New England polity, and the abundance and quality of an unique and constantly accumulating literature.

I can well foresee how jejune and inadequate what is herein said of the Congregationalism of England must appear to my learned friends in that country; but it seemed to me that even so slight and poor an outline might be better than nothing for young students here desiring to know more of the Father Land; while I can let slip no proper opportunity to urge and further — in however humble a way — the better mutual acquaintance of the good men of the two nations that were one.

For what is said in the closing lecture with which some brethren whom I cordially respect but with whom I as cordially differ, will find fault, I make no apology. I have spoken frankly — as I would have them speak. To my notion that glorious end of perfect oneness of

doctrine, duty and desire which we all pursue, is most wisely to be sought neither by sullen or over-cautious silence of the non-agreed, nor by guile and flattering words as pleasing men; but by speaking the truth in love every man with his neighbor, till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.

My great object in all has been to ascertain and set down the truth, for the rectification of existing misapprehension, and the guide of future conduct. I hold it a sacred duty of Congregationalists to be just to the good men, however lowly their position, and however inadequate may have been many of their conceptions, who endured hardness, and counted not their lives dear unto themselves that they might finish their course with joy, and testify, first to their children, the gospel of the grace of God which they felt had been committed unto them that they might teach others also. Their faults were those of their age, and the rudeness of the culture of many of them; their virtues were their own — such as they were in native worth, and such as God's grace, mainly in that severe discipline of furnace, anvil and sledge by which the Divine hand has been wont to forge its most useful implements and weapons for the service of earth, had made them.

My theory as to the writing of history differs from that of many. I do not think intelligent readers are satisfied barely to be told what any writer, however gifted with talent or opportunity, may have deduced from his studies of the literature of the period which he would elucidate. They desire to be directed to the sources of his information, not merely that they may have the means of testing his fidelity, but that they may avail of his researches should they desire more fully to study some point which he has only casually touched. Especially in investigations whose results — and on evidence not easily in reach — convict much current narrative of ignorance and error, if not of perversion, I have felt it to be doubly important always to note the authority on which I have spoken; and, as often as possible without overloading pages already crowded, to give the exact language on which my deduction has been founded; feeling that it will be cheap to satisfy one candid inquirer, even at the cost of disgusting ten adepts who despise foot-notes as rubbish. I may add that I have had one rule as to citations — to put my reader, as nearly as may be possible to modern type, into the position of one holding the

original in his hand, by the *exact* copying, even of manifest errors of the press. Sometimes, in connection with their cause, such errors become one of the most touching testimonies of a book. It would be as slanderous a piece of wickedness to print Martin Mar-prelate's *Protestatyon* [see p. 168, herein] in a revised and corrected form, as to paint the picture of one martyred by starvation in the plumpness of previous health. While there is always some quaint flavor about these ancient writers — of which modernizing robs them — to which they are entitled. I should not care to meet Sidney, Shakespeare or Vandyck, disennobled in the trowsers, swallow-tails and stove-pipe hats of our time.

It is fair for me to say further here that to save space in the text I have occasionally remitted to the smaller type of the notes a statement, or an argument upon some side issue, yet which is essential to be read if one would get the whole scope of the book; as examples of which the two notes on Henry Ainsworth [pp. 270 and 343]; one which produces the evidence that the early English Baptists did not baptize by immersion [p. 318], and one [p. 319] which proves that John Smyth did rebaptize himself, may be specified.

The Appendix, which makes no pretence of being a complete bibliography of Congregational Literature, but merely, what its title declares it, "Collections toward" such a bibliography, is offered with unfeigned diffidence to the inspection of bibliographical scholars, in the hope that its possible convenience may excuse its palpable deficiencies. As already intimated, I had in hand the nucleus of such a list, and it seemed to me that I ought to share with others the fruit of those countless hours of research which I had pursued upon my own account. Students of these particular lines of investigation may be few and far between; perhaps all the more should they therefore have every available help offered to their hand. I undertook this part of the labor of the volume, I hope, a little in the spirit of a self-sacrificing desire for the public good. It has proved a work of immeasurable toil, and heavy expenditure. If it should fail to make these *viæ angustissimæ* somewhat more accessible to the eager foot of the future student, I shall indeed miss my reward.

As "all roads lead to Rome," so there is a sense in which almost any book might claim some remote relation even to such a special catalogue. I have aimed to include: (1) All publications which

directly discuss the principles of the Congregational Way, and develop the experiences, or outline the duties, of Congregational ministers and churches — either for or against. (2) Related literature, so far as needful to make references clear. As, for example, No. 610 is inserted because it would be helpful in the full understanding of Gov. Bradford's *Dialogue* which cites it. Many volumes of records and of history — like Nos. 1816, 1986, 2081, 2098, 2893, 3701, etc., have been thus included. (3) Such a selection from collateral literature as may serve to hint those surroundings of Congregationalism which have aided to make it what it is, and to illustrate its general position, fortunes, outgrowths and tendencies. Here the field widens so immeasurably that no one mind could reasonably expect to satisfy all other minds in its selection. I have thought it better in this to risk transgressing on the side of fullness rather than on that of meagerness; since no man need complain if volumes are enumerated which lie outside of his wants, provided fair provision have been also made for his actual requirements. The key-note to the whole is the endeavor to aid the research of a student of the central subject, who, as he pursues his investigations, is constantly led outward toward inquiries suggested by that subject, rather than strictly germane to it. Thus, volumes upon the baptismal controversy, the rise and growth of Quakerism, the Universalist and Unitarian theologies, and even upon Transcendentalism, Spiritualism and absolute free-thinking, while in no sense directly appertaining to strict Congregational literature, may all need consultation by the man who wishes to know everything vital that has been urged on all sides of questions appertaining to its life and work. Following this idea, in the insertion of titles from all parts of the theological field I have sought, in my method of doing so, to be absolutely even-handed. If my Unitarian friends do not find my list as useful in tracing their own literature as if proceeding out of their own body; if Baptist students do not find it covering those volumes and pamphlets and periodicals which especially concern their views and history, to a degree beyond any list published by themselves; I can only say that I have not accomplished my desire — which was to treat the subject with an impartiality so entire as to make it impossible to guess from it the proclivities of its compiler.

Absolute completeness even in the narrowest of these three circles is unattainable, and its assumption would be absurd. The extent of my

claim is diligently to have sought to render this list — particularly in its earlier portion — as full and useful as my knowledge and opportunities would permit. I make no doubt that, at least, it may be taken as fairly exampling the whole. The *Challenger* did not bring home all the fish in the Atlantic, but the yield of her trawl-nets fairly sampled the deep sea.

It was a part of my desire — especially in the case of those older publications now grown rare — to direct the inquirer to the book itself, as well as to its title; and I have not spared effort to do this with accuracy. Down to A. D. 1700, all proof-sheets went to the British Museum and the Bodleian, to have their press-marks inserted; a convenience which I am sure will be appreciated by those who know by experience how long one — especially if on the track of an anonymous volume — may wander through huge folio catalogues without finding the trail. Down to within one hundred years also, this list has been carefully compared with the Yale and Harvard shelves.

It should be observed, however, that while — accidents excepted — the presence of any given book in the libraries named as having it, may be relied on, it is never *certain* that it may not also be found in collections to which it has failed to be credited. This, because new titles have often been inserted in the last proofs, when it was too late to send to England, or elsewhere, to ascertain whether they were in possession there or not. Nor in nearing our own time has it been felt to be so important to indicate the locality of volumes presumably common.

I have been especially indebted in that department of the subject to which it is devoted, to Dr. Ezra Abbot's *Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, published as an appendix to Rev. W. R. Alger's *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, an indebtedness which is gratefully acknowledged.

I indulge the hope that many who may not largely use it as a guide in direct consultation, may yet find this catalogue indirectly valuable. Its obvious chronological suggestions of the rise and fall of certain opinions, may be useful. The ebb and flow which it reveals in theological discussion — now as to the Trinity, now as to revivalism, now as to New and Old Schoolism, now as to the mode of Baptism, now as to the retributions of the future, and so on — may teach us that the former days have been much like these in their exemplification of the truth of our old copy-book legend: "Many men of many minds;" while it may suggest also that there are some questions which in this imperfect world God

probably intends shall be "settled" by being left amicably open. Who, without the evidence before him, would have supposed it possible that within forty-five years twenty or thirty public oral discussions, of consequence enough to be reported, and issued in book form, could have been held in this land on general questions at issue between Universalism and Orthodoxy? If a glance at the iterations and reiterations of almost all phases of truth and error in this list suggested, could be so far blessed to some of the self-satisfied sciolists of the present as to make them suspect that the new light in which they briefly exult, is simply somebody else's old darkness, I am sure I could feel that my labor has not been in vain in the Lord.

It may prove an incidental benefit of such a catalogue, if it awaken the interest of lovers of good books to the not unnatural fact of the deplorable pauperism of most of our American public libraries as to the *Eocene* of church literature. If I have counted correctly, of the original editions of the first thousand volumes on my list, but 208 — or a trifle over twenty per cent — can be seen in all our principal collections put together. These stand in order thus — the same book of course being occasionally found in more than one place, viz.: the Prince Library has 70; Harvard, 55; Yale, 36; the Congregational Library, 29; Boston Athenæum, 26; the American Antiquarian Society, 18; the Massachusetts Historical Society, 7; Brown University, 5; Bowdoin College, 4; Andover Theological Seminary, 3, and the Boston Public Library, 2. On the other hand, I am sure encouragement may be taken from the fact that of the entire list so good a representation is by my researches proved to be within easy reach of American students. It must certainly be gratifying to all the friends of the Congregational Library to notice that an association which has been at its work scarcely more than twenty-five years, and whose pecuniary resources have always been of the most restricted character, has yet been able already to enrich its shelves with a collection so fairly representing the Congregational literature, especially of the last two hundred years.

Particular care has been taken to insure the most rigid accuracy of all quotations, citations and references; certainly more than ninety per cent of them having been (generally twice) compared in proof with their originals.

I have ventured to think that the few autographs which are interspersed through the volume would be acceptable, as bringing their

authors a little nearer to the reader's sympathy and interest, as well as aiding an ornamentation at once unique and tasteful.

It should be stated, further, that while prepared especially to be delivered at Andover, the majority of these lectures have also been read at Oberlin and Hartford; and that on Robert Browne, to the students of New College, St. John's Wood, London.

In most cases, except in those where the preciseness seemed needless, dates have been given in both old style and new. Only by line upon line and precept upon precept, can even scholars become thoroughly accustomed to this simple solution of many chronological perplexities.

The pleasant duty remains of putting on record here my sincere thanks to the many who have befriended me in these labors. Had it not been for the appreciative cordiality of his Grace the Most Reverend Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the Rev. Canons James Raine of York, and Robert C. Jenkins of Hythe, I would almost surely have missed some of the most important objects of my search. I may also say much the same of Rev. Henry Allon, D. D., and of the Very Reverend Dean of Westminster. I desire to make special mention also of the courtesy of Mr. Bullen, formerly Superintendent of the Reading-Room of the British Museum, and now Superintendent of its department of printed books; of Dr. Coxe, librarian of the Bodleian; of Mr. W. Aldis Wright, now bursar and formerly librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Secretary of the Old Testament Revision Committee, and of Mr. Kershaw, librarian at Lambeth. I have also been largely indebted to the Rev. Thomas Hunter, librarian of the Dr. Williams Library, Grafton St., Gower St., London, not only for the loan of the extremely rare *Brief Discouerie* of Henry Barrowe, but for unstinted aid in various ways. I must name also Mr. F. Ellis Tucker, and Mr. S. J. Aldrich of the British Museum staff, and Mr. W. Burden of the Bodleian, as having done me important service. Here should be added, as well, my thankful acknowledgments to Messrs. Frederick Muller, F. A. v. Scheltema, the Rev. W. Macfarlane of the English Reformed Church, and Prof. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer of the Mennonite Institution, in Amsterdam; to M. le Baron W. J. C. Rammelman Elsevier, and Mr. C. A. Emeis of Leyden, Holland; and to the Rev. B. H. Carp of Middelberg, Zeland. While, on this side of the ocean, I gratefully enumerate as among those who have been my help-

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It is a relief to lay down a pen which has been kept busy — often far into the night — either in furnishing copy to the printer, or in correcting his proofs, now during every hour of the past three years which could be honorably disengaged from other duties. I do so daring to hope that the Master may recognize the desire which prompted the work as one to do Him service; whether His children be able to find such service done, therein and thereby, or not. While, in any event, I may close with the honest words of the author of the second Book of the Maccabees: "If I haue done well, and as the story required, it is the thing that I desired: but if I haue spoken slenderly and barely, it is that I could."

Henry Martyn Dexter.

Greystones, New Bedford, Mass.
1 November, 1879.

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LECTURE I.

The Darkness and the Dawn.

Καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν. *John i: 5.*

——— Often do the spirits
Of great events stride on before the events,
And in to-day already walks to-morrow.
Coleridge, The Death of Wallenstein, Act v, Sc. i.

They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety. *B. Franklin.*

Post Tenebras Lux!

The Darkness and the Dawn.

SINCE the invention of printed books, every movement of thought which has acquired force widely to agitate the public mind, has revealed itself, both from its promoters and opposers, through the press. A complete, chronologically arranged bibliography of the literature of the world, would therefore furnish the most accurate guide to the scope of the discussions, and the quality of the opinions, of the last four hundred years. Should it lack, now and then, some slight connecting link, it would still have the great advantage of freedom from all coloring due to the preconceptions of a single mind, such as the personality of the historian even who is most candid in his intent, seldom fails to inject into his narrative.

It is my purpose, in twelve lectures, to endeavor to develop from the literature out of which it has grown on the one hand, and to which it has given birth on the other, something of the quality and the progressive history of the Congregationalism of the last three centuries; but the narrow limits within which I must necessarily confine myself, will compel me to pay chief attention to certain recondite, neglected or disputed passages, attempting only so much of reference to our literary history as

a denomination of Christians, as may serve to assign rightly to their place those portions to which chief attention will be invited.

A picture without a background would be as ineffective as un-artistic. The natural background of any just picture of modern Congregationalism must be that condition of mind, morals and life, to which the alien system which supplanted the original Congregationalism of the Acts of the Apostles had brought the world, in which the Reformation found, and from which it has partially rescued it. I shall not, then, think it a work of supererogation to attempt, in the outset, to freshen before your minds some just conception of the actual state of things in men's homes and hearts when the sixteenth century of our Christian era dawned upon the world; or — for we must concentrate our thoughts in the utmost possible degree — dawned upon that England of our fathers, which is also ours.

There were there then, it would seem, all together, something less than three millions of people;[1] many fewer than are now living within what is called the outer ring of London itself. London was then relatively a great city, and there were perhaps a dozen considerable towns besides; but the large majority of the population lived afar from towns. The rural territory was portioned out among the chief nobles, who held immediately from the Crown; and who, in addition to their own proper estates, controlled immense domains in a secondary way as lords of the fee, having under them knights and gentlemen owing fealty to them, or, more properly, to the country through them. Under these lords of the manor, in the third rank, came numbers of small freeholders, paying from twenty to forty shillings annual rent, and ready, on demand, for military service. Below these three ranks was the indiscriminate mass of workmen and farm-laborers of both sexes, who, instead of being bestowed in small cottages, each with its own little family as now, slept on the premises and ate at the table of their employer, commonly remaining single until, toward middle life, they could slowly save enough from their scanty wage to set up for themselves in some better way. Lower down, — to use

[1] Prof. Rogers, *Princeton Rev.*, July, 1879, | 17. Mr. Froude makes it more.

the graphic language of an act of Parliament of 1530[2]—were huge "routes and companyes" of "vagaboundes and beggers,"[3] strolling about "in great and excessive nombres, wherby hath insurged and spronge and daily insurgeth and springeth continual theftes, murders and other sondry heynous offences and great enormitiees to the hygh displeasure of God, the inquietation and damage of the Kynge's people, and to the meruaylous disturbance of the common weale of this realme;" among whom, curiously enough to our present thought, were members of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, who resorted to this method of eking out their livelihood in such numbers, that the act to which I have referred made distinct provision for the case of such as did this without special authorization under the broad seal of the universities themselves, by ordering such an offender "to be tied to the ende of a carte naked, and be beaten with whippes throughout the same market towne, or other place, tyll his body be blody by reason of such whyppynge," as was provided in the case of "valiant vagaboundes."

All this England, urban and rural, was minutely sub-divided into local parishes, each with its own church-edifice; and while in large towns these parishes were sometimes of considerable size, through the land generally they were not such. Simon Fish, in 1531, estimated each parish in England to contain, on an average, ten households,[4] and Mr. Froude endorses this computation as probably exact for the country districts;[5] but we must remember that most of these households, by that inclusion of farm laborers to which I have referred, as well as by the laws of nature as then in unresisted force, would be raised to a size not usually now suggested by the word.

Education, in the modern sense of that term, so far as it existed, was confined to a portion of the children of the nobles, gentlemen and gentlemen farmers. Cambridge and Oxford were open to them; the cost was not great; and, if any were too poor to pay their way, rich patrons could be found, or they might ask alms, when duly authorized, as we have seen.

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2 *Statutes of the Realm, 22 Henry VIII.*, ch. 12.

3 Henry VIII. hanged 72,000 robbers, thieves and various vagabonds. *Pictorial History of England*, ii: 907.

4 *Supplication of Beggars*, reprinted in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, etc. Townsend's ed. iv: 659.

5 *Hist. of Eng.* i: 13.

The degradation of good letters in these their venerable seats had become so great, however, that when Erasmus went to Cambridge in 1498, he complained that while he could do nothing with them in Greek, their ignorance of Latin was such that he could find no man to write out the comedy of *Icaromenippus* which he had composed;[6] and the ancient historian of Oxford declared that learning was then "so far lost, that those who could but read and write were accounted no small clerks."[7] The children of the common people possibly in rare instances picked up a few crumbs of knowledge, but it may well be seen that the state of general culture must have been low indeed in 1500, when, nearly half a century later, an act of Parliament made special provision for the case of nobles and peers of the realm who were unable to read their mother tongue![8]

For weary centuries England had been a Papal country. The innate force of the English character had indeed offered stout resistance to the demoralizing influences of the Romish system, and prevented general subsidence into anything equaling in mournful depths the resulting degradation of some other lands; yet it can only be after we have succeeded, at least in some small degree, in making real to ourselves what, for the mind, and for the heart, and for the life, it must have been to be born and to grow up saturated with the quality of the England of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, that we can be in any degree fairly ready to do justice to the hesitations, the temptations, the struggles, the trials and the triumphs of our spiritual fathers.

I have been able to think of no better way in which to stimulate and guide the difficult attempt to do this, than to endeavor in imagination to group around the experience of an average Englishman of that time, so many well authenticated facts of the period, as I may, without violence to the probabilities

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[6] Ant. à Wood, *Hist. and Antiq. of Univ. of Oxford* (1792), i: 656.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Statutes of Realm, I Edward VI.*, chap. 12, (1547), "And be it enacted, etc., that where any the Lorde and Lordes of the Parliament, and pere and peres of the Realme, hauyng place and voyce in Parliament, shall by virtue of this present acte, of common grace, upon his or their request, or prayer, alledging that he is a lorde or pere of this Realme, and claimyng the benefit of this acte, *though he cannot read*," etc., etc. This, though indirect testimony, is yet conclusive.

of the case. In so doing I expect to fail in the graphic and picturesque elements; but I pledge myself that every step shall at least be planted upon the solid rock of what seems to be unimpeachable testimony.

Let us suppose, then, that with the mid-June roses of the year 1500 — the fifteenth of the reign of Henry VII. and nine years before his greater son succeeded to the throne — a man-child is born into some fairly comfortable English home; one neither noble on the one hand, nor absolutely servile on the other — that kind of home where, in the main, the men were born whose lives especially interest us in the history of Fatherland.

Most likely the babe has been in a manner pledged to Rome before its birth in at least two ways: by the pilgrimage of the mother to the shrine of some saint, and the adoration of some relic there, which service, "the accustomed offering being payd," was believed to rob the inevitable advancing hour of its peril;[9] and also by special confession to the parish priest, as by law enjoined.[10] The mother has been taught that baptism is essential to salvation. Recalling, we will suppose, with an intensity quickened by the sorrowful experience of previous disappointments, the perils which stand thick around the first months of a young child's life, she is naturally anxious to have that rite at once performed. But she is told that the two regular annual periods when it may rightly be administered — that is to say, Easter (which this year had occurred on the 19th of April), when the ordinance commemorates the death and resurrection of the Lord, and Whitsuntide (this year on the 7th of June), when it commemorates the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles — are already past.[11] Should the babe be brought into evident danger of sudden death, it may, indeed, be baptized "pro causa necessitatis" at any time, but otherwise it will be needful to wait until the 11th of April of the succeeding year; to wait, not without occasional shudders of remembrance

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9 T. Becon, *Reliques of Rome.* Works (1560), iii, fol. clxxxj, reverse.

10 Arch. Edmonds Constitutions (1236), J. Johnson, *Collection of Laws and Canons of the Ch. of Eng.* etc. (Oxford, 1850), ii: 143.

11 G. Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lib. iv, cap. lxxxii, 3; J. S. Durantus, *De Ritibus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, Lib. i, cap. xix, 24; J. Beleth, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, etc., cap. cx. See also W. Lyndwood, *Provinciale, seu Constitutiones Angliæ*, etc. Lib. iii, tit. 25.

on the mother's part, of cases within her cognizance where some dire accident has suddenly cut short the life of the strongest infant, without so much as a moment of warning, in which to secure for it that water of regeneration on which its eternity depends.

But the rolling months come, by and by, safely round, and the happy father and mother proceed to claim for their little one the blessing waited for. Presenting themselves at the porch of the church, the priest comes out to them, and with a few words of exhortation, asking the child's name (which he exercises the right to change should he regard it as unsuitable);[12] he breathes three times in its face; makes the sign of the cross on its forehead and on its breast to exorcise the evil spirit;[13] blesses some salt, and puts a little in the child's mouth, saying, "Accipe sal sapientiæ ut propitiatus sit tibi Deus." Entering then the church, and advancing to the font, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer are repeated, and a second exorcism follows after the manner of the first, when the priest spits in his left hand and rubs the child's ears and nostrils with the spittle, saying to the right ear, "Ephphatha;" something else to the nostrils and the left ear. Then the babe, being stripped and turned so that its body shall point east and west, is asked whether it renounces the devil and all his works, to which the godfather, on its behalf, makes affirmative reply. Then the priest, dipping his finger in the vessel holding the chrism, or consecrated oil, marks therewith the sign of the cross between the shoulders, after which, sprinkling or pouring holy water thrice upon the head — sometimes thrice plunging the body in a way to make a cross in the water — he says, "Ego baptizo te: In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti."[14] The god-parents are then charged to special care lest the child meet with accident during its first seven years, to teach it the Ave Maria and the Creed, to bring it

[12] *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 24.

[13] "The priest then commands the wicked spirit to depart out of that child who is still under his dominion, and to make room for the Holy Ghost, whose temple it is going to be made." Glover, *Explanation of the Sacraments*, etc. 15.

[14] It was sometimes allowable to use this formula in English and French, the prescribed words being respectively: "I Christen thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," and: "Ie te Baptize au nom du Pere, et du Filz, et du Sainct Esperit." *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 24.

"with convenient speede" to confirmation, and to wash their hands before they leave the church;[15] after which, wrapped in its chrysom robe, the service ended, the babe is borne away, having been by this baptizing rescued from the dominion of the prince of this world, and duly initiated into that great company to whom — with proper care on the way — Heaven is pledged, and who alone have the right that their bodies when dead shall rest in consecrated ground.[16]

At what precise time this completive rite of confirmation would be administered, depended largely upon the convenience or caprice of the bishop, by whom alone it could be performed. The law of the church, however, which was in force in England down to the Reformation, strictly charged all parish priests frequently to admonish the parents of baptized children, that they carry them to confirmation *as soon as possible after seven days after baptism.*[17] They were to carry them whenever thereafter the bishop held an Episcopal visitation within seven miles of their home.[18] And should any such parents fail in the discharge of this duty, they were to be punished by a day's pen-

[15] A manuscript Manual in the British Museum, which formerly belonged to a church in the diocese of Winchester, gives this form, as follows: "I comaunde ow godfadre and godmodre, on holy chirche bihalue, that ye chargen the fadur and the modur of this child, that they kepe this child in to the age of seven yere, that hit beo from fier and water, and from alle other mischeues and periles that myten to him byfalle throug miskepinge, and also that ye or they techen his ryte bileue, hure *Pater noster*, and hure *Ave Maria* and hure *Credo*, or do him to beo taugte: and also that ye wasthe your hondes, or ye gon out of chirche: and also that hit beo confermed the next tyme that the byssop cometh to contre: and al this doeth in payne of corsynge." *Bibl. Reg. Ms.* 2, A, xxi, fol. 15.

[16] See *Durandus*, Lib. vi, cap. lxxxiii: 1–12; also W. F. Hook, *Church Dictionary*, sub voce, and the *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, sub Ritus Baptizandi. Durandus also says: "in coemeterio autem Christianorum non nisi Christianus baptizatus sepeliri debet." [*Rationale*, Lib. i, cap. v, 14.] And again: "partus tamen de ventre ipsius extractus mortuus, et non baptizatur extra coemeterium sepeliatur." [*Ibid*, 15.]

[17] "Nisi demum post septem dies post baptismum, propter septem dona spiritus sancti, quæ recipiunt in baptismo; nam pro singulis donis decet dies singulos celebrare." *Durandus*, Lib. vi, cap. lxxxiv, 1.

[18] The English law as laid down by the Synod of Exeter (A. D. 1287), confirmed in 1308, and 1322, and in force down to the Reformation was this: "Quoniam in baptismo regeneramur ad vitam post baptismum confirmamur ad pugnam; eo quod nobis est magna et gravis colluctatio adversus principem tenebrarum; quapropter sacerdotibus parochialibus districte præcipimus, ut parochianos suos sæpius moneant, *quatenus parvulos suos, quos prius baptizatos esse constiterit, procurent quam citius poterunt, confirmari.* Et, ne ob parentum neglegentiam ipsos contingat absque confirmatione diutius remanere; statuimus, ut parvuli infra triennium a tempore ortus sui confirmationis recipiant sacramentum, dum tamen proprii vel alieni episcopi copia habeatur: alioquin parentes extunc qualibet sexta feria in pane et aqua jejunent, donec pueri confirmentur." D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*, etc. ii: 132, 293, 512. See also, in further confirmation of the same, *Durandus*, Lib. vi, cap. lxxxiv.

ance of bread and water.[19] They were directed to provide and carry with them long strips of linen, with which, after the bishop had anointed the child's head with the oil of the holy chrism, it was to be so wrapped up and bandaged about, that the sacred anointing could in no way be unseasonably removed. Originally these bandages were directed to remain untouched for seven days, "by which were represented the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit," but the necessities of the case prevailed to abridge the period and change the symbolism, and three days were declared to be enough, "in memory of the Trinity, or of the rising of our Lord on the third day." On the third day, therefore, after confirmation, the parents were directed to carry the child to the church, where, in the baptistery, the fillets were removed, and, to make sure that their sacredness should never be impaired by degradation to any secular use, were burned; and the child's face was washed by the priest.[20] In confirmation the bishop thanked God that he had deigned to regenerate the child by water and the Holy Spirit, and to give it remission of all sin, and then besought Him to endue it with the sevenfold spirit, the sacred Paraclete from heaven: the spirit of wisdom and knowledge; the spirit of prudence and dutifulness; the spirit of counsel and strength; and the spirit of the fear of the Lord. Then dipping his thumb in the chrism, or consecrated mixture of oil and balm, he marked with it the sign of the cross upon the forehead, saying, "*consigno te signo cru+cis, et confirmo te chrismate salutis. In nomine Patris, et Fi+lij, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Pax tibi.*" Then he prayed that God would look kindly on the child thus anointed, "sacrosancto chrismate," and signed with the holy cross; and that the entering Spirit would graciously complete the perfect temple of his glory within the soul. The rubric demanded that the sign of the cross be made eight times during this ceremony, and there were three different impositions of the hands of the bishop;[21] and as the church never settled — and, strangely, the Bible is silent as to the point — in connection with which of these acts the supernal grace is imparted, it was held that if for

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[19] "Extunc patres et matres eorum per unum diem in pane et aqua jejunare cogantur." *Wilkins*, ii: 293.

[20] *Lyndwood*, Lib. i, tit. 6.

[21] *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, Confirmatio Puerorum.

sudden sickness, or any reason, the child were removed after the anointing and before the benediction, there must be at least a conditional repetition of the rite.[22] The theory of the Romish church was that baptism is a rudimental, and confirmation a conclusive transaction, both charged with and conveying supernatural grace; and it taught its votaries that an infant of days, not yet knowing its right hand from its left, by passing through these two ceremonies, in which it had, and could have, no intelligent participation, became translated out of the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of God.

So soon as she should be in physical strength for it, the mother would present herself to be "churched." Pausing outside the outer door of the sacred edifice, the priest with his attendants would come out to her, and saying the 121st Psalm (Levavi oculos meos) and the 128th (Beati omnes, qui timent Dominum) with the *Kyrie Eleyson* and the *Pater Noster*, he would offer, in Latin, this prayer: "O God, who hast delivered this thy servant from the peril of childbirth, and made her devoted to Thy service, grant that after she hath faithfully finished the course of this life she may obtain life and rest eternal, under the wings of Thy mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Then, sprinkling her with holy water, he would lead her by the right hand into the church, saying: "Enter into the temple of God, that thou mayest have eternal life and live forever."[23] The "accustomed offerings" were then in order.

Parents, however devoutly inclined, trained in such a system as these facts indicate, could hardly fail to educate their offspring to a superstition which should treat the gospel as Paul says the heathen treated its Divine Author, changing its incorruptible glory into an image like to corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things. And it would almost seem that the more devout might be their intent, the more unfortunate must be their influence; because, starting with a radical divergence from the plan of salvation, and all those methods of right spiritual culture which Revelation offers and enjoins, the further the progress they should achieve, the

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[22] Glover. *Explanation of the Sacraments*, etc., 27.

[23] *Manuale ad usum Sarum.* Ordo ad Purificandum Mulierem, etc.

wider and the more mournful must be the distance by which they would be led astray. While, too, those silent pulsings, gusts and currents of influence which are generated by all the activities of a community in which such things are true, must unite to create a ground-swell, and, as one might say, gulf-stream drift, upon which individual souls, without steam or skill to use the wind against them, would be helplessly swung and swept.

Now, by as much as we can succeed in vividly putting ourselves into such a child's place, by so much shall we find the forces thus suggested conducting him — and the more intelligent and thoughtful he might prove, the broader and deeper would most likely become the fact — toward a condition of practical heathenism, mental dissatisfaction, and spiritual famine, which would be in no manner relieved of its ungodliness by its nominally Christian quality. It was a part of the wonderful — our fathers would not have hesitated to say, devilish — skill with which Rome spun her web to make a net to catch the world, not only that her reticulation provides a strand for every strain, but that she weaves here and there of silk, or twine, or wire, as may best fit the necessity of circumstance.

One of the things which would be likely early to attract the notice and arouse the curiosity of such a child, would be the cross within sight of the cottage door, standing where two ways meet. He would notice that beggars daily choose that place to ask their alms; that funeral processions wending their solemn way toward the church-yard there pause and set down the bier. And he would be told that the cross was to bring people some benefit of the sacred wood on which Jesus died; that the cripple or the pauper frequented that spot, in hope that passers-by might by that symbol be made to think of their need of good deeds, and so their hearts be softened in charity;[24] and that the dead rested there, that the company of mourners might be minded to pray for the soul of the departed.[25] And this fictitious value of the cross as a symbol would meet him

[24] Hence the old simile: "He begged like a cripple at a cross."

[25] T. Staveley, *History of the Churches in England; wherein is shewn the Time, Means and Manner of Founding, Building and Endowing of Churches, both Cathedral and Rural, with their Furniture and Appendages*, London, 1773, 8vo. My references are all to a copy in the British Museum [7816. aa.] which has been enlarged and extended into two volumes quarto, with numerous and valuable MS. and other additions. (Additional MS.) 51.

whichsoever way he turned. Crosses in the graveyard solicited prayers for the dead. The parish church, if not itself cruciform, would have a great cross in its rood-loft, and a little one would perhaps crown the summit of its spire.[26] The priest all through the Sunday, or feast-day, or fast-day service, would be making the sign of the cross with his thumb and two fingers, "in honor of the blessed Trinity,"[27] while the people not only crossed themselves as they entered, and while within, but crossed themselves to drive away evil spirits whenever and wherever any fit of terror came upon them.[28] Boundaries between parishes and estates were marked by stones having crosses cut upon them; and when any man lacked skill to attach his name to any legal paper, some clerk wrote it for him, and he assumed it as his own by marking the sign of the cross against it.[29]

The child would be sure, with his first consciousness of the notions of those about him, to enter into a bondage of fear with reference to spirits of evil, which he would be taught to conceive of as roaming in malicious throngs invisibly through space, on mischief to men intent. And when he wakes in the middle of the night-tempest, and hears the clangor of the chimes in the church tower, mingling with the crash of the thunder and the howling of the gale, his mother hushes him by saying that the demons which aroused the storm, hearing the bells ring will soon be frightened away, and all be still and safe again.[30] He is also taught to cross himself and, if possible, be sprinkled with holy water whenever he is especially terrified by any appearance of evil; for Satan and his minions cannot stand before the

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26 *Ibid*, (add. MS.) 199.

27 *Durandus*, Lib. v, cap. ii, 12. See the most "advanced" Ritualistic explanation in Lee's *Glossary*, under "Cross (the sign of the)."

28 "Signo crucis, se munit, ad effugandam illius virtutem, scilicet quamlibet diaboli versutiam, et potestatem. Valdè enim timet signum crucis: Unde Chrysostomus: Ubicunque dæmones signum crucis viderint, fugiunt, timentes baculum, quo plagam acceperunt." *Durandus*, Lib. v, cap. ii, 9. See also *Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*, etc. (1843), 38, and *Appendix D.*

29 *Staveley* (add. MS.) 51. In the original of the solemn "League and Covenant" in the British Museum, there are plenty of instances of men who could not write their names, but who, abhorring Popery, affixed their "mark" in the shape of the letter T, so as to avoid making a complete and perfect cross.

30 *Durandus*, Lib. i, cap. iv. i. *Beleth*, cap. xxiv. *Staveley* (227) says on some bells was cast the motto:

> Laudo Deum verum, Plebem voco,
> Congrego clerum,
> Defunctos ploro, Pestem fugo,
> Festa decoro.

and on others:

> Funera plango, Fulgura frango,
> Sabbato pango;
> Excito lentos, dissipo ventos,
> Paco cruentos.

sacred symbol, and the *aqua beata* is a terror to him, and to them.[31]

The great focus of the life of the little hamlet is its parish church; its only edifice of any pretension to public character, or, if the dwelling of the Lord of the manor be excepted, of any special size or comeliness. Yew trees stand around and overshadow it, because, better than those of other English trees, their branches meet the ecclesiastical necessities of Palm-Sunday, and its great ceremonies.[32] Awkwardly, sometimes, as regards the direction of the public ways by which it is approached, the building is invariably planted east and west, fronting the sunset. The object of this orientation is that the congregation, as they look toward the altar, shall face the sunrising, and the reason for it is quaintly thus given in one of the ancient books of the English church: "Lete us thynke that Crist deyed in the Este, and therfore lete us prey besely in to the Est, that we may be of the Nombre that he deyd fore. Also lete us thynke that he shall come oute of the Este to the dome: wherefore lete us praye hertely to hym, and besely, that we maye have Grace of Contrition in our hartes of our Mysdedes, with Shrift and Satisfactyon, that we may stonde that Day on the right honde of our Lord Jesu Cryst, and soo be of the nombre that shall be saved, & come to euerlasting blisse and ioy, and that we maye scape that horryble rebuke, that shall be gyuen to all that shal be dampned, and go to everlastynge peyne."[33]

Entering the building by the porch, or *Parvise*, where if anything resembling a school offered itself to his early necessities it would most likely be kept,[34] our lad would be struck first, on passing within, by the great Rood upon its loft over the arched passage joining the chancel, or choir, — that is the eastern projection containing the altar — to the body of the house.

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31 *Durandus*, Lib. v, cap. ii, 11.

32 *Staveley* (add. MS.) 12.

33 *Durandus* gives eight reasons why churches should front the sun-rising, the seventh of which is: "quia Dominus crucifixus, ad orientem respiciebat, ideò et nos oramus ad eum respicientes: sed et ipse in cœlum assumptus, ad orientem sursum ferebatur, et ita ipsum Apostoli adorauerunt: et ita veniet, quemadmodum viderunt eum euntem in cœlum: ipsum igitur expectantes, ad orientem adoramus." [Lib. v, cap. ii, 57.] See also *Durantus*, Lib. i, cap. iii, 4. The extract is from *Liber Festivalis* (1483), 155.

34 *Staveley*, 159. See *Matt. Paris* in Hen. iii, fol. 798, "venditis in *Parviso* libellis," etc. Sometimes the word was applied, as in Thame Church, Oxfordshire, to the little chamber over the church porch. F. G. Lee, *Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms*, etc. (1877), sub voce.

Most likely it would be a rude and inartistic, but still to a child effective and affecting statue of Christ hanging upon the cross, with subordinate images of the Virgin, and Saint John, on either side.[35] The church would be named after and dedicated especially to some saint; and on the left hand, on the north side of the altar, would be placed his, or her, effigy or picture, the *Imago principalis*,[36] ranking locally even before that of the Saviour himself. Possibly, if any wealthy person who had been a resident of the parish, or native there, had felt himself on the approach of death tremulous in regard to the security of his welcome in the other world, and desired to fortify his claims upon Saint Peter by something left behind to the embellishment of the church,[37] there may be on the other side an additional image, perhaps representing the Trinity by an old man holding a crucifix between his knees, with a dove upon his breast or at his ear;[38] or a gold collar, or trinkets, or a rich robe of lace, might be bequeathed for the beautifying of the other images; which on festival days were often gaily decked out with beads, corals, silver ornaments, jewels and embroidered robes.[39]

Central to all would be the altar, even in rudest edifices enriched and dignified by at least some effort at adornment, and generally with some picture hanging behind and over it; surely with candles burning all the day-time upon it, as also upon some shelf or table before the *Imago principalis*.[40] Originally intended to symbolize the blessed fact that Christ is the light of the world,[41] and by the strict law of England still enjoined to be kept a-light for that purpose upon the altars of all churches of the establishment;[42] this candle-burning, following that law

35 See Cardinal Pole's *Articles of Enquiry in 1557*. *Staveley* (add. MS.) 199.

36 *Staveley*, 126 (add. MS.) 199. *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 27.

37 Archb. Dean left by will, to his church of Canterbury, "my silver image of St. John the Evangelist, weighing 151 oz." (1502.) [E. Hasted, *History of Kent*, iv: 735.] Theobalde Evias of Faversham, Kent, widow, devised, among other things, "her cross of gold, which she wore round her neck," to the shrine of St. Richard in Chichester; her beads of gold to "St. John hys hed in Amyas," and her "ryng of gold with the ruby" to the sepulcher of the three kings of Cologne. *Ibid*, ii: 703.

38 *Ibid*, 190, 191.

39 F. Blomefield, *Hist. Norfolk*, ii: 596, 702; iv: 150, etc.

40 Soames, *Latin Church during Anglo-Saxon Times*, etc., 266.

41 Lee, *Glossary*, sub voce.

42 "Such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth (1548). *Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer*, etc. [1 Elizabeth], as endorsed by the present Rubric.

of degradation which our human nature seems to make inseparable from all such ceremonies, had come to be in the common mind associated mainly with some vague impression of propitiation before God; the Saviour, the Virgin, and the saints, and so with some slight satisfaction paid for sin.[43]

The amount of furniture, of one sort and another, deemed indispensable, and by statute demanded, for the decent uses of the Romish worship in every parish church, however small, seems scarcely less marvellous in our eyes, than it sometimes used to seem onerous to those parishioners who were compelled to furnish and pay for the same. We get a distinct list in 1305, from a canon of Archbishop Winchelsey,[44] enjoining upon all parishes provision of the things undermentioned, to wit: a Legend, an Antiphonarium, a Grail, a Psalter, a Troparium, an Ordinal, a Missal and a Manuale, in the way of service-books for the guidance of priest and people through the wildernesses of Sundays, saints' days, and other occasions of public or private worship; a Cope, a Dalmatic, a Tunic, and a second-best Cope, with Alb, Amyct, Stole, Maniple and Girdle, together with three Surplices and a Rochet, in the way of vestments for the priest and his assistants. Then there were to be made ready for the ordinary requirements of the service, a Chalice; a great Cross for processions; a smaller Cross to be laid upon the body of the dead at funerals; a Censer for incense; a Lantern; a Hand Bell to be rung before the body of the Lord when it was taken out to be carried to the dying; a Pyx or strong cupboard with lock and key — sometimes called a "God-house"[45] — to hold and guard the wafer Christ when not needed for eucharistic purposes; Candlesticks and Candles; a vessel for the Blessed Water; another, a Chrismatory, for the consecrated

43 John of Gaunt, by will, ordered ten large wax candles to burn about his corpse on his burial day, "in ye name of Gods x. commandments agaynst wh. I have wickedly offended;" as also seven large ones "in memory of ye vii. works of charity" of which he had been negligent, and "the vii. mortal synns;" and, "besydes these, v. large ones in honour of our Saviours v. principall wounds, and for his v. senses" which he had too carelessly used; and also three, "in honour of ye blessed Trinity" to which he resigned himself for the evils he had done in the world. *Staveley* (add. MS.) 189.

44 J. Johnson, *Laws and Canons of the Church of England*, etc., ii: 318. See also *Staveley*, 183–196; *Durandus*, Lib. iii, passim; *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 27, and *Durantus*, Lib. ii, passim.

45 In the eastern angle of the choir at Ludlow, Shropshire, is a closet, anciently called the God-house, where the priests locked up the roods, wafers, etc., having a window strongly barred outward. *Staveley* (add. MS.), 157.

Oil; a Baptismal Font; an Osculatory, or Pax — that is to say, a small tablet of silver, or some less costly material, with suitable ornamentation, to be at the appointed period of service (near its end) kissed by the priest, by him handed to the deacon, kissed by him, and by him passed down to the congregation to be kissed in order by them, in memory and imitation of the primitive kiss of peace; a Bier for the dead, with the *Palla mortuorum;* Bells with ropes — in the steeple, that is — to be tolled at the elevation of the Host; suitable linen and other coverings for the Altar; four towels for washing of hands where needful in the ceremonies; and banners for the processions of the three Rogation Days preceding the festival of the Ascension. Then there were Corporals, or coverings for the Host, Flabella, or fly-flaps for the sacred cup, Phylatteria, or vessels containing the holy relics, besides an Offertorium for collections, the Ambo for reading homilies, Lent veils and garments for the Images, and a Beam-light, or taper kept burning before the Host. I do not venture to think that every one of these was to be found in every, the smallest, parish church in England; but it is clear that they were canonically required to be there, and that Articles of Inquiry were now and then issued to church-wardens through the land, as to whether the law were complied with in every particular, or not. As late as 1557, we find Cardinal Pole[46] thus demanding whether the churches be sufficiently garnished with all ornaments and books necessary; and whether they have a Rood in the church of a decent stature, with Mary and John, and an image of the Patron of the said church?

All this the lad finds within the edifice. And when, with boyish curiosity some day, by favor, he climbs the rude stairs conducting to the tower, he discovers that the bells which hang there and whose music he loves, bear, in letters which are a part of their surface, legends which indicate that they have other uses than merely to call the faithful to prayer. One may be inscribed with the name of the patron saint of the church, and the prayer: "Ora pro nobis;"[47] another perhaps to the Vir-

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[46] *Staveley* (add. MS.) 199.

[47] St. Butolph's, Cambridge, has four bells inscribed [*Staveley*, i (2)] as follows:

(1) Sancte Ipoline, ora pro nobis.
(2) Sancte Andrea, ora pro nobis.
(3) Sancta Margareta, ora pro nobis.
(4) Nomen Magdalenie, campana gerit melodie.

Norton Church, Norfolk, has three:

(1) Sancte Johannes, ora pro nobis.
(2) Sancta Caterina, ora pro nobis.
(3) O Matris Barbara, pro me Deum exora.

gin Mary: "Protego Virgo pia quos convoco, sancta Maria;"[48] very likely another to St. Thomas: "Per Thomæ meritis, mereamur gaudia lucis;"[49] and still another may bear the general motto:[50]

En ego campana, nunquam denuncio vana;
Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum,
Defunctos plango, vivos voco, fulmina frango;
Vox mea, vox vitæ, voco vos ad sacra venite;
Sanctos collaudo, tonitrus fugo, funera claudo.

As he spells these out, he asks the sexton what it all means, and the old man tells him that he himself is not much of a scholar, but he has always remembered what a priest who was very learned, and who was a great friend of his when both were young, told him one sunny day as they were up there together, how that each bell is hallowed to some saint, and that this writing is a prayer, and that every time the bell sounds it prays that prayer; and that is why they have so many bells, to gain the good of more saintly help; and that is why sometimes when his withering arms are tired he still rings on longer than he thinks he can, so that the village may get the good of it and the fiends be driven away.[51]

But I cannot take time for too many of these minutiæ. My object will be quite accomplished if I can make you see how, as this young mind expands and stretches forth itself, with some kindling longings towards the true, the beautiful and the good, it will be ever, and everywhere, thrown back upon itself by a freezing formalism, which in no degree, and as to nothing, offers real and comfortable answer to the solicitudes of the soul.

On Sundays he listens to a service almost the whole of which is in a language which conveys to him no notion of what is said,

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48 This is upon a bell in Plumtre, Devon. *Ibid*, i, (4.)

49 Starston, Norfolk. So at Croxton in the same shire is a bell with this legend: "O Martyr Thoma, pro me Deum exora." *Ibid*, „ (3, 4.)

50 *Ibid*, 227.

51 In old wills money was often left for ringing at funerals, and when the obit, or anniversary was kept, a peal was to be rung. *Staveley* (add. MS.) 228. See also Lee, *Glossary*, sub voce "Annuals," etc.

while those few ideas which, by aid of gesture, sound, or common fame, might filter through to his consciousness, would be as purely pagan as those of any ritual of Athens, or of Hindustan. The Litany, or the *Kyrie Eleison*, while beginning, indeed:[52] "Lord, haue merci on us: Crist, haue merci on us: Crist, heere us," goes on, with all popular impression of equal stress and need, to beseech "Seynt Marie, Hooli moder of God, Hooli virgyn of virgyns," and not only her, but sixty-seven male saints and martyrs, and twenty-three female saints, each by name, besides "alle hooli aungels and archaungels," and "alle ordris of hooly spiritis," and "alle hooli patriarkis and prophetis," and "all hooli apostlis and euangelistis," and "all hooli disciplis of the lord and innocentis," and "alle hooli martris," and "alle hooli confessouris," and "alle hooli virgyns," and "alle hooli men and wymmen" in general; saying "preie *ye* for us."

All reaches its climax in the mass. And in this the priest began[53] by confessing to God and to blessed Mary, and beseeching holy Mary, and all the saints of God, to pray for him. Afterward he "offered a sacrifice" to the Lord, saying — I translate from the Latin —"Accept, O holy Trinity, this oblation which I, an unworthy sinner, offer in thy honor, and in honor of blessed Mary, and of all thy saints." And in the canon of the mass, he characterized the service as[54] "communicating with, and honoring the memory, especially of the glorious ever-Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord and God Jesus Christ; and also of Thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus; Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Grisogonus, John and Paul, Cos-

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[52] As this, although usually given in Latin, would possibly be sometimes rendered in English, I have cited these passages in the translation of the Prymer, of date about 1410, which Mr. Maskell has given. *Monumenta Rit. Eccles. Anglicana*, ii: 95.

[53] "Confiteor Deo, beatæ Mariæ, etc., precor sanctam Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei, etc., orare pro me." *Ordinarium Missæ, Sarum.* "Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam ego, indignus peccator, offero in honore tuo, et beatæ Mariæ, et omnium sanctorum tuorum." *Ibid.*

[54] "Communicantes et memoriam venerantes: Imprimis, gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ, genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi; sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum, Petri et Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Joannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi; Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Grisogoni, Joannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani; et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio." *Canon Missæ, Sarum.*

mas and Damian, and of all Thy saints; by whose merits and prayers do Thou grant that we may in all things be defended with the help of Thy protection." So, further on, having prayed for the dead, he proceeded, striking his breast, to say:[55] "let it please Thee to grant us some part and fellowship with Thy holy apostles and martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cæcilia, Anastasia, and all Thy saints." Again he prayed:[56] "Deliver us, O Lord, we beseech Thee, from all evils past, present and to come, on the intercession of the blessed and ever glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and of thy blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and Andrew, with all saints."

Thus, perpetually, through this sacredest service of the church was the mind dragged down from all uplifting contemplation of the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, to be fixed upon creatures imperfect like ourselves, who were thus dignified to something very like an equality of mediation and adoration with Him; while, so far as any teaching was connected with the rite, it was the blasphemy that the priest, by his formulæ, could, and did, change the bread and wine into the actual body and blood of Christ himself, crucifying Him afresh in every service; the great bells of the church being tolled when the host was elevated,[57] that, especially on week-days, the people in their houses, and in the fields, might kneel in reverence, and to secure the offered benefits. This central teaching was, however, so muffled in forms and hidden behind ceremonies, that, while it must have been robbed of much of its direct effect, the tendency of what was done became inevitable and inexorable to transform the whole service, to unlearned ears,

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55 "Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris, cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus: cum Ioanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et cum omnibus sanctis tuis." *Ibid.*

56 "Libera nos, quæsumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis, præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris; et intercedente pro nobis beata et gloriosa semper virgine Dei genetrice Maria, et beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque Andrea, cum omnibus sanctis." *Ibid.*

57 "In elevatione corporis Christi ab una parte ad minus pulsentur campanæ, ut populares, qui celebrationi missarum non valent quotidie interesse, ubicunque fuerint sive in agris, sive in domibus, flectant genua, Indulgentias concessas à pluribus episcopis habituri." Archb. Peckham's Constitutions (1279) *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 23; *Johnson*, ii: 273; *Durandus*, Lib. iv, passim.

into a kind of pantomime, than which nothing could well be imagined more repugnant to the simplicity of the faith and practice of the early church. For example, during the celebration of the mass, there were requisite at least eleven assistants to the priest, besides the choir, to wit:[58] a deacon, a sub-deacon, two ceroferarii (or candle-bearers), two thurifers (or incense-bearers), at least four boys in surplices, and the acolyte (or sexton, or servant). The priest must say some things on the north side of the altar, and some in front of it; and when the priest stood before the altar, the deacon was to stand immediately behind him on the next step, and the sub-deacon in the same manner on the second step immediately behind the deacon. Whenever the priest turned himself toward the people, they likewise were to turn themselves, and when he genuflected they were to genuflect. And the rubric of Sarum required that during mass the deacon should kiss the priest's hand three times, that the priest should kiss the deacon and sub-deacon once, the book of the Gospels twice, the corporals once, the chalice once, and the altar four times; that he should bow to the host; that he should wash his hands with water three times, and once with wine; that incense should be swung eight times, and that the priest make the sign of the cross fifty-one times. Moreover the consecrative words: "Hoc est enim corpus meum" must be pronounced in one breath and utterance, with no pause between.[59]

There would be no preaching, or next to none. In the majority of cases the priest would be too ignorant to preach.[60] But he might probably make shift in some blundering way to comply with the law which required him four times in a year by himself, or by some other, to expound to the people, in the vulgar tongue, without any fantastical affectation of subtilty, the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments of the Decalogue — which, by the way, were only nine, Rome having

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[58] See, for this whole subject, the *Ordinarium et Canon Missæ secundum usum Ecclesiæ Sarum Anglicanæ;* and compare the *Manuale,* and *Missale ad usum insignis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis,* of which excellent editions have been recently published by the Surtees Society [vols. 59 and 63]. Compare also the *Missale Romanum* of the contemporary period.

[59] "Et debent ista verba proferri cum uno spiritu et sub una prolatione, nulla pausatione interposita." Rubric. *Canon Missæ, Sarum.*

[60] "The ignorance of priests plunges the people into error; and the stupidness of clerks who are commanded to instruct the faithful in the Catholic faith, does rather mislead than teach them." Archb. Peckham's Constitutions (1281), reaffirmed by Archb. Nevil (1466). *Johnson,* ii: 282, 520.

omitted the second, and split the tenth[61]—the two precepts of the Gospel, or of love to God and men, the seven works of mercy, the seven capital sins with their progeny, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace.[62] There would be no Bible. Nobody, not even the priest, had any Bible; only the psalter and the lessons, and these were in Latin. No one had the right to read the Bible, if there were any, on pain of the greater excommunication. And[63] there would be no books accessible which could do anything to mend this state of matters, for since the stir about Wyclif and the Lollards, it had been expressly decreed that no book be allowed to be read "composed by John Wyclif, or by any other in his time or since, or hereafter to be composed," unless it had been first examined and unanimously approved by Cambridge and Oxford, or at least by twelve men chosen by the said universities, or by one of them, and afterwards by the Bishop.[64] Apparently, all ordinary avenues of light were closed, and the Papal church had had triumphant success in so arranging it that the sun of righteousness could shine upon men from heaven, only through the painted windows of its own devising.

But the Spirit of God worketh where it listeth, and the Lord knoweth everyone that is His. So that even in the midst of these non-conductors the heart of this young Englishman could be touched, his conscience troubled, and his mind made anxious with that great anxiety which has led so many millions, in so many ages and tongues, to ask, "What must I do to be saved?"

In his vague yet sharp discontent, he goes, as every son ought to feel prompted to go, and able to go, first of all to his mother. But she tells him that he was, beyond all possible doubt, duly baptized and properly confirmed; that he has taken his communions regularly, and confessed and had absolution three times each year since he was fourteen years old, and, besides, has

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[61] *Johnson*, ii: 427; *Soames*, 310. Newman [*On Development*, London (1845), 434, 435] justifies this.

[62] *Johnson*, ii: 282, 520; *Lyndwood*, Lib. i, tit. 1.

[63] "Statuimus et ordinamus ut nemo deinceps textum aliquem Sacræ Scripturæ auctoritate sua in linguam Anglicanam vel aliam transferat per viam libri, vel libelli, aut tractatus, nec legatur aliquis hujusmodi liber, libellus, aut tractatus jam noviter tempore dicti Johannis Wickliff, sive citra compositus, aut in posterum componendus in parte vel in toto, publicè vel occultè, sub pœna majoris excommunicationis," etc. Archb. Arundel's Constitutions. *Lyndwood*, Lib. v, tit. 4; *Johnson*, ii: 466.

[64] *Johnson*, ii: 465.

been a good boy and a good son; and is just as sure of heaven as the holy father himself, and she can't imagine why he should be troubled; and, when he insists that none of these things do comfort him, and that, in point of fact, he *is* troubled, she sends him to the priest. He goes with reluctance, for he knows perfectly well that the priest is seldom sober, besides being of most unsavory character in general; and he entertains no inward expectation of help from him. He finds him carousing with a lot of traveling monks at the village ale-house; and what he overhears of their talk so disgusts and repels him, that, without a word, he slinks home across the fields, in greater trouble than ever. And in a still, secluded, shady place he falls prostrate, with a vehement, blind plea to God for help. He does not know that Inspiration has said, but in the depths of his soul he feels, that "vain is the help of man." And lying there, led by a holy instinct, with strong crying and tears, he pours out his whole soul to Him that heareth in secret, and begs for light, for peace, for truth. And when he rises afterward, he goes the rest of his way home, he cannot tell why, with some glimmer of rest afar comforting his soul; in some way as with a new sense of seeing in his eyes, which discerns at once the formal emptiness of all with which he has hitherto assayed to satisfy himself. What he wants now and henceforth, and what he must have, is more truth from God. If God has spoken to men, where is what he said? And if Christ died for him, he wants Christ and not a wafer! Now, self-moved, even with all his ever-increasing repugnance toward the man, he goes to the priest. He asks him for God's word; is there no way in which he who can read English can read what God says, and all which He has said; and will he tell him everything that he knows about Christ? The priest sneers: "What business have you to know how to read," and scolds: "Go, you young upstart, say your *Pater Nosters* and your *Ave Marias;* that is quite enough for you," and tells him that at his next confession he shall give him heavy extra penance for presuming, with vain curiosity, to meddle with matters with which he has no concern; that all which it is either needful or proper for him to do and know, is to know and do as he is weekly and daily commanded by the church.

Saddened, but with will strengthened by this repulse, the

young man goes home with the conviction that God must have given men something better than this, and that find out what that may be, he must. He remembers that when he was six years old he heard of the burning of one of the last of the Lollards at Amersham in Buckinghamshire,[65] and how his only daughter was punished for her sympathy with her father's opinions, by being compelled to kindle the fire which consumed him. It strikes him forcibly that any person who could be willing to be burned for his faith, must live nearer to, and know more about God and Jesus, than any of the sensual and scandalous priests, or monks, whom he has ever seen, and there springs up within him an intense desire, if it may be, to search out that daughter, if she be now alive, and prove whether she may not aid his quest. Secretly — for her sake not less than for his own — he seeks to find her, but in vain. Yet with what one who used to know her, and to whom she sometimes read out of the old manuscript fragment of Wyclif's New Testament, which was the only legacy her father left her, suggests to him, he begins to see a little more clearly, and to feel a clew in his hand which may some day guide his feet into the way of peace.

Thenceforth, while long outwardly conformed to the faith of his father, and obedient to the ceremonies which his mother loves and trusts, it is with an inward repugnance which grows with every service, and an eye daily sharper to detect that desolation and emptiness which are come in to reign where the glory of the Lord should appear in the midst of his temple. A spirit of unbelief in the church, and the priest, and in all that is done by the latter in the name of the former, keeps even pace in his soul with all increase of that direct faith in God, and in Christ, which he begins to venture increasingly to cherish.

And as he watches the ceremonies day after day, they seem to him ever more strange as being ordained of God, and yet ever crowding God out of sight, and thrusting whole wildernesses of rubbish between Him and the soul. He sees the priest first exorcise salt by making three signs of the cross and invok-

[65] William Tylsworth (A. D. 1506). His daughter's (married) name was Joan Clerk. See John Fox, *Actes and Monuments*, etc. (Townsend's edition), iv: 123.

ing the living God, and the true God, and the holy God; and then exorcise water by making three more crosses in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and then put the salt into the water in the form of a cross with three more crosses in the name of the Trinity; and then call it Holy Water, and teach that it can drive away unclean spirits and poisonous serpents, and in general protect the living and hallow the dead.[66]

When the Pax, worn and greasy with the handlings and mouthings of many generations, comes down fresh day after day, and goes the rounds of the faithful as the symbol of peace and charity; he thinks how much easier it is to kiss that, uninviting as it may be, than to feel any real love for the priest who starts it on its way, or for many whom it passes before it comes down to him.[67]

Church-ales[68] and glutton-masses[69] especially perplex him, because both end in converting the house of God into the scene of unseemly and sometimes revolting revels. That, when some slight repairs were needed for the building, their cost should be raised by contributions of ale brewed throughout the parish, the inhabitants then all assembling and paying some fixed sum for the privilege of drinking together as much as they could, was bad enough; but that village should vie with village in turning

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66 "Ut ubicunque fuerit aspersa, per invocationem sancti nominis tui, omnis infestatio immundi spiritus abjiciatur: terrorque venenosi serpentis procul pellatur: et presentia Sancti Spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus ubique adesse dignetur." Benedictio aquæ, *Manuale ad usum Sarum*.

67 The *Pax*, sometimes called the *Osculatorium*, was a small tablet of wood, ivory or some precious metal, with a handle behind, often ornamented with an *Agnus Dei*, or some little bas-relief of some sacred scene, which was kissed by the priest, and then passed round to be kissed by the faithful during mass. [Lee's *Glossary*, etc., 255, 278.] As to its theory and philosophy, see *Durandus*, Lib. iv, liii, 1; *Durantus*, ii: 54. The denial of the pax to an offender was one of the minor punishments of the church. *Johnson*, ii: 132. See also *Chambers*, 382.

68 It is a curious illustration how nothing is new under the sun, that our fathers sometimes raised money for the repair of a church by the profits arising from ale brewed in the parish and contributed for the purpose, which all the inhabitants used to meet and drink, paying so much a head for the privilege — quite after the philosophy of modern church fairs, or festivals. *Staveley* (add. MS. 99), gives citations from parish records like this: "1453, sexto die Maii, from a *Church Ale*, 13s. 4d."

69 Glutton-masses were quite akin to church ales. They were sometimes held "in honor of the Virgin" five times a year. The people repaired to church laden with provisions and liquors, and after mass had been hurried through, the church was suddenly converted into a house of feasting; and when village strove with village which should contribute most to such an occasion, it is not strange that drunkenness often, and riot sometimes, ended the scene. *Pictorial Hist. Eng.*, ii: 253, which cites *Wilkins*, *Concilia*, etc.

their sanctuaries into pot-houses, and a general carousal follow mass five times in the year "in honor of the Virgin Mary," was a riddle which he had neither skill nor heart to solve.

Why the altar-cloths should be so sacred that only priests or deacons could wash them;[70] and why — for his friend the old sexton could tell him of many of these things of which otherwise he might not have heard — if any one entitled to be buried with religious rites had been buried without them, the body must be dug up and reinterred by a priest wearing an alb and a stole and a maniple, and with holy water, and a cross, and a thurible and incense;[71] and why the priest and his helpers — always provided the parish were able to afford the expense — ought to wear white on Christmas day and the feast of the circumcision, and red on all martyrs' days, and yellow on all feasts of confessors, and violet on the Sunday before Advent, and on all vigils of saints, and green on the feast of the Holy Trinity, and black on the feast of All Souls, and the passover;[72] and why the altar coverings must usually, but not always, be of the same color with the priest's robes;[73] and why the clerks should bow toward the altar so many times in the service, and particularly why there should be an indulgence of one hundred days to all who bowed devoutly every time that the name of Jesus occurred;[74] and why the priest should select the very wheat from which the wafer-bread for the Lord's Supper was to be made, and why it must be ground separately from all other wheat, and be bolted by a church officer in a white dress, and baked by a deacon wearing gloves, an alb and amice; and why all engaged in the process should repeat Psalms, or say the Litany, before and during the progress of the making, in other respects keeping entire silence, all in the presence of at least one priest, and, if possible, in the sacristy of the church;[75] and why the Lord should be entreated with three signs of the cross,

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70 *Johnson*, ii: 338.

71 *J. Thorpe*, ii: 256; J. D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries*, etc., 27.

72 See Chambers *On the Colours of the Vestments of the Clergy*, etc. Appendix, i; also *Durandus*, Lib. iii, xviii. See also, *De Coloribus Vestimentorum in Eccl. Exon. Pub. Surtees Soc.*, lxi: 388–390.

73 *Chambers*, Appendix, xiv.

74 "Urban IV. and John XXII. granted indulgences of one hundred days to all who bowed devoutly as often as the name of Jesus Christ was recited in the church. This is also mentioned in the Exeter Consuetudinary and later Sarum books." *Chambers*, 92.

75 *Chambers*, 230. See Lanfranc, Ab. Ware, and Martene. [*De Antiq. Mon. Rit.*, ii: 8.]

to "sanctify, purify and consecrate" the linen cloth with which the bread was to be covered;[76] and why it was forbidden to partake of the Eucharist, except from vessels of silver or gold, the consecration being interdicted upon dishes of baser metal;[77] and why if the bread should accidentally fall to the ground the place which it touched must be scraped and the scrapings burned with fire, and if any drops of the wine thus fell, the priest must lick it up, and then the spot be scraped and the scrapings burned;[78] and why if there be danger of a fatal result in child-birth, the foot of the child might be baptized (if the head could not be) by the midwife, but the baptismal water must be thrown into the fire, and the vessel containing it burned or given to the church;[79] and should the child live it must be conditionally rebaptized, thus: "If thou hast been baptized I do not rebaptize thee, but, if thou art not baptized, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;"[80] and why the chrism, or holy oil and balm, used for anointing in baptism and confirmation and extreme unction, should be consecrated annually with great formality on Maundy Thursday, and why if any were left over from the last year it must be burned;[81] and why the laity were instructed that it was unnecessary for them to take the sacrament of the cup, inasmuch as "both the body and blood of our Lord is given to them at once under the form of bread;" and why Archbishop Peckham's statute should direct them "not overmuch to grind the sacrament with their teeth, but to swallow it entirely after they have a little chewed it, lest it should happen that some small particles stick between the teeth or somewhere else;"[82] and why, while most persons wanted to be buried with their heads toward the west and their feet towards the east, in order that they may rise with their faces toward the Lord, it was considered an indication of extraordinary humility and self-abasement to be buried north and south;[83] and why the common people should so much

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76 *Ibid*, 271.

77 "Præcipimus, ne consecratur Eucharistia nisi in calice de auro vel argento; et ne stanneum calicem aliquis episcopus amodò benedicat, interdicimus." *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 23.

78 *Chambers*, 301.

79 *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 24.

80 *Johnson*, ii: 261; *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 24.

81 *Johnson*, ii: 263.

82 *Ibid*, ii: 274.

83 *Staveley* (add. MS.) 3. J. Weever, [*Ancient Funerall Monuments*, etc. (ed. 1631), 30] mentions the finding, in 1619, at Newport-Pagnell, of the body of a man whose bones had been filled with lead, buried N. and S.

prefer to be buried on the south side of the church, that it was difficult to prevent other portions of the churchyard from becoming actually disused;[84]—all these were questions not only which he could not answer, but to which it increasingly seemed to him no man could give reasonable answer.

And when, at last, he is grown capable of mature and original thinking, and, in one way and another, has imbibed enough of that spirit of dissent which somehow always manages to infect the air even under the rigidest ecclesiastical rule, to guide his scattered notions toward some clear conclusions, he finds four great thoughts every day weighing more heavily upon his spirit; thoughts giving birth not merely to distrust and dislike, but steadily growing toward absolute loathing and detestation.

1. In the first place, he is annoyed by the perpetual interference of the church with all the ordinary goings-on of life. On more than one quarter of the secular days of the year it forbade all persons over twelve years of age to taste food until three o'clock in the afternoon, besides prohibiting all to eat on the eves of most festival days.[85] On the other hand it set aside nearly one half of the year, on various pretexts, as festival time.[86] And when it is remembered that on all these "holy days" the people were compelled to attend church, under severe penalties,[87] it will be seen how great was the tax put thus upon the industry of the land; and when one thinks how a large portion of so many feast-days would be likely to be spent, one is quite ready to appreciate the strong language with which, in 1536, Henry VIII. spoke out upon it: "Forasmoch as the nombre of holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet dayly more and more by mens devocyon, yea rather supersticyon, was like

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[84] This preference arose from the idea that, seeing their graves every day as they passed by them into church — the principal entrance being on the south side — their friends would be reminded to pray for the repose of their souls. At Hawstead, in Suffolk, Sir John Cullum undertook to break down this custom, and provided by will that at his own death he should be buried under the step of the disused north door of the Hawstead church. *Staveley* (add. MS.) 5.

[85] Hook, *Church Dict.*, sub voce "Fasts."

[86] The *Missale secundum usum Sarum*, if I have rightly counted, has special festival services provided, as follows: For days in January, 14; in February, 10; in March, 8; in April, 7; in May, 11; in June, 19; in July, 21; in August, 20; in September, 15; in October, 15; in November, 18; and in December, 10; in all, 168. See also Soames, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 257.

[87] *Wilkins*, ii: 145.

further to encrease, that the same was and sholde be not onely prejudiciall to the common weale by reason that it is occasion as well of moche sloth and ydleness, the very nourishe of theves, vacaboundes, and of dyvers other unthriftynesse and inconvenyences, as of decaye of good mysteryes and artes, utyle and necessary for the common welthe, and losse of mans fode many tymes, beyng clene destroyed through the supersticious observance of the said holy dayes, in not taking th' oportunitie of good and serene wheather, offered upon the same in time of harvest; but also pernicyous to the soules of many men, whiche being entysed by the lycencyous vacacyon and lybertye of those holy dayes, do upon the same commonly use and practise more excesse, ryote, and superfluitie than upon any other dayes."[88]

The hand of the church, through its laws, and through the priest was, moreover, laid heavily upon men's affairs in other ways. No marriage could be contracted except at certain times in the year,[89] nor without bans thrice published in the church, nor between persons unknown to the priest, nor except publicly in the church, nor unless the priest were satisfied as to the dowry;[90] and no married persons could take any long journey without the mutual consent of both before the priest. In the marriage service the sign of the cross was made nine times, besides the twenty-eight crossings in the regular canon of the mass which was then said. The wedding ring had to be blessed with a prayer, and sprinkled with holy water. The early part of the service to the giving of the ring, must be outside of the church, after which they must enter and approach the altar. Then incense was burned, and the *pallium*, held by four priests, extended over their heads. On the following night the priest blessed the marriage bed, exorcising it "ab omnibus phantasmaticis dæmonum illusionibus." The sign of the cross was made four times, and the bed and the bridal pair were sprinkled with holy water, before the priest retired, "et dimittat eos in pace."[91]

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[88] *Ibid*, iii: 823.

[89] *Johnson*, ii: 91. See also Ordo ad fac. spons. *Manuale ad usum Sarum:* "Certis temporibus fieri prohibetur, videlicet: ab adventu Domini usque ad octavam Epiphaniæ, et a Septuagesima usque ad octavam Paschæ, et a Dominica ante Ascencionem Domini, usque ad octavam Pentecostæ," etc. See the reason given for this in *Durandus*, Lib. i: ix, 7.

[90] "Interroget sacerdos dotem mulieris," etc. *Missale ad usum Sarum*. *Durandus*, Lib. i: ix, 7.

[91] *Durandus*, Lib. i: ix; and *Missale ad usum Sarum*.

No corpse could be carried away from home for burial; and, if such burial took place, the body was required to be exhumed and returned to its own parish cemetery for final interment.[92] And the philosophy of these regulations comes out in the fact that on all occasions of special service, such as marriage and funeral rites, the churching of women, and so on — to use the phrase of the law — "God in the person of His ministers was to be honored with the oblations of His people;" and if any practiced, or even ventured to counsel otherwise, such "sons of malediction" were to be excommunicated.[93] If a man did not come to church on Sundays and holy-days, the priest would doom him; if he came, and, in the opinion of the same functionary, misbehaved himself while there, he would be doomed as well.[94] Moreover, the priest kept his eye upon any of his people whom he had reason to think were well-off in worldly goods, as they began apparently to approach the last of life, and if he saw symptoms of a disposition on their part to dispose of their property largely beforehand, so that there might be little left after they were gone from which the church could claim her share; he at once interposed with threats of excommunication.[95] There was a canon of 1378 that any person guilty of thus defrauding the church, should be denied Christian burial, and it ended, "let them often be told of this."[96] The "mortuary," or money to be paid after a man was dead from his estate to the priest, grew to be called, familiarly, "the principal legacy."[97] By a canon of 1367, if a man dying left three cattle, the second-best became the property of the church where he had received the sacraments while alive, "as a recompense for the withdrawing his tithes, as well personal as predial, as also of his oblations for the delivery of his own soul."[98] If his widow followed him speedily to the grave, this payment sufficed for her as well, but if she survived a twelve-month, her estate must pay a like mortuary on pain of being "forced with ecclesiasticall censures."[99]

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92 *Johnson*, ii: 28.

93 *Ibid*, ii: 351.

94 *Ibid*, ii: 432.

95 "Such donation or alienation shall be deemed to be done through malice, or fraud, no farther proof being required." Archb. Stratford's Const. *Johnson*, ii: 393.

96 Constit. Archb. Sudbury. *Ibid*, ii: 444.

97 Constit. Archb. Gray. *Ibid*, ii: 179, 181. It would seem that the mortuary was at first a voluntary offering bequeathed by will, but gradually grew to be a custom and then a law.

98 Constit. Archb. Langham. *Ibid*, ii: 437.

99 *Lyndwood*, i: 3; *Ibid*, ii: 438.

And, in general, it was laid down that, as to this, the local custom of the church was to be followed, even if, as sometimes, it comprehended the third part of the entire estate of the dead.[100] More than this, the church not only demanded this large proportion of the property of all men, but claimed a right of supervision over the whole of that property. To make all sure, the physician was commanded, on pain of anathema, to "effectually persuade" sick persons to send immediately for the priest;[101] and men were expressly forbidden to make their wills except in presence of the parish priest;[102] and those wills had afterward to be proved and made effectual before the Bishop's court; and if a man died without making a will, the same court assumed the disposition of what he left behind him.[103] So that there was ground for the bitter taunt of Erasmus, when, moved by the sight of so many demands of "holy church" upon each of its dying members, he exclaimed: "Tot vultures ad unum cadaver!"[104]

2. Then, secondly, the low quality of all which is prescribed for salvation, stirs the conscience within him with a sense of impertinent inefficiency. The one great dogma which includes all others is, that obedience, implicit, absolute and entire, to the church, is religion.[105] This does not carry his conviction in the general, but when it comes to be subdivided into innumerable petty precepts, it makes itself in them repugnant to his common sense. Yet if difficulties are raised, the only response is an anathema upon the wickedness of unbelief.

Four sorts of obedience are enjoined upon him, if he would have everlasting life. First, and chiefly, the full and reverent performance of all the regular rites of the church. These included baptism and confirmation when an infant, and ever after arrival at maturity constant and compliant attendance

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100 *Ibid.*

101 *Johnson*, ii: 127.

102 *Ibid*, ii: 141.

103 *Ibid*, ii: 203.

104 *Familiarium Colloquiorum, Funus* (ed. 1543), 538. This whole Colloquy is aimed at these disgusting Romanist practices, and contains many hard hits at them.

105 "The religion of the people was made to consist entirely in obedience to the church. An unhesitating willingness to submit to the creed and commandments of the church, in all cases whatsoever, passed for true piety; and as every effort to advance the real spiritual good of the individual was of course regarded with suspicion by the hierarchy, very little was done for the religious instruction and excitement of the community." Giesc1er, *Text Book, Eccles. History*, 3d Period, div. v, chap. 4, sec. 145.

upon the church service for Sundays and holy-days, and, as much as might be, at daily mass, with exact obedience to every priestly command and suggestion. Second, confession with absolution, with fasting and partaking of the Eucharist three times in the year, to wit, at Easter, Pentecost and Christmas. Third — if one wanted to do more — special care to keep saints' days, and to visit their shrines. And, fourth — if this were not enough — pilgrimages and the adoration of relics.

All these seem to him to be essentially superficial. He feels within himself that he might pay all these dues to the uttermost farthing, and be a bad man still. Nay, he cannot smother the suspicion that he knows men who carry all this even to an excess of strictness, whose lives prove that they are bad, notwithstanding all,—even all the worse for the hypocrisy of this pretence of goodness. There is nothing in all this which, by any divine necessity, takes hold of the soul to change that from darkness to light. All are rather seeming and subterfuge.[106] On the other hand, there is much in it which is intrinsically so unreasonable, and even absurd, as to throw doubt upon the good faith of the whole. That it should lift the soul nearer heaven to journey to Canterbury, as Erasmus did, and kiss the sacred rust on the spear-head with which Thomas Becket was slain,[107] or to send a priest to Rome to sing masses there a year in five principal churches,[108] would not be a self-evident proposition; but around the whole subject of relics, to a shrewd Englishman — even if a peasant — of that day, we may well believe would gleam glimmerings of stupendous and impudent imposture. He might not even suspect, what so soon after became matter of demonstration, that Saint Matthew had one body at Padua, another at Rome, and a third at Thiers, besides a supplementary head and arm elsewhere; that the Virgin Mary's girdle

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[106] *Johnson*, ii: 427.

[107] R. B. Drummond, *Erasmus, his Life and Character*, i: 234. See also *Fam. Coll., Peregrinatio*, etc., 456.

[108] In 1509, £14 was left to a priest to continue a year at Rome (including going and coming) to sing at five places there — St. Peter's, Scala Celi, St. Sebastian's, St. John Lateran's and St. Gregory's — for the repose of the soul of the testator. [*Staveley* (add. MS.) 49.] Erasmus, too, represents George Balearicus as providing in his will that his elder son was, immediately after his father's funeral, to hasten to Rome, and there obtain by Papal dispensation to be made a priest before his time, to the end that: "totum annum singulis diebus sacrificaret in templo Vaticano pro anima patris, et sacros gradus in Laterano singulo quoque Veneris die genibus perreptaret." *Fam. Coll., Funus*, 544.

was shewn at eleven places in England, and her milk in eight; that there were in that favored country two or three heads of St. Ursula, Malchus's ear, the spear-head which pierced Christ's side, a piece of the beam of his manger, several fragments of his cross, and thorns from his crown; the coals which roasted St. Lawrence, and many of the stones with which Stephen was martyred, and some of his bones and blood;[109] but when he should be told that if he would go to Westminster Abbey and worship its entire collection of relics,[110] he could have indulgence for fifteen years and eighty-eight days, besides *a share in all the good done in that Monastery and nineteen other Cathedral churches*,[111] I am afraid he might scarcely estimate the value of the latter portion as worth the trouble of earning. And when he should be reminded that in Bromholme Abbey, Norfolk, was a cross which "had raysed up unto life xxxix deade persons, restored to theyr eye-sight xix blind men, and wrought manye other notable miracles,"[112] I cannot help thinking that he would be apt to say, as Thomas Becon did of St. Peter's crozier, esteemed as a great relic at Paris, and at two other places, as well: "It is truly to be thought that none of them al haue it, for in S. Peter's tyme there were no such beble-babbles;"[113] and he would be quite ready to see it proven, as it was proven toward the middle of the century, that, at Hales in Gloucestershire, where the monks pretended to show the blood of Christ in a glass tube, they really had the blood of a duck renewed weekly, and had contrived the tube with one side so thick that nothing could be visible through it, and the other side thin; and so — the pretence being that a man in mortal sin could not see the blood — when with the thick side they had frightened a sinner enough, and made him pay satisfactorily, they would slip the thin side round, and ease his mind![114]

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[109] Lord Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.* (ed. 1719), ii: 213; T. Becon, *Reliques of Rome*, Works (1560), iii: clxxxxi.

[110] J. Dart, *History of St. Peter's Westminster* (1742), i: 35–38, has several folio pages of inventory of these relics. In the Cotton MS. there is a list of relics in the cathedral at Canterbury, which takes up more than eight folio pages. He who wishes to familiarize himself with the subject and its literature, will be instructed by carefully reading John Gough Nichol's *Pilgrimages to Saint Mary of Walsingham, and Saint Thomas of Canterbury;* which is a translation of Erasmus's Colloquy, *Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*, edited with a great amount of antiquarian and other illustrative matter. Westminster, 1849. 16mo., xxiii, 248.

[111] *Dart*, i: 46.

[112] *Becon*, iii: fol. clxxxj.

[113] *Ibid*, lxxxxi.

[114] *Lord Herbert*, ii: 213.

Most provocative of unbelief would perhaps be those pretended miracles wrought by shrines and relics. We have the best opportunity to examine such in the case of those ascribed to Thomas Becket of Canterbury, hundreds of which have been described, with all their minute particulars, in the Chronicles of the monks William, and Benedict. Their range was wonderful, from the restoration of lost eyes and limbs,[115] and the raising of the dead,[116] to the recovery of missing animals,[117] the resuscitation of a gander,[118] and the transformation of vermin into pearls.[119] Of course, Becket's blood possessed miraculous power, and, lest the supply should fail, the experiment was tried of mixing it with water, and modern Homœopathists would have been charmed to see that (while pleasanter to take) in its decillionth dilution it proved to be quite as effectual as in its allopathic state.[120] Thence began a great traffic in Canterbury water. On one occasion, where ordinary water had been by mistake administered in place of this, the cure followed, because of the receiver's faith![121]

And yet, strange to say, those generations of Englishmen died, as usual, and no rumor of any general betterment of the public health, when the means of it were so easily at hand, has come down to our time. Often, indeed, it was obvious on the spot that no change was wrought in the sufferer; but that was explained as being the fault of himself or of somebody not the saint[122]—as where a blind boy whose eyes remained sealed was told it was because of sin committed before his birth.[123]

To make such things as these lauded helps whereon to climb toward the very topmost hights of holiness, must be necessarily, to the last degree, offensive to a healthy robust English conscience.[124]

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115 *Miracula S. Thomæ, auctore Willelmo Cantuariensi* [as published in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, etc., 1875], i: 156, 420, 422, 424.

116 *Ibid*, 160, 190, 199, 204, 213, etc.

117 *Ibid*, 282.

118 *Ibid*, 359.

119 *Hermanni Corneri Chronicon.* [Eccard, *Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi*, Lips. 1723], ii: 746.

120 *Miracula S. Thomæ, auctore Benedicto.* [Materials, etc.] ii: 42.

121 *Ibid*, 216; Nichols, *Pilgrimages*, etc., 226.

122 *Ibid*, 67, 109–112.

123 *Ibid*, 67.

124 *Durandus* [Lib. iiii: xlii, 8], makes this extraordinary statement: "Creditur tamen præputium [Christi] in Lateranen basilica conservari; licet a quibusdam dicatur, quod illud fuit in Hierusalem delatum ab angelo Carolo magno, qui transtulit illuc, et posuit Aquisgrani honorificè in ecclesia B. Mariæ, sed posteà Carolo Caluo positum est in ecclesia, scilicet Saluatoris, apud Crosium: *sed si hoc verum est, mirandum est!*" [The italics are mine.] The most incredulous will find no difficulty in believing the last clause.

3. But further, in the third place, our friend would be oppressed with a conviction of the ill moral quality and influence, both of the clergy and the church. It seems scarcely possible, now, to speak too severely of the ordinary, average, private character of the so-called "religious"—the celibates of the monasteries and convents—of those days in England. Indeed, it is difficult to convey such facts as are needful to any just history, without offence to a modest ear.[125] There were over three thousand monasteries and chantries, saying nothing about colleges, hospitals and other places where nuns and monks abode, and the land swarmed with them.[126] In the first year of Henry VII. their morals had become so bad, that a statute was passed providing for the punishment of crime in the "religious" as in other people. But matters grew worse and worse. And after making every due deduction which candor and charity may suggest, the official reports of the commissions appointed by Henry VIII. to examine the facts, remain strong enough to stamp with everlasting infamy a system which had well nigh reduced England to the level of Sodom; and demonstrate that a country which was open to the strollings of these filthy vagrants, lacked security of being a sweet and wholesome country for an honest man to dwell in with his family.

Nor were most of the parish priests much, if any, better. In point of scholarship there had, indeed, been some improvement since Alfred the Great declared that he did not know a single one in the most cultivated part of England who understood the ordinary prayers, or could translate Latin into his mother tongue;[127] but, as late as 1465, we find Archbishop Bouchier describing many of his clergy as persons wholly destitute both of literature and capacity, and as profligate as they were ignorant.[128] And, still later, an Archbishop of Canterbury preluded a canon designed to do something to correct the evil, with the declaration that "the ignorance of priests plunges the people into error, and the stupidness of clerks who are commanded to instruct the faithful in the Catholic faith, does rather mislead

[125] Mr. Froude gives some hints, i: 93–103, and the Statute of Henry VII. on the subject, (*Statutes of the Realm, I Henry VII.*, cap. 4) gives more. The Antonelli will-case, going on at Rome as I write, reveals the system to-day.

[126] J. Speed, *Historie of Great Britain* (ed. 1632), 1026–1028.

[127] J. Spelman, *Vita Alfred. Append.* H. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, iii: 288.

[128] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, etc., iii: 573.

than teach them."[129] While it would be easy for one who wished to put darker shadows into the picture, to find authentic material for doing so; and that by the testimony not merely of critics from without, but of sorrowing friends from within.[130] Among the latter it will be instructive to refer to Nicolas de Clamanges, Archdeacon of Bayeux, during the fifteenth century, who with shame and pain described a state of things in France quite akin to that in England; taking for his starting-point that dictum of the Apostle Peter, that it is time for judgment to begin at the house of God. After speaking of the scandal of seeing the parish priests purchasing of their bishops with money the right openly to violate their celibate vows, he goes on to accuse many of them of being disciples of Epicurus rather than of Jesus Christ, of wasting their time in low company drinking and blaspheming; from which low company, he says, they pass to the arms of their courtesans, and from the arms of those courtesans they go up to the holy altars.[131]

All this, evil as it must necessarily be, might have been antidoted, at least in part, if the influence of the church itself in its teachings, and through its rites, had been sweet and evangelic. But these, in point of fact, were so spiritually deleterious, that it is difficult to conceive how a ministry, even of saints and

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[129] *Johnson*, ii: 282, 520.

[130] Two communications of Bishop Grosseteste to his clergy are worth reading in this connection. One was written about 1244, and grieves over the fact: "habent insuper suas focarias," etc. The other, of date six years later, speaks much more strongly, deploring the popular wickedness: "Tam multiplicia mala, tam gravia, tam deformia, tam fœda, tam flagitiosa, tam facinorosa, tam scelerata, tam sacrilega," arising "ex neglectu rectorum, ex incuria pastorum, et, quod heu flendum est potius quam scribendum, ex exemplo pessimo et pernicie rabida passim et impudenter ubique serpente." In despair of any remedy, he had made up his mind to resign his bishopric, "sed intervenit auctoritas cui non parere nefas censetur, quæ nos ad tempus subtrahit vestræ præsentiæ, et a concepto salubri proposito nos retardat." [*Roberti Grosseteste, Epis. quondam Lincoln. Epistolæ*, 317, 440.] In 1530 Tyndale declared that there were 20,000 priests in England who could not translate the Lord's prayer into English [*Answer to Sir Thomas More*, 75]; and Bishop Hooper found scores of the clergy in Gloucestershire who were unable to tell who was the author of the Lord's Prayer, or where it was to be read. R. Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, 14.

[131] "Là, dans la crapule et l'ivresse, ils crient, vocifèrent, et leurs lèvres souillées blasphement le nom de Dieu, et des saints. Puis, de ces sales débauches, ils passent dans les bras de leurs courtisanes; et des bras de leurs courtisanes, ils montent aux saints autels." [*De L'Etat corrompu de l'eglise, par Matthieu Nicolas de Clamanges*, etc. See *Bibliothèque Etrangère d'Histoire et de Litterature Ancienne et Moderne*, etc., par M. Aignan (1823). Paris, iii: 46.] Among the miscellaneous publications of the Record Commissioners, there is a complaint by the gentlemen and the farmers of Carnarvonshire, accusing the clergy of the systematic seduction of their wives and daughters. [*Froude*, i: 96.] See also Petition of Clergy of Bangor (about 1536). *Ibid*, iii: 342.

unfallen angels, could have neutralized their demoralizing tendency.

First of all stood certain fundamental errors of theology running through the entire system, even in its best estate, and deadening every throb of its pulse — errors skillfully devised to meet the demands of man's lower nature. The first problem which confronted the church when she began to lose her original Congregational simplicity of form, and evangelical purity of doctrine, and became ambitious to possess the nations, and wear upon her sullied brow the diadem of the world, was how so to adjust her Christianity to the religion and the philosophy which ruled men's minds, as to present the minimum of resistance — not to say of repugnance — to their acceptance. And, laying hold of three principles which are thoroughly grounded in unregenerate human nature, by their suggestion she artfully alloyed her own system so as to allow paganism itself to be baptized, confirmed, and even canonized, without any more surrender of its own essential quality, than the bronze Jupiter passed through if it were re-christened Peter, in the Cathedral at Rome. It is natural to fallen man to shrink from direct approach to a holy God, and hard for him to make real the invisible Mediator; and so she provided him with a priestly mediator whom he could see, competent to absolve him on God's behalf, and with the Virgin Mary and a sky-full of saints, angels and martyrs, whose merits and intercessions come in between the soul and its Maker, to lull all anxiety asleep. It is natural to fallen man to prefer a symbolic and formal, to a spiritual worship; and so she created a system of symbols and forms wonderfully adjusted to the simple natures of the common people on the one hand, and to the highest æsthetic demands of the refined and cultured on the other; so that, with statuary and pictures, and music, and processions, and many-hued vestments, and incense, and genuflections, and the grandeur of cathedral architecture, she can satisfy men gentle or simple, who cannot comfortably sit down upon a hard bench to hear a plain talk about the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, revealed to the soul by faith. It is natural for fallen man to choose to *do* something, rather than to *be* something, in the way of his soul's needs. He prefers his religion

and his business somehow kept in separate packages, that they shall not alloy and spoil each other. And so she tells him: be baptized, be confirmed, confess and be absolved, take your communions regularly, make the sign of the cross, be sprinkled with holy water, do penance, obey the church, and you shall be saved; or, if you chance to get into purgatory you can be gotten out — all doing, and not (necessarily) being, at all!

And this leads to a glance at the demoralizing tendency of the specific methods by which the Romish church in England, in the days of our fathers, carried out this dangerous doctrine. Teaching that the Eucharist is the highest act and mystery of religion, even Jesus Christ ever freshly sacrificed for sin, she yet not only commanded it to be given to all duly offering themselves who were not openly scandalous in their lives,[132] but urged all to receive it thrice a year, and compelled all to come and take it at least once in the year, on pain of excommunication and the loss of Christian burial;[133] so, by solemn canon, making smooth a broad way for the sinner's feet. She instructed her votaries that, upon confession and the injunction of appropriate penance, her priests were clothed in full with God's own power to forgive sins. In the time of our fathers she had become so lenient that absolution at once followed confession, and was not, as aforetime, postponed until penance had been performed — which sometimes became deferred till inclination served, or was left to be worked out in purgatory.[134] This purgatory was among the novelties unknown to her first thousand years,[135] invented for the comfort of wicked men and the profit of her treasuries, by which she virtually said to them: eat, drink and be merry, for should you die in sin, there remaineth hope in another world, and by purgatorial discipline, aided by prayers and masses for the dead, you may be purified and raised to

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[132] "Publice et instanter petenti danda est, nisi publicum sit ejus delictum." *Wilkins*, i: 505.

[133] Constit. Archb. Sudbury. *Johnson*, ii: 444.

[134] H. Soames, *Latin Church During Anglo-Saxon Times*, 481.

[135] In Soames's *Bampton Lectures* [307–366] is a mass of evidence to the point that the Anglo-Saxon Church of England knew nothing of the Purgatorial doctrine of the Council of Trent. Purgatory not only does not appear among the deliverances of the Synod of Cliff's Hoe [A.D. 747], but is incompatible with what does there appear. Ælfric obscurely held it three centuries later. It was left for Trent [1544] first to make it an article necessary to salvation. J. A. Baxter, *Church Hist. of England*, 127; *Homilies of Ælfric*, ii: 353; Soames, *Latin Church*, etc., 203.

heaven. In keeping with this she encouraged the living, especially the pleasure-loving and the wealthy, to make provision beforehand for possible future needs, by liberal gifts and bequests[136] to the priests, and the funds and foundations of the church; for masses to be solemnized daily and monthly and yearly — for "Certeyns,"[137] and "Diriges,"[138] and "Trentals,"[139] and "Obiits,"[140] for Chapels and Chantries,[141] where prayers might be forever said for the repose of their souls.[142]

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[136] Sir John Banys of Holme-by-the-Sea, in 1503, left twenty marks [£13. 4s. 4d.] to "bye a sute of vestments of whight damask" for his soul, and to the church eighteen acres of free land, on condition that it should "kepe my *certene* in the pulpitte every Sunday for John Banys, Roger Banys, my fader, Margaret my mother, and Sir John Lee, perpetually, and, ons in the year, *dirige*." Blomefield, *Norfolk*, v: 1280.

[137] A *Certeyne* was a phrase employed to describe an arrangement by which special prayer was made for the soul of the deceased, on some fixed date. Alice Carre, Norwich, in 1523, gave her farm to the church "for a *certeyn*" to be kept annually forever for her, and her friends in the Church of St. Stephen, for which the curate was to have 4s. 4d., two children were to have a penny a piece for singing the versicles, and the sexton 12d. for ringing a peal. She gave also her coral beads to the beautifying the image of "Our Lady" on festival days. *Ibid*, ii: 613.

[138] A *Dirige* was a service which took its name from the first word of the funeral psalm, *Dirige gressus meos*, whence our word "dirge."

[139] A *Trental* was a collection of thirty masses said on thirty consecutive days for the repose of a dead man. The same thing was known in English as a *Months-mind*. Bp. Fleetwood, *Chron. Preciosum* (1707), 133.

[140] An *Obiit* seem to have been an annual service of this same description. In 1474, Dr. Botwright, vicar of Swaffham, ordered his *Obiit* yearly kept, and the church wardens were to pay the vicar 5d. and the parish clerk 4d., according to his order on the eve of St. Alpheges in every April, for the service. *Staveley* (add. MS.) pref. 7.

[141] A *Chantry* was a chapel built and funded for the express purpose of being used for the constant chanting of masses, for the good estate of the living or the repose of the dead. Usually each had one or more chantry priests. Lee, *Glossary*, sub voce.

[142] Wealthy persons, especially if they had gained their wealth at the expense of a troubled conscience, used often to devise largely in these directions, and even the most devout sometimes availed of this expedient to add to their spiritual safety. James Goldwell, who died in 1475, Bishop of Norwich, left all balance of his estate after certain legacies, to pay forever three chaplains to spend their time in praying for his soul. [*Blomefield*, ii: 613.] So, in 1384, William Basset, rector of Hetherset, gave a messuage to the Collegiate Church in Norwich to pay the expenses of daily remembering his soul, and those of Henry and Maud, his parents, in their morning mass forever, each by his or her several name. [*Ibid.*] So, in 1531, W. Keye of Garboldesham, left lands: (1) to be prayed for by convents of "fryers" in three several towns, and by one house of nuns; (2) to an "abil Preest to synge Divine service for my sowle, and the sowlys of all my good Frendes, by the space of an hoole yere in St. John Baptists Cherche;" (3) to "find yerely evermore v. Gawdes [tapers] Brennyng before our Lady in the chancel:" (4) to the yerely keeping of his *Obit* day for five years; (6) to a preaching friar at Thetford to "say a sermon yerely evermore, on Tuesday in Estern week, and to synge messe of Requiem in the church of St. John of Garboldesham, and to the parson and his deputy to say *Dirige;*" (7) to have always "on Monday in Eastern week vi. busheles of malte brewed and iij. Bushells of whete baken, and ijs. in chese, to the releefe and comfort of the parishioners of Garboldesham, there being at *Dirige* on the said Monday to pray for my sowle, and the sowles of all my good Frendes, and to the fryer iiij d. to remember me in his messe." [*Ibid*, i: 182.] Quite in keeping with this was a clause in the will of James

But even this was not enough, and so this infallible church, which never changes, developed still another novelty to sanctify wickedness; declaring that she has been intrusted with power from God to remit both the temporal and eternal punishment of sin; both or either, wholly or partially; and so, for money, she granted indulgence of days or months, or years — being the remission during that period of time of the punishment incurred by the transgressor.[143] After this, whenever money was especially wanted, whether to build a cathedral or to repair a bridge, it was obtained by the sale of indulgences; practically breaking down all barriers against ungodliness, and tempting men to do evil.[144]

Cooke of Sporle, in 1506: "*Item.* I will that myn Executors, as sone as it may come to ther knowledg that I am dede, that they make a *Drynkyng for my soul* to the value of 6s. 8d. in the church of Sporle." [*Ibid*, iii: 443.] And Ethelred Barrowe, by her will, proved in 1513, ordered the maintenance of "a yerely *give-ale* while the world endured," to consist of "a quarter of malt, and vi. bushels of wheat, and victual accordant thereto." E. Hasted, *Hist. Kent*, iv: 353.

143 Lee, *Glossary*, sub voce.

144 I have thought it worth while to copy here from the blackletter original in the British Museum [bound in *Staveley*, opp. p. 1 of Contents] the following specimen:

"Unto all maner & synguler Christen people beholdynge or berynge these present letters shall come gretynge:

"Our holy fathers xii. Cardynallys of Rome chosen by ye mercy of Almighty God, and by the auctorite of these Appostles Peter and Paule, to all and synguler cristen people of eyther kynde trewely penytent & confessyd, and devoutly gyve to the churche of our lady and seynct George the martyr in Southwerke, protector of this Realme of Englande, anythynge or helpe with any parte of theyr goodes to the Repācions or maynteynynge the servyce of almyghty god done in the same place as in gyvynge any boke, belle, or lyght, or any other churchly ornamentes; they shall haue of eche us Cardinallys syngulerly aforesayd a C. dayes of pardon.

"Also there is founded in the same parysshe churche aforesayd iii. chauntre preests ppetually to praye in the sayd churche for the Brethrene & Systers of the same Fraternite, and for the soules of theym that be departed, and for all cristen soules. And also iiii. tymes by the yere Placebo and Dirige with xiiii. preests and clerkes, with iii. solempne Masses, one of our Lady, another of seynt George, with a masse of Requiem.

"Moreover our holy Fathers Cardynallys of Rome aforesayd hathe graunted the pardons yt followeth to all theym that be Bretherne and Systers of the same Fraternite at euery of the feestis folowynge, that is to say the firste Sonday after the feest of seynt John Baptyst, on the whiche feest the same churche was halowed, xii.C. days of p.don.

"Also the feest of saynt Michaell ye Archangell, xii.C. dayes of pardon.

"Also the second Sonday in Lent, xii.C. dayes of pardon.

"Also on good Frydaye, the whiche daye Criste sufferyd his passion, xii.C. dayes of pardon.

"Also the Tewysday in the Wytsonweeke, xii.C. dayes of pardon.

"And also at euery feest of our Lord [gone] gulerly by hymselfe, from the firste euynsonge to the second euynsonge inclusively, xii.C. dayes of p.don.

"Also my lorde Cardynall & Chancellor of Englande hath gyuen a C. days of p.don.

"The sūme of the pardon cōmeth to in the yere. xii.CCCC.x.xl. dayes of pardon.

"The sūme of the masses that is sayd and songe within the same Parysshe Churche of seynt George is a M. and xliiii.— God saue the Kynge!"

In 1360, the Bishop of Carlisle granted forty days' indulgence to all who should contribute toward the rebuilding of Salkeld-bridge [*Hist. West.*, ii: 415]. The Pope granted to the Augustinian monks of Kirkby-Belers, Leices-

As the natural result, things came to such a pass that we learn on the authority of an Archbishop of York, that in the latter half of the fifteenth century impudent friars granted indulgences of their own, dispensing with vows, absolving from murders, perjuries and other crimes, compounding felonies, remitting penances, falsely pretending to people that they had delivered their dead friends from purgatory, and neutralizing all civil and ecclesiastical discipline.[145]

Another fertile element of practical demoralization was the doctrine that every church was, *ex officio*, a sanctuary for criminals. Durandus traces the custom to Old Testament days, when Joab ran to the horns of the altar;[146] and it has been in our time defended as wise and merciful to give thus in the ruder days of England to innocence a shelter, and crime at least the chance of dispassionate investigation;[147] but the practical effect grew to be that of offering the premium of church privilege to atrocities of every grade. Whatever offender could outrun the officers of justice and first get hold of the ring of the church door, crying out: "Peto pacem Dei, et Ecclesiæ,"[148] was beyond their power, and no civil court could take him thence for trial.[149] The priests were bound by canon law to provide him victuals. He had a range of thirty paces from the church, and forty, if it were a Bishop's church.[150] He had to take an oath to be true and faithful to the Archbishop and the provost, canons and priests; not to bear any weapon; and to make himself useful in ringing the

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tershire, a grant of indulgence for the raising of money for repairing and maintaining the church and convent, which Henry VIII. endorsed with the Broad Seal. So the monks went up and down the country gathering contributions and giving indulgences therefor: large sheets of paper with pictures of SS. Paul and Peter at the top, with the Pope's arms on the right, and the King's on the left. One clause was as follows: "If they say one *Pater Noster* with *Ave* for the soules of Sir Roger Beler and Alys his wyfe, Founder & Founders, or any of the Benefactours thereof, they have seven yeres and two hundreth Dayes of pardon, whansomever, or wheresoever they so do." [*Staveley*, 100.] The University of Oxford said this about indulgences: "Hodie indulgentiarum papalium tam larga, tam prodiga, et tam frequens concessio a plerisque venalis creditur, sicquod populo quasi contemptibilis jam vilescit; quosdam vero procliviores efficit ad peccandum, et ad opera pœnitentiæ tardiores; et ideo videtur expediens ordinare remedium in præmissis." *Wilkins*, iii: 361.

145 *Johnson*, ii: 521.

146 *Rationale*, Lib. i: i, 49.

147 Baxter, *Church Hist. of Eng.*, 94.

148 "Cucurrit, et arrepto Ecclesiæ annulo, alta voce exclamavit, dicens: Peto pacem Dei et Ecclesiæ." Rogeri de Houeden, *Annalium* (pars posterior) ed. Lond. 1596, 442.

149 If he could be gotten away by persuasion, he ran his own risk. Perkin Warbeck took sanctuary at Beaulieu in New Forest, but the King lured him into his possession by the promise of his life. Lord Bacon, *History Henry VII.*, 184.

150 *Johnson*, ii: 198.

bells and at mass.[151] If he were a priest he could remain thus indefinitely. But if he were a layman he must take early opportunity to leave the kingdom, making oath not to return without royal license, after which oath he was to go the nearest road to a seaport and by the first opportunity embark, being deemed still in sanctuary until out of sight of land.[152] At one time it was enjoined upon the clergy, on every Lord's day in the year, to remind the people of the wickedness of violating this sanctuary privilege.[153] The amount of the influence of this provision for thwarting the ends of justice, even in small towns, must have been something wonderful. The original parchment register of persons thus taking the oath of sanctuary in the church of St. John at Beverley in Yorkshire, is in the library of the British Museum, running from the spring of 1478, some sixty years. As nearly as I could make out from its fading records, it, in that time, was instrumental in shielding from four to five hundred scoundrels of various turpitude from their just deserts.[154]

But the clearest demonstration of the deadly moral influence of the Romish church in England is seen in her teaching and dealing with her members when they approached the end of earth; when, faithful to herself, she injected her formulæ almost to bursting with the venom of the reliance upon some other foundation than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. When a man sickened the priest was to be sent for,[155] and if

[151] *Harleian MS.*, No. 4292 [reverse of p. 17] contains the form of this oath taken at the church of St. John, Beverley, Yorkshire, thus: "Sir, tak hede on your oth! Ye shal be trew and feythful to my Lord Archbishop of York, lord off this towne, to the pr.vst of the same, to the chanons of this chirch, and all othir minstrs therof. Also ye shal bere gude hert to the baillie and xii governors of this town, to all burges' and comyners of thessame. Also ye shall bere no poynted wapen, daggr, knyfe, ne none other wapen agenst the Kyngs pece. Also ye shalbe redy at all yor power ifther be any debate or stryfe or odr. sothan case of fyre within the town, to help to scess it. Also ye shalbe redy at the obite of Kyng Athelstan, at the Dirige and the Messe at such time as it is done, at the warnyng of the belman of the town, and do your dewte at ryngyng, and for to offer at the messe on the morne. So help you god, and thies holy Evangelists. "And then gar hym kysse the Book."

[152] *Johnson*, ii: 198.

[153] *Constitutio Dom. Othoboni*, tit. 12 (*Lyndwood*); *Johnson*, ii: 229.

[154] *Harleian MS.*, No. 4292. The earliest entry [folio 17, of this beautiful parchment volume] is in the 18th of Edward IV [1478], when William and John Salvan, Esqs., John Heghfeld, gent, with George Waller and John Hunt, took sanctuary after the murder of Henry Hardewyk, 13 April. On the 23d May following, John Boys of Doram obtained sanctuary for the murder of one Baxter, a Cistercian monk. The Bailiff had 2s. 4d. fee for administering the oath, and the clerk got 4d. for making the record.

[155] "When it happens that he is called to a sick man, let him [the physician] first effectually persuade him [the sick man] to call for the physician of the soul, under pain of anathema," etc. *Johnson*, ii: 127.

death seemed approaching the sacrament of extreme unction was to be administered. The priest was directed by rubric to put on his surplice and to carry with him his stole, and, preceded by an assistant ringing an hand-bell "to stir up the devotion of the faithful by its sound," and by another bearing the consecrated oil, he was to carry "the body of the Lord" in a clean box, covered with a very clean linen cloth, with a clean silver or tin dish for giving the washings of his fingers to be drunk after the taking of the Eucharist.[156] Arrived at the bedside of the dying, after an invocation and the chanting of the seventy-first Psalm, with the *Gloria Patri*, the priest prayed, and while his assistants chanted the thirteenth Psalm — the *Gloria Patri* following every Psalm — he dipped his thumb in the oil and marked with it the sign of the cross over each eye, saying — all was, of course, in Latin, but I translate[157] — "By this anointing and His most gracious pity, may God pardon thee whatsoever sin thou hast committed by the sense of sight." Then followed the thirtieth Psalm, and the anointing of the ears, with absolution of all sin due to the sense of hearing.[158] Then the forty-third Psalm, with anointing of the lips, and corresponding absolution from sin due to the sense of taste, and of improper speech.[159] Then was chanted the fifty-fourth Psalm, with anointing of the nostrils, and absolution of all sin proceeding thence.[160] Next followed the seventieth Psalm, with anointing of the inside of the hands, and corresponding absolution.[161] Next the eighty-sixth Psalm, during which the priest anointed the back between the loins, if the sick person were a man, the navel, if a woman, with absolution for all sin of improper thoughts and acts of lust.[162] Then the priest washed his hands with salt and water (what remained of the oil being burned, or buried in the churchyard) and pronounced this benediction over the sick: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, let this anointing of oil purify thy soul and body, and defend

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156 *Johnson*, ii: 139.

157 "Per istam unctionem, et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Deus quicquid peccasti per visum. Amen." *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, De extrema unctione.

158 "Per auditum." *Ibid.*

159 "Per gustum, et illicita verba." *Ibid.*

160 "Per odoratum." *Ibid.*

161 "Per tactum." *Ibid.*

162 "In dorso inter lumbos maris, vel super umbilicum mulieris;" . . . "per illicitas cogitationes, et per ardorem libidinis." *Ibid.*

and fortify thee against the attacks of evil spirits."[163] After the further chanting of the one hundred and forty-first Psalm, and a Collect, the sick man was directed to confess to the priest any sins occurring to his memory for which he had not already received absolution. He was then asked whether he believed the wafer held up before him to be the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,[164] and when he said "credo" in answer, if he were so sick that vomiting might ensue,[165] or that he could not chew and swallow the wafer, he was to be told that his faith and good intent were sufficient without receiving it.[166] Otherwise the priest put on his stole[167] and gave him the wafer, saying: "Corpus Domini Nostri Jesu Christi. custodiat corpus tuum et animam tuam, in vitam æternam. Amen."[168] The one hundred and forty-sixth Psalm, with collects and benedictions, with the sign of the cross, concluded the service.[169]

To make these things as vivid as we may, let us imagine that the man whose mental and spiritual processes we have sought to outline, and who has now grown to have a clear conviction, with an intense feeling, of the hollowness, heathenism and blasphemy of all this, comes home from a stealthy journey into a neighboring county, where he has at last discovered the retreat of a Lollard, and for the first time had the privilege to read nearly the whole of the New Testament in a manuscript copied from the version of Wyclif; comes home now for the first time able with complete satisfaction to himself to defend the proposition that God abhors these mummeries, and that pure religion and undefiled consists in reconciliation to Him through His crucified Son received by faith, the gift of the Holy Spirit to

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163 "In nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, sit tibi hæc olei unctio, ad purificationem mentis et corporis, et ad munimen et defensionem, contra jacula immundorum spirituum. Amen." *Ibid.*

164 "Frater, credis quod sacramentum quod tractatur in altari sub forma panis, est verum corpus et sanguis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi." *Ibid.*

165 "Nisi de vomitu, vel alia irreverentia probabiliter timeatur." [*Ibid.*] The rule seems to have been this: "the sacrament should be administered whilst the sick can swallow it, and never to any who are half alive; because it must be eaten according to that saying of our Lord's: qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meam, in me manet, et ego in eo." *Ælfric's Second Epistle. Soames*, 309.

166 "Frater, in hoc casu sufficit tibi vera fides, et bona voluntas; tantum crede, et manducasti." *Manuale*, etc.

167 "Sacerdos vero in infirmis communicandis stola induetur." Rubric, *Ibid.*

168 *Ibid.*

169 *Ibid.* I have given the numbering of all these Psalms as they stand in our common version, because that (slightly different) of the rubric would mislead the reader.

penitence and prayer, with a sincere, loving and useful life; comes home to find his mother, having received the last office in the afternoon, dying in the twilight. She knows him, and her glazing eyes lighten toward his, and her stiffening fingers answer a little his loving pressure. "Oh, my mother," with streaming tears, he says, "Oh, my mother, trust in Christ now! Pray to Christ now; not to the Virgin nor the saints! Christ is the only one who can help and bless you now! They are all poor sinners like the rest of us! Oh, trust in Christ alone, now!" But, suddenly, he feels himself rudely thrust aside. The priest and his clergy have come running with all speed,[170] and they take possession of the bedside, that they may say and sing the "Commendatio animæ in articulo mortis," while the neighbors pack the room; and, while the passing-bell sounds without, they recite the creed, seven penitential Psalms, and the Gloria Patri. Then the priest says three times over, and his assistants repeat as many times: "Parce Domine, parce famulo tuo quem redimere dignatus es pretioso sanguine tuo: ne in æternum irascaris ei." Then followed the litany prescribed for such an hour, in which God the Father of heaven, the Son of God, Redeemer of the world, and the Holy Spirit, the Sacred Trinity, and the Holy God of Saints, who is three and one, were besought to pity "the soul of thy servant." Then holy Mary, sacred mother of God, sacred virgin of virgins, was besought to intercede for the dying woman. Then Saints Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, and all holy angels and archangels; and all holy ranks of blessed spirits; and Saints John the Baptist, and all holy patriarchs and prophets; Saints Peter, and Paul, and Andrew, and Matthew, and Thomas, and James, and John, and Philip, and James, and Bartholomew, and Simon, and Jude, and Matthias, and Mark, and Luke, and Barnabas, and all holy apostles and evangelists; and all holy disciples of the Lord, and innocents; and Saints Stephen, and Linus, and Cletus, and Clemens, and Cornelius, and Lawrence, and Sixtus, and Vicentus, and George, and Fabian, and Sebastian, and Alban, and Edmund, and Blasus, and Dionysius with his company, and Eustachius with his company, and Gervase, and Protasius, and Cosmas, and Damian,

170 "Percutiatur tabula minute et acriter, et tunc omnes clerici cum summa velocitate accurrant et dicant, etc." Rubric, *Manuale usum ad Sarum.*

and John, and Paul, and Crispin, and Crispinian, and all holy martyrs; and Saints Benedict, and Silvester, and Nicolas, and Martin, and Hilary, and Ambrose, and Jerome, and Augustine, and Birinus, and Swithin, and Æthelwold, and Dunstan, and Cuthbert, and Leonard, and Giles, and all holy confessors, and all holy monks and hermits; and Saints Mary Magdalene, and Mary of Egypt,[171] and Felicitas, and Perpetua, and Cecilia, and Lucia, and Agatha, and Agnes, and Fides, and Catharine, and Scholastica, and Juliana, and Margaret, and Anastasia, and Petronella, and Edith, and Bridget, and all holy virgins, and all saints, were each entreated: "intercedite pro anima ejus!" And although the next petition implored the Lord by His cross and passion, and by His death and resurrection, to deliver the soul, yet this was so swathed and smothered in the garments of superstition as to rob it of all life and power, it being expressly desired in the name of angels and archangels, and in the name of thrones and dominions and principalities and powers, and of all celestial virtues, and of cherubim and seraphim, and patriarchs and prophets, and apostles and martyrs, and confessors and bishops, and priests and Levites, and all officials of the Church Catholic, and monks and anchorites, and in the name of virgins and faithful widows.

Then the key-note changed again, and God was asked to liberate the soul of his servant as he liberated Enoch and Elijah from ordinary death, and Lot from Sodom and its flames, and Isaac from the hand of his father Abraham, and Moses from Pharoah, and Job from his troubles,[172] and David from the hand of Goliath and the hand of Saul, and Daniel from the lions' den, and the three children from the burning fiery furnace, and Susanna from a false charge,[173] and Peter and Paul from their bonds.

And after this manner the service went droning on: all in a language which it was entirely possible that not one single person in the room understood; and which it was absolutely certain could carry no idea whatever to the departing soul, even so long as every utterance might remain audible to the enfeebling ear. Alas, that, for millions of our race, the jargon of these

[171] "Maria Ægyptiaca." *Ibid.*

[172] "De passionibus suis." *Ibid.*

[173] "Sicut liberasti Susannam de falso crimine." *Ibid.*

human, if not unknown, names crowding out the "one name," must have been the last consciousness of earth!

It could hardly be that the anguish of such moments should not overcome all thoughts of prudence, and that the son should not, even with violence, break through the cordon of ecclesiastics, that he may appeal once more, before it shall be too late, to her whom his soul loves, with his eager, almost frantic: "None but Christ, mother; oh, none but Christ, now!"

More than suspected before, long disliked and hounded by the priest and his minions, and only tolerated to this time for the double reason of the fidelity of his parents to the church, and his own reticent blamelessness, which made it difficult to lodge a charge against him; the now out-spoken "heretic" would be dragged quick away even from his dead mother's side; while the wake[174] and the funeral service[175] kept up around the corpse, until it was buried out of sight forever, that paganized Christianity or Christianized paganism, which then dominated the entire life of England from the cradle to the grave.

Put in ward, and called to answer; committed by his sudden avowal, and true to his now firm conviction; he would calmly face the fury of his accusers, and boldly state and earnestly defend his faith; and, most likely, remanded for a further hearing, the terror of excommunication would be tried upon him, and the priest, on the Sabbath, at high mass, some one holding up the cross, and a candle, would "by the authority of God the Father omnipotent, and the blessed Virgin Mary, and all the saints," excommunicate, anathematize and commend him to the devil; and go on to declare him cursed "in villis, in campis, in viis, in semitis, in domibus, extra domos, et in omnibus aliis locis; stando, jacendo, surgendo, ambulando, currendo, vigi-

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[174] "It is a devout custom of the faithful to observe night-watches, in behalf of the dead before their burial, and to do so sometimes in private houses, to the intent that the faithful there meeting together, and watching might devoutly intercede for them with God." [Constit. Archb. Stratford. *Johnson*, ii: 394.] The same authority adds the significant, and not unnatural statement: "These watchings are become rendezvous for adulteries, fornications, thefts and other misdoings," etc. *Ibid.*

[175] The chief clauses in the prayer of sepulture were: ut animam famuli tui cujus corpori debitum sepulturæ officium persolvimus, in sinum Abrahæ patriarchæ tui jubeas collocari; ut cum dies agnitionis tuæ advenerit, inter sanctos et electos tuos eum resuscitari præcipias. . . . Ut intercedente beata Dei genetrice Maria, cum omnibus sanctis tuis, peccatorum eis largiri digneris indulgentian, et in novissimo die beatæ resurrectionis lætitium," etc. *Missale ad usum Sarum.*

lando, dormiendo, comedendo, bibendo, et aliud opus faciendo, et illum a luminibus et omnibus bonis ecclesiæ sequestramus, et diabolo damnamus; et in pœnis inferni animam ei extinguamus, sicut extinguitur ista candela" — when the candle would be put out, and thrown down, and all the bells be tolled — "nisi resipiscat, et ad satisfactionem veniat."[176]

This would exceedingly terrify and grieve his poor old father, but he is himself now beyond being moved by it. It made it unlawful for his nearest friends to come at or converse with him,[177] and his servant, if he had one, must leave him within eight days[178] — all on pain of like usage themselves; and his goods would be confiscate.[179]

It would end with the Bishop's prison, perhaps for months without formal trial. Here while awaiting his crown of martyrdom, he would have ample leisure, not without some promptings, to consider the fourth difficulty which troubled him with regard to the church. I have now discussed, in the first place, the interference of that church with men's affairs; in the second place, the low quality of all which she prescribed for men's spiritual needs; and, in the third place, her ill moral character and influence. That difficulty was:

4. Her intolerable tyranny over the human mind. She had one simple principle with regard to this, and one only, — that it was her right to prescribe to men in all respects their faith and conduct, and their duty to obey her behests. They had no right to call in question her authority, to discuss or even to inquire, except to make her intent more clear to their minds.[180] She allowed them no appeal. She could tell them what the Bible said, and meant, and they were to take her word for it. There was to be no Bible in any hand but hers, and when wicked men, like Wyclif, pretended to translate it into

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[176] Becon, *Reliques of Rome*, Works iii, fol. ccclxxxiii, verso.

[177] *Johnson*, ii: 313.

[178] *Ibid*, ii: 196.

[179] *Ibid*, ii: 461.

[180] "Let no one presume to dispute of things determined by the church, . . . either publicly or privately; unless it be in order to get the true meaning of them; nor call in question the authority of the said decrees, decretals or constitutions, or the authority of him that made them; or preach contrary to their determination, especially concerning the adoration of the glorious cross, the veneration of the images of saints, or pilgrimages to their places and relics, etc. . . . Let him that asserts, teaches, preaches, or pertinaciously intimates the contrary, incur the penalties of heresy," etc. Constit. Archb. Arundel, *Johnson*, ii: 468.

English, she forbade that it be read, "in whole or in part, in public or in private, under pain of the greater excommunication."[181] People were to read no book, whatsoever, which she had not first examined and approved.[182] And to make it sure that these awfully severe regulations did not fall into disuse, three men, or more, in every parish were to be kept sworn "on God's holy Gospels" to make diligent inquiry, at least twice in every year, and to report to the Bishop's officers, any "who keep private conventicles, or differ in their life and manners from the generality of the faithful, or who maintain heresies, or errors, or have suspected books written in the vulgar English tongue, or that entertain persons suspected of heresy, or that favor such."[183] If convicted of heresy, such suspects were delivered over to the secular power to be burned, their property being confiscated.[184] And to make sure that they should be convicted, any person, though himself excommunicate and infamous, might be a legal witness against them; nor could he afterward null his own evidence in such a case by declaring himself foresworn in the same; though if he had first deposed in favor of one accused of heresy, and afterward sworn the contrary, the second oath stood and not the first![185]

Surely no condition of mental slavery could be imagined more comprehensive, and more absolute, than this. And that these bloody statutes meant what they said, and were enforced to the last letter of their horrible injustice, the teeming pages of good old John Fox — patient, candid, honest, and in the main singularly accurate — will hold their own to all coming time, as well against the sneers of modern High-Churchmen, as against the angry denunciations of his contemporary Papists, in abundant and sufficient evidence.

Such was the England into which our religious fathers were born, as it was entering upon the sixteenth century of the Christian era. The Word of God was withdrawn from men. There was no open vision of a Saviour. The man of sin was revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself against

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181 *Ibid*, ii: 466. *Lyndwood*, Lib. v, tit. 4.
182 *Johnson*, ii: 465.
183 Constit. Abp. Chicheley. *Johnson*, ii: 482.
184 *Ibid.*
185 *Ibid*, ii: 474. Only proved personal malice was an allowed exception against a witness in such a case. *De Hæreticis. Lyndwood*, Lib. v, tit. 5.

all that is called God, and against all worship, even to seat himself in the temple of God, and openly declare himself a God; even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness. The Gospel had been degraded into another Gospel, which was not another. Except for a man to trudge wearily obedient his daily tread-mill round of appointed idolatries, led by ecclesiastics whom he felt to be bad in an ecclesiasticism which he could not feel to be good; there was nothing for him but a brief, blind, instinctive and ineffectual struggle for something better he knew not what, swiftly ending in bell, book and candle, and the funeral pyre, or a craven submission, abjuration and absolution, which left his last state worse than the first. It was like trying to breathe in an exhausted receiver. The light that was in the land had become darkness, and how great was that darkness! For many, for that gross and pleasure-loving multitude whose concern was to eat and drink in the days before they should die, this state of things was not grievous; neither could they understand why it need be grievous to any. But to God's elect; to those whose eyes had been anointed that they should see, and whose hearts had been touched that they should feel, it was grievous; it was insupportable.

Yet dawn-streaks had already begun to flush the sky. What needed to be done was somehow to bring men back to the primitive fundamental doctrine that God's Word is the one only fountain and authority of religious belief, and to a deep conviction of sin, and the original practical principle that salvation is from Christ through faith, and not from the church, or from any human arrangements or ceremonies whatsoever. So that, as one of our own late writers has discreetly said: "Whoever, whether in the chair of theology, in the pulpit, through the devotional treatise, or by fostering the study of languages and of history, or in perilous combat with ecclesiastical abuses, drew the minds of men to the Scriptures and to a more spiritual conception of religion, was, in a greater or less measure, a reformer before the Reformation."[186] He might have said: "a Congregationalist

[186] Prof. G. P. Fisher, *The Reformation*, 54. | C. Ullman, *Reformers bef. Reformat'n*, passim.

before Congregationalism." I use the word Congregationalism to designate that system of thought, faith and practice which, starting with the dictum that the conditions of church life are revealed in the Bible, and are to be thence evolved by reverent common sense, assisted, but never controlled by, all other sources of knowledge; interprets that book as teaching the reality and independent competency of the local church, and the duty of fraternity and co-working between such churches; from these two truths — as an ellipse from its foci — symmetrically developing its entire system of principles, privileges and obligations. Loose thinkers may hastily claim that what I name as the fundamental principle of Congregationalism, to wit: that all which the Scriptures reveal as essential to human thinking and living is so, and that nothing is, or can be, thus essential, which they do not reveal, is the corner-stone of Protestantism in general, rather than of our own polity in particular. But no Protestant Episcopalian can deny that there is much in his system due to the traditions of the elders; and no Methodist claims Wesley's Class-meetings, Bishops, General Conferences and waning Itinerancy to be the unmixed growth of Scripture; and every intelligent Presbyterian must be aware that his church Eldership was a contrivance of John Calvin as the best he could do to meet the exigencies in which he found himself in Geneva, and that the proof texts which "the Book" assigns as its authority for the Synods, and the General Assembly, and many other things, fully to justify such use, require an imagination more vivid and creative than that by aid of which the ancients fastened the *Ursa Major* upon the concave sky, by the golden nails of seven or eight glittering stars. But if we throw out, thus, the monarchic and autocratic and aristocratic polities, as having some other foundation than that which is laid in Gospels, Acts and Epistles, what have we left but the democratic, to be the simply Scriptural system. It follows, therefore, that every man along the centuries who has done anything, directly or indirectly, to enthrone the Bible over the faith and piety of the race, has — often building better than he knew — struck a blow for Congregationalism, and should have her grateful remembrance.

Did opportunity serve, it would be a fascinating labor to consider, in detail, all earlier harbingers of the Reformation, and

what, under God, each contributed to the grand result in England. Bishop Grossteste with his simple, bold spirit, his love of the Bible, and his horror of all church abuses; Wyclif, a Puritan of the Puritans before there was a Puritan, disowning and denouncing almost every Papal doctrine, defending men's right to a vernacular Gospel, and giving them one in manuscript, nobly earning a hundred martyrdoms and yet Divinely protected so wonderfully that Fuller could quaintly say:[187] "admirable! that a hare so often hunted with so many packs of dogs, should die at last quietly sitting in his form;" pure and self-sacrificing John Colet, kindling his soul at Savonarola's torch in that great Florentine's earlier and better days,[188] and turning aside from the brilliant career offered by the Court, to devote himself to imbibing, expounding and imparting the very spirit of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, too early earning the inscription that was laid, with many tears, upon his coffin:[189] "ob vitæ integritatem et divinum concionandi munus, omnium sui temporis fuit charissimus;" the nervous, fun-loving, sceptical, liberal, tender Erasmus, the incarnation of humanism, the apostle of common sense, the most cultivated scholar of his age, and the man who brought the New Testament in its original out of mediæval contempt and oblivion, back to the modern world, and taught it to read the same; Latimer and Ridley, who at a cost of £1. 5s. 2d. to Queen Mary's government,[190] lit "such a candle by God's grace, in England, as shall never be put out;"[191] Tyndale, simple, earnest, heroic, who embalmed himself in our English Bible in that exquisite grace of language which makes it dear to all who love our vernacular, and who, for this, perhaps, deserves preëminence in this glance at these forerunners of the Reformation;[192] Thomas More, whom Erasmus declared to be the one genius of England,[193] and who, living in the midst of all the mental bondage and superstí-

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187 *Church History of Britain* (ed. 1845, Oxford), ii: 362.

188 F. Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers* (1869), 18, 37, 158.

189 *Ashmolean MSS.*, Oxford, 77–141, a.

190 Bill of charges for burning Ridley and Latimer, [R. Demaus, *Life of Latimer*, 524.]

191 *Ibid*, 523.

192 Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, 485.

193 "Whose breast was whiter than snow, to whom in point of genius, England, though the parent of men of distinguished ability, never has produced, and never will produce, any one who bears the slightest resemblance." *Ecclesiastes, sive Concionator Evangelicus. Opera Erasmi* (ed. Basle) v: 642.

tion which I have described, had the vigor to conceive and the boldness to outline an ideal commonwealth, still — will it always be — the creature of imagination alone; a Utopia, where they "counte nothynge so muche against glorie, as glory gotten in warre;"[194] where every child had discreet education,[195] and where it was the fundamental statute that: "it should be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietly and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking and inuehing against other;"[196] — such men as these would well repay the research demanded to comprehend what was the breadth, and length, and depth and hight of the exact legacy of each to a brighter future!

Luther came very near to the discovery, if not the reproduction, of the primitive Congregational way. Himself a great-hearted man of the people, he was one with them, and did not start back with instinctive repugnance from the very thought of popular government. Three causes appear to have checked his progress in the direction I have indicated; the first, that he was so overwhelmed with a sense of the doctrinal work needed to secure a reformation, that, not having had experience how vital must be the relation between them, he under-estimated the importance of the form assumed by church life; the second, that he reacted from the Anabaptist, and kindred fanaticisms, which might not unnaturally awaken his solicitude as to excessive freedom in religion; and the third, and chiefest, that circumstances — which he interpreted as bringing the behest of God — seemed to point toward ecclesiastical arrangements in which princes should lead, and the people follow and conform. Thus, while both he and Zwingle interpreted the Bible to teach that all ecclesiastical power inheres, under Christ, in the congregation of believers, the matter ended in an organization of Superintendents and Consistories, which gradually became fatally mixed up with the State."[197]

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194 Sir T. More's *Utopia* [orig. printed in Latin, 1516. Englished by R. Robinson, 1551, and second and revised edition, 1556]. Arber's reprint, 1869, 131.

195 *Ibid*, 93, 94, 103, 106, etc.

196 *Ibid*, 145.

197 G. P. Fisher, *The Reformation*, 488–495. J. C. L. Gieseler [*Text Book of Ch. History*, (H. B. Smith's ed.) iv: 518], gives citations from Luther and Zwingle proving this view.

Calvin started out for his work from a different side of the field, and as the twig was bent the tree inclined. He was never a man of the people. Taken out of his own, to be educated by a noble family, the surroundings of his life exaggerated the natural bent of his mind. Using the term as one of definition, and not of reproach, he was an aristocrat; and the thinness and aridity of his physical nature conjoined with the keenness of his intellect, to dissociate him from the multitude. Moreover, he had not merely a belief in authority, but an appetite for it. Had opportunity offered, and the grace of God permitted, he could have been a despot; nor did he lack much of earning that title, as it was. Approaching the New Testament with such predispositions, and called upon in haste to organize both civil and ecclesiastical government in Geneva, one could hardly expect him to evolve from the Acts of the Apostles the democratic polity.

Where the Word of God is sincerely preached and heard, and the sacraments duly administered, there, he taught, must be the church of God.[198] Such a church included the whole body, both of clergy and laity who were generally of the same faith, and accustomed to meet together as a company and community. That is, all citizens of Christendom were assumed to be Christians until proof to the contrary[199]—a condition of affairs as unscriptural, and as really evil, as that existing in England itself; and one which, in connection with the shape assumed by civil affairs in Switzerland — the church dwelling within the State, much as the soul vitalizes the body — resolved church discipline into police control, and *vice versa.* Not concealing his decided preference for an aristocracy as a bet-

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198 *Institutio Christianæ Religionis,* Lib. iv, chap. i, sec. 9.

199 Bungener puts it thus: "The ideal which Calvin was soon to follow out to its extremest applications, was that of the *Christian* state; Christian in the details, as well as in the general spirit of its laws, and considering itself responsible before God for all the actions of the citizens. Thus understood, the Christian state necessarily becomes the Church-State. It rules as a sovereign faith, which is the foundation of the edifice; it rules as a sovereign all that is to be reared upon that foundation — all without exception, for there is nothing, Christianly speaking, which is not connected with faith, and which has not to be decided by faith. Faith will then occupy in the State, the place which we are all agreed in assigning to it in the individual; the State will force the individual to do in virtue of the common faith, all that the same individual, supposing him to be a true Christian, would do in virtue of his individual faith. Here lies the error. . . . . Let neither State nor Church presume to take the place of conscience." F. Bungener, *Calvin: his Life, his Labors,* etc., 108.

ter form of civil government than monarchy or democracy,[200] he naturally chose that for the church, and lodged ecclesiastical authority in a Session of six preachers and twelve elders, to be "the guardian of the ordinances, and especially a tribunal of morals."[201] He himself confessed that the Eldership was an expedient to which he was driven by stress of circumstances;[202] although, as Dr. Davidson says, "after creating it, he naturally enough endeavored to procure Scriptural proof in its favor."[203]

I need not detain you even for a moment upon the utterly unsatisfactory nature of the partial readjustment — it hardly amounted to reformation — of ecclesiastical affairs, which had been contemporaneously going on in England, by which, on motion of the much-married Henry VIII., the throne had taken the Pope's place as head of the church, the monasteries been suppressed and the spoils divided, with, otherwise, as little of change as possible. The savage policy of bloody Mary's brief reign had driven many of the best men in England across the German Ocean to Frankfort, Strasburg, Zurich, Emden, Geneva and elsewhere, where they learned all that Calvin could teach them, and where numbers of them were leavened with his views. And thus it came about, most naturally, on their return; feeling acutely the contrast between the decided Protestant and Presbyterian atmosphere which they had left abroad, and the semi-papism "pointed and defiled with infinite superstition,"[204] which Mary's brief reign had so enhanced,[205] and

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[200] See *Kampschulte*, i: 419; Fisher, *The Reformation*, 220.

[201] *Bungener*, 184.

[202] "Nunc habemus qualecunque Presbyterorum judicium, et formam disciplinæ qualem ferebat temporum infirmitas." J. Calvin, *Epis.*, 54.

[203] *Eccles. Pol. New Test.*, 193. Dr. J. P. Wilson, himself an eminent Presbyterian, sums up an elaborate investigation of the subject thus: "a special form of ecclesiastical government was adopted by the Genevese at the Reformation; not because it was found by Scriptural precept or example to have been the original Apostolic scheme; but because the nearest approach to the true one which the peculiar circumstances of the Canton, and the exigencies of the times, would admit. . . . Had Calvin justified the expedient by the necessity of the case, he would have betrayed his design, and prevented others from the benefit of his example; but he gave ease to his conscience, and plausibility to his conduct, by seeking a defence from the Scriptures." *Monthly Christian Spectator*, vol. x, (1828) 64.

[204] *A Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany, Anno Domini* 1554, etc. M.D.LXXV. cciii.

[205] "It is hardly credible," said Bishop Jewel, writing after a three months' official travel among the churches (2 Nov. 1559), to Peter Martyr, "what a harvest, yea rather what a forest of superstitions [quanta ubique seges, et sylva superstitionum] sprang up during the darkness of the Marian times. We found everywhere votive relics of saints, nails with which the silly people dreamed Christ had

which even Elizabeth preferred for England; that some of these men should seek to arouse in all whom they could influence not merely a zeal for further reformation, but a decided conviction that the government of the church by the Eldership offered the most feasible and Scriptural method for its accomplishment. John Knox had been especially zealous, during his five years' ministry in England, in the reign of Edward VI.[206] Calvin's books had not only come speedily into England in their original form,[207] but, as early as 1561 — the third year of Elizabeth's reign — an edition of the *Institutes* translated by Thomas Norton had been published in London; while arguments for Presbyterianism by able foreigners, like the "Treatie of the Churche" by M. Bertrande de Loque,[208] were put into English and industriously circulated; and by 1572 the great Cartwright — greater in impulse and purpose than achievement — had begun the diligent work, in and for which, with others, he did and suffered so much.

It has been usual to consider Hooper the father of Puritanism, because he "scrupled the vestments." Yet it is true that at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth most of the bishops then appointed disfavored them. Even Jewel was ready, in 1562, to urge, now that the full light had shone forth, that the last traces of error be swept away with the rubbish — "dust and all, as the saying is;" adding "would to God we could manage to do this with the wearing of the linen surplice!"[209] He branded the ceremonies of worship as "scenic apparatus;"[210]

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been pierced, and I know not how many bits [portiunculas] of the true cross. The number of witches and wizards was immensely increased. The cathedral churches were nothing but dens of robbers, or worse, if anything can be worse." J. Jewel, *Works* (ed. 1848), viii: 128.

206 See P. Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England* (1875), passim.

207 "After the accession of Elizabeth, the Institutes of Calvin 'were generally in the hands of the clergy, and might be considered their text-book of theology.'" *Fisher*, 338, citing Blunt, *Dict. of Doctr. and Histor. Theol.*, sub voce "Calvinism," 105.

208 *A Treatie of the Churche, conteining a true discourse, to knowe the true Church by, and to discerne it from the Romish Church, and all other false assemblies, or counterfet congregations. Written by M. Bertrande de Loque of Dolphinee, and dedicated vnto my Lord the Viscount of Turenne. And faithfully translated out of French into English, by T*[*hos.*] *W*[*ilcox*]. London, 1581, 16mo, xxxii, 392.

209 "Nunc vero, postquam erupit lux omnis evangelii, quantum quidem fieri potest, vestigia ipsa erroris una cum ruderibus, utque aiunt, cum pulvisculo auferenda sunt. Quod utinam nos in ista *ἀποστολίᾳ* obtinere potuissemus." Letter to Peter Martyr, *Works*, viii: 164.

210 "Scenico apparatu." [Letter to Peter Martyr, *Ibid*, viii: 122.] "Veste scenica." *Ibid*, viii: 133.

stigmatized them as "fooleries,"[211] and "the relics of the Amorites;"[212] declared that "the cess-pool would indeed have been emptied to no purpose, if these dregs were suffered to lodge themselves at the bottom;"[213] and vowed that neither his voice, nor his labors, should be wanting to extirpate them "even to the deepest roots."[214]

To Thomas Cartwright must clearly be assigned the chiefest place in bringing Puritanism in England to the dignity of a developed system. In 1574, Travers's *Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ, et Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ ab illa Aberrationis, plena e verbo Dei, & dilucida Explicatio*, was printed at Rochelle.[215] Translated into English and revised by Cartwright, it was in the same year published at Geneva,[216] and by him made the basis of a practical movement for the introduction of the Presbyterian discipline. In gatherings of ministers who sympathized with that movement, at Warwick, Northampton, Cambridge — where Mr. Cartwright, as Lady Margaret professor of divinity, had won his first laurels as a reformer, and acquired a powerful influence — and elsewhere, more than five hundred divines followed him in subscribing the same.[217] This "Sacred Discipline," among others, laid down these especial points: that lawful church government can be gathered only from the Holy Scriptures; that there can be but one right church order and form; that in every particular church there ought to be a Presbytery of elders, by whom "all things are directed that belong to the state of their church;" and that all particular churches "ought to obey the opinion of more churches with whom they communicate.[218]

There might be nothing here radically inconsistent with the civil government of England, but in putting it into the power of the Consistory to decide what its religion and its worship shall be, a fatal blow was struck at the Queen's supremacy. Moreover, as a practical matter, it seemed hopeless to undertake any

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211 "Istas ineptias." *Ibid*, viii: 122.

212 "Reliquiæ Amorrhæorum." *Ibid*, viii: 134.

213 "Frustra enim exhausta esset sentina, si istas reliquias pateremur in fundo residere." Letter to Jos. Simler. *Works*, viii: 132.

214 "Ab imis radicibus." Letter to Peter Martyr, *Ibid*, viii: 134.

215 See Strype, *Whitgift*, i: 502; T. Price, *Hist. Prot. Non-Conformity*, i: 363.

216 It has been stated that the Vice Chancellor seized nearly the whole impression. It was in part reissued as *A Directory of Church Government*. 4to, pp. 24.

217 B. Brook, *Memoir of Cartwright*, 241.

218 *A Directory*, etc. (1644), 1–3.

plan of reform which should not provide for her oversight of matters ecclesiastical; which should not, indeed, solicit that reform primarily at her hand, and so adjust its requirements that she might, at the least, consent to tolerate them.

From our point of view some confusion of idea seems thus far to have generally prevailed among these Presbyterian reformers, as to precisely what was the nature of the bond which held the church together, and unified it, as a whole having visibility. By the Geneva pattern, locally, the church of London, for example, would have comprehended all the unexcommunicated inhabitants of London, but in what way, except by sliding back into the vague relation of the great all-embracing church invisible, this church of London, and the church of Canterbury, and the church of York, and all the churches of the kingdom, were to exist as a single organic entity, was not yet made clear; the whole graded system of Synod, Presbytery and General Assembly, not having as yet been evolved from the Acts of the Apostles.[219] So, further, in what exact manner the civil magistrate was Scripturally to take oversight of this organism, or these organisms, we do not find clearly stated.[220]

And, all together, after studying carefully what Cartwright, Travers and Udal left behind them of exposition and of argument[221]—disregarding all minor practical difficulties,[222] we find steadily and sturdily pushing themselves up through all these

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[219] The Confession of Faith adopted by the National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France, at their first National Synod in 1559, provided for a Consistory of pastors and elders in each church, and for Colloquies, Provincial Synods "once or twice a year," and for a National Synod to meet "according to the necessities of the churches." J. Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, i: xxxvii, xli, 3.

[220] This Confession requires honor and reverence unto magistrates, and obedience to the laws "although the magistrates be Infidels; so that the soveraign government of God be preserved entire." *Ibid*, xv.

[221] Cartwright had published the *Second Admonition to the Parliament* (1572); the *Replye to Whitgift's Answere* (1573); the *Second Replie* (1575); the *Examination of Whitgift's Censures* (1575); and *The Rest of the Second Replie*, etc. (1577); and Travers, the *Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ et Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ ab illa aberrationis, plena è verbo Dei & dilucida Explicatio* (1574), [in English, same year, as *A Full and Plaine Declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline owt off the word off God, and off the Declininge off the Churche off England from the same.*] Udal did not publish his *Demonstration of Discipline*, etc., until 1589.

[222] See many of these suggested and considered by Udal, such as: "It ouerburdeneth the parrishe, to provide for the nourishment of so many church-officers; . . . it bringeth in a newe pope-dome and tyrannie into the church; . . . it is a kinde of Donatisme to chalenge such authoritie ouer Princes; . . . it transformeth the state of the common wealth into a meere popularitie, and will alter the gouernement thereof," etc., etc. *A Demonstration of the Trueth of that Discipline which Christ hath prescribed*, etc., 66.

men's urgent efforts to adjust, explain and suppress them, these grievous objections to the Presbyterian way, as it was advocated by them to be the agent of the sorely needed further religious reform in England.

1. They looked for it, and waited for it, at the hands of the civil government.

2. They proposed, when achieved, to leave it substantially under civil control.

3. Their theory of the church was as unsuited to any genuine and thorough reform as it was unscriptural in essence, because it included the entire baptized population; trusting to church discipline to raise the general life up to the Gospel level — the identical mistake of the ancient papal system, which, with no difference in this vital respect other than one of name, it was seeking to supplant; and because, although vaguely, it so constituted from within an organic unity between the different local sections, and so bound them together with State bonds from without, that no one portion could lift itself toward a purer development until all other portions were ready to be exalted with it. No single person, company, or locality alone could do anything effectual. On such a basis every effort at fundamental reform would be like trying to free a great water-logged ship, by rigging a pump at the bow, or one at the stern, while the sea is left to flow freely in at a dozen holes, each admitting water to the whole length of hulk faster than the pump can throw it out.

I can hardly doubt that to a philosophical mind of this period — say of the year 1580 — among our fathers; one thoroughly honest and earnest; one sorrowed by a sense of that terrible inertia of conservatism which bound so many of the well-meaning of the nation to its past, because it had been its past; one sickened by that well-nigh universal timidity of respect for the Bishops and the hierarchy, which made it *per se* a sin to find fault with them, or even to think of going whither they were not prepared to lead; one saturated with a sense of the exceeding sinfulness of the sin of matters as they were, to that degree that to rot in prison, or to be burned, or hanged, would seem a very little thing in comparison with the guilt of conscious acquiescence in a condition of affairs so degrading to man and so dis-

pleasing to God; and yet one unconvinced of the Scriptural force, or the practical competency, of any — perhaps, least of all, of the Presbyterian — propositions yet made for relief; three things would commend themselves as of absolute necessity to further, not to say to any general, reformation. The public thought must be directed to some more excellent method; some method more vital with the marrow and fatness of the New Testament on the one hand, and on the other, more obviously competent for the waiting work. This done, the spell of conservatism and the fear of the Bishops must somehow be shattered; setting the people at liberty to walk in this better way. And then, in face of the appalling difficulties that would still remain, believers must somehow be stimulated to such a pitch of heroism as is seldom reached except in times that try men's souls; until they shall be ready at the risk of all to leave all — even life itself — to follow their Lord whithersoever he listeth.

It will be my purpose, in three next succeeding lectures, to endeavor to show how Divine Providence was pleased to supply these needs.

LECTURE II.

Robert Browne and his Co-workers.

God of our fathers, what is man!
That Thou toward him with hand so various —
Or might I say contrarious? —
Temperest Thy providence through his short course;
Not evenly, as Thou rulest
The angelic orders and inferior creatures mute,
Irrational and brute.
Nor do I name of men the common rout,
That, wandering loose about,
Grow up and perish, as the summer-fly,
Heads without name, no more remembered;
But such as Thou hast solemnly elected,
With gifts and graces eminently adorned,
To some great work, Thy glory,
And people's safety, which in part they effect.
Yet toward these thus dignified Thou oft,
Amidst their highth of noon,
Changest Thy countenance and Thy hand, with no regard
Of highest favours past
From Thee on them, or them to Thee of service.
Nor only dost degrade them, or remit
To life obscured, which were a fair dismission;
But throwest them lower than Thou didst exalt them high,
Unseemly falls in human eye,
Too grievous for the trespass or omission!

Milton, Samson Agonistes, 667.

A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy-body to decay,
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.
. . . . . .
Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide.

Dryden, Absalom and Achitophel, i: 156.

Quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
Aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto.

Horatii Epistolæ, I, i: 98.

Robert Browne and his Co-Workers.

IT was not found good for the repute of Oliver Cromwell that it should be left exclusively to royalist remembrancers. Robert Browne has experienced a like misfortune, with the added circumstance, that, having abandoned the polity which he developed, and alienated dissent without regaining the confidence of the establishment, he left few, if any, mourners behind him. Brief mention of his career occurs in many encyclopædias and manuals of church history, wherein the few half-truths and absolute errors of the two or three earliest writers who mentioned him, have been turned over and over, and sometimes amplified, but, although largely incongruous, apparently never sifted; until, in the absence of his own books in testimony of what he was, any just estimate of the man began to seem an impossibility. More than a century and a half has now elapsed since a careful English ecclesiastical writer remarked that the reports concerning him were so various as to make it hard to discern the truth; although he saw attractive wheat grains enough among the chaff to lead him to express the hope, that "in a little time we may have a much more full and certain account of him than we have at present."[1]

[1] Jas. Peirce, *Vindication of the Dissenters*, | etc. [1717], 143.

When undertaking — a few years since — some special study of his life, opinions and influence, I knew not where to lay my hand upon any volume from his pen — the sole perfect copy of the only one which the indefatigable Hanbury[2] announced himself as able, now some forty years ago, to discover in England, having disappeared from public view in the shifting fortunes of a private library. It was even difficult to decide from this mention whether the book were three tracts in one, or one of three. And, coming, at last, into personal possession of that treatise which gives Browne's views of doctrine and church life in their most condensed and logical form, I still found myself in perplexing inability to reconcile different statements made by him, and different judgments in regard to him by contemporaries apparently worthy of trust, in any such manner as to be able to construct a theory of his character and work which should have a coherence and self-consistence to satisfy a reasonable mind. In my last visit to England, however, I was fortunate enough among the treasures of the library at Lambeth Palace[3] to discover not only, under books catalogued in his name, the means of settling the question as to the trinity in unity of the treatise aforementioned, but also, among anonymous and unassigned quartos, a little volume, frightfully printed, without title-page, printer's name, place or date,[4] — passages in which I immediately recognized as having been assigned to him by some of his antagonists. On perusal, it proved to be, although not directly so intended, in the nature of a spiritual autobiography, covering the ten most important years of his life, during which his views on church matters were taking shape, and growing firm, and he seems to have been suffering hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ for them. In the light of the revelations therein made, supplemented by the study of his other writings and of contemporaneous history, and on some points especially by manuscripts

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[2] B. Hanbury, *Historical Memorials relating to the Independents*, etc., i: 20.

[3] I fancy that not many years have elapsed since the Lambeth Library has been put, as freely as it now is, within reach of the public, and that it is quite possible that Mr. Hanbury and later investigators for that reason failed to avail of its light upon this and other subjects of the greatest interest to students of Nonconformity.

[4] *A Trve and Short Declaration, both of the Gathering and Ioyning Together of Certaine Persons: and also of the Lamentable Breach and Division which fell Amongst Them.* 4to, [n. p.] pp. 24. The press mark is 40. 2. 23.

preserved in the British Museum, and elsewhere, from his own pen, and from those of Lord Burghley and others in regard to him, I believe it to be now possible to reach a more just conception and a fairer estimate of this interesting and extraordinary man, than, so far as I am aware, has been attained by any previous investigator. All, indeed, is not yet made clear. There remain some points of importance on which further light would be most acceptable. But if I am not mistaken we have at last a clew through the labyrinth.

A preliminary glance at the chief external features of his life will best prepare us for some general estimate of his character and work.

Robert Browne had his birth at Tolethorpe in Rutlandshire,[5] just as the sixteenth century was about to pass from its first to its second moiety.[6] In the English sense of that term, he was born a gentleman. His great-grandfather's great-grandfather John, who had been a wealthy draper and merchant of the staple[7] in Calais, came over to Stamford, where he was alderman in 1376 and 1377.[8] His son William, also an alderman, and "a marchant of very wonderful richness,"[9] founded by will in Stamford a hospital for decayed tradesmen, which still exists bearing his name;[10] and which, near the close of the last century, was pronounced to be "one of the best conducted charities in England."[11] John, of the third generation, was an alderman as well,[12] and wealthy and generous enough to build All Saints

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5 T. Blore, *History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, etc. (1813), 93.

6 The family genealogy as given by Blore says he died in 1636, aged "about 80." I am not aware that the exact date of his birth has anywhere been settled. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the *Allgemeine Encyc.*, in general, say, without any citation of authority, that he was born in 1550. The arms of this Browne family were: *Sable, three mullets argent; quartering—per bend argent and sable, three mascles bend ways counterchanged—or, on a fesse gules, three crosses patee argent—argent on a bend sable a bezant in chief. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable, a stork's head couped, and the neck nowed, gules between two wings displayed argent. Blore*, 93.

7 "*Merchants of the Staple;* a title given to an ancient company of merchants who exported the staple wares of the country." J. O. Halliwell, *Dict. Archaic and Prov. Words*, etc.

8 *Blore*, as before.

9 W. Harrod, *Antiquities of Stamford*, etc. [1785], 104.

10 It is commonly called the Bead-House, fronts the Corn and Hay market, and Harrod gives an engraving of it [65]. See some account of it, as late as 1834 in *History of the County of Lincoln*, ii: 331.

11 *Harrod*, 371.

12 *Blore*, 93. T. Fuller [*Hist. Worthies of England* (ed. 1840), iii: 39], confuses John with his father William, and represents the father as the builder of the Bead House and Church, and as endowing the former with lands worth £400 a year.

Church in Stamford, and present it to the parish.[13] His son Christopher, who was sheriff of Rutlandshire, removed to Tolethorpe.[14] His son Francis, grandfather of Robert, received, by special charter from Henry VIII., the somewhat extraordinary distinction of being allowed to remain covered in presence of the king, and of all lords spiritual and temporal in the realm.[15] His eldest son and heir Anthony, married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Philip Boteler of Watton Woodhull, and Robert was the third of their seven children.[16]

No incident of his early life has been preserved, but he emerges to our view as, at a suitable age, with his next elder brother Philip who was afterwards surveyor of Queen Elizabeth's manors in Lincolnshire,[17] he went, in 1570, to Cambridge and studied there for some years as a member of Corpus Christi (otherwise known as Benet) College. It seems nearly certain that he took his degrees in regular form.[18] He, clearly, soon began to manifest that fiery activity of mind which distinguished at least the earlier portion of his career, and one of the first dates which it seems possible definitely to fix in his history, reveals him in the summer of 1571, not far from his one and twentieth year, as a domestic chaplain of the Duke of Norfolk,[19] and as taking opportunity of that place to disseminate doctrines, which, as they were distasteful to the authorities, were esteemed seditious as well. Cited to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commission-

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[13] It takes one back to the old time in England to find on a brass plate in the church this inscription: "*Orate pro animabus Iohannis Browne, mercatoris stapulæ Calisiæ, et Margeriæ uxoris eius: Qui quidem Ioh. obiit xxvi die mensis Iulii, An. Domini M.CCCCXLII; et que quædem Margeria obiit xxii die Novbris M.CCCCLX: Quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen.*" *Hist. Co. Linc.*, ii: 326.

[14] *Blore*, 92.

[15] *Ibid.* Rees [*Cyc.* sub nomine] and T. Fuller [*Church History of Britain* (Brewer's ed. 1845), v: 65], say this charter was confirmed by Act of Parliament, but I have seen no proof of this assertion. *Notes and Queries* [(3d series) i: 208, 350], mentions a few similar cases, with suggestion of the reason. Fuller [*Worthies*, etc., iii: 50] gives the Latin patent in full, of date 6 July, 1526. The vital clause is: "pileo sit coopertus capite, et non exuat aut deponat pileum suum á capite suo occasione vel causâ quacunq; contra voluntatem aut placitum suum."

[16] *Blore*, 93; J. Wright, *Hist. Co. Rutland* (1687), 129.

[17] *Blore*, 93.

[18] R. Masters [*History of the College of Corpus Christi* (1753),251, 254] refers to him as a student there, and J. Lamb, in his continuation of the same work (1831) cites this record: "*Browne Robt. Rutl. ad. 1570; took B. A. 1572.*" [460.] On the other hand Thos. Fuller, a contemporary, says he "was bred for a time in Cambridge, I conceive in Corpus Christi College; but question whether ever a graduate therein." [*Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 62.] But we shall find occasion to distrust the accuracy of much which Fuller says about him.

[19] J. Strype, *Life of Archbishop Parker*, etc., ii: 63. All my references to Strype will be to the edition of his works in 27 vols. 8vo, issued by the Clarendon Press in Oxford, 1820–23.

ers "to answer such matters as he is to be charged withal," which are not more definitely set down, the Duke took his part, and pleading that the position was a privileged one, abetted him in refusing to answer the citation.[20] What censure followed, if any, or how the matter ended, we do not know.

Next we find him teaching "schollers for about the space of three years,"[21] and there is some evidence that this was in Southwark.[22] We hear of him at the same time as "lecturing" more or less to scattered companies who used to gather on Sundays in a gravel-pit in Islington,[23] not indeed without exciting by these proceedings the hostility of the rector, with other premonitory symptoms of the dangers then attending the endeavor in the least degree publicly to exercise free speech in matters of religion.[24] The plague breaking out, being sent for by his family, he gave up his school and went home to his father's house — I take it in the autumn of 1578.[25]

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[20] See letter of commissioners to the Duke, of date Lambeth, 13 June (1571), given by Strype, as above, ii: 68.

[21] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc. 1.

[22] With that provoking neglect to set down minute circumstances which we often have to deplore in writers of the time, Browne himself does not so much as hint where his "schollers" were. But Robert Baillie [*Disswasive From the Errours of the Time* (1645), 13] distinctly declares, that Browne was "a schoolmaster in Southwark, and then a preacher at Islington near London" before he became a Separatist. So Ephraim Pagitt, in 1645, makes the same statement, designating the Free School of St. Olaves in Southwark as the place; but this is almost surely a confusion with what happened ten years later. [*Heresiography* (ed. 1654), 51.] And J. Hoornbeeck, in 1653, said of Browne, "primum Ludi-magister in Southwarke, dein Verbi Magistri Islingtoni, prope Londinum" [*Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, etc., 620]; but he probably copied Baillie or Pagitt. Stephen Bredwell, who writes as if he had a familiar knowledge of all the circumstances, often refers to Browne's school-mastership at St. Olaves, but as he published in 1588, and his language implies that Browne was still there, and had been there for nearly two years, it is obvious that he testifies nothing in regard to this first period. [*Rasing of the Foundations of Brownisme*, etc. 134, 135.] Baillie as well as Pagitt, and others, may have confused what took place in 1575–8 with 1586–9; or it may have been for the very reason that Browne had made himself beloved in Southwark as a teacher during these first three years, that he found an election to the Grammar School possible at the later period.

[23] *Baillie* and *Pagitt* as above. Lewis [*History and Topography of St. Mary's Parish, Islington* (1843), 114] represents Robert Browne as having been one of the "Lecturers" of that parish for whose support the vestry used to pay; the salary, in 1673, being "paid out of parish land, as formerly." But he cites no record of Browne's name, and it is clearly a conjecture on his part founded on what Baillie and others had said, the absurd improbability of which did not occur to him. In 1580 Recorder Fleetwood reported to the Lord Treasurer that the chief shelters of rogues in and about London are at the Savoy, and "the brick-kilns near Islington." R. Seymour, *Survey of London*, etc. (1735), ii: 326.

[24] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 2.

[25] *Ibid*, 2. The plague was very bad in England in 1578. In Norwich alone from 20 Aug., 1578, to 19 Feb., 1579, as many as 4,817 persons died of it; of whom were 10 aldermen, 2,335 English, and 2,482 "strangers" — most of whom, probably, were Dutch. *Blomefield*, iii: 354.

After some stay there, on the subsidence of the pest he went back to the University for further study, and appears to have become, with other young men, for a time a member of the family of the Rev. Richard Greenham, Dry Drayton, near Cambridge, and a student of theology with him.[26] He was allowed by Mr. Greenham to share in the religious exercises of his household, and of his parish, and encouraged by him to preach openly, in the face of his general rule that none ought to do so "without leave and special word from the bishop."[27] His discourses proved attractive not merely to such rural congregations as he at first addressed, but also to the more cultivated assemblies in Benet Church under the very shadow of the University itself.[28] But that enthusiasm which carried all before him with the people, awakened the solicitude of some of the dignitaries; and Dr. Still, afterwards Master of Trinity, it is stated, "discovered in him something extraordinary, which, he presaged, would prove the disturbance of the church, if not seasonably prevented."[29] So acceptable in the general, however, did his doctrine and manner prove, that "with consent of the maior and vice-chancelar" he was pressed to accept a Cambridge pulpit, and preached, laboring also from house to house for "about halfe a yeare," when he "sent backe the monie thei would have given him, and also gave them vvarning of his departure," on the conviction that they were not as yet so rightly grounded in church government as to be on a fair basis of reform.[30] He was just now undergoing a conflict of opinion more serious than he had ever before experienced, and one which went to the bottom of the form of church life in its relation to practical religion, and the duties, public and private, which every redeemed man owes to his Redeemer; and it had already become perfectly clear to his mind with regard to the Bishops, that "to be authorised of them, to be sworne, toe subscribe, to be ordained & receaue their licensing" was to the last degree a distasteful, if not, indeed, an unlawful and impossible thing.[31] His brother, who seems not to have been in full sympathy with him on this point, however obtained the Bishop's seals for him; but Robert refused to

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[26] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 2.
[27] *Ibid*, 2.
[28] *Ibid*, 2; T. Fuller, *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 62.
[29] *Fuller*, v: 63.
[30] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 2, 6, 7.
[31] *Ibid*, 6.

take them from the officers, and afterward, being written to, "would not paie for them," and when his brother paid for them, he lost one and threw another in the fire, refusing utterly to avail of any such helps for entrance upon the ministry of the Word.[32] And, lest his brother's act "should encourage others to deale in worse manner," he proceeded openly to harangue and preach in Cambridge "against the calling & authorising of preachers by bishops," and was very careful to make it clear to all that he himself preached "not as caring for, or leaning vpon, the Bishopes authoritie, but onlie to satisfie his duetie & conscience."[33] What was burning within his soul was the desire for a spiritual reformation, and what alarmed and grieved him was that even in "the best reformed places"[34] the parishes were in such bondage to the Bishops, and so "pliable to that lamentable state of things," that they required whoever would minister to them to come into that same bondage.[35] His mind was gradually led to the conclusion — to use his own form of stating it — that "the kingdom off God Was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather off the worthiest, Were they never so fewe."[36] And then, he says, "he knewe that the Lord had appointed him there to be occupied onlie to trie & prepare him to a further & more effectual message, & to be a witness of that wofull state of Cambrige, whereinto those wicked prelats and doctors of diuinitie have brought it."[37] In this mental and spiritual conflict he "fell soare sicke," and while he was lying thus ill, he was inhibited from further preaching by the Bishop and the Council. The Bishop's officer, named Bancroft, read the letter in his presence, to which Browne replied that: "if he had taken charge in that place, he woulde no whitte lesse cease preaching for that; but as he Vvas, he tooke not on him, he said, though the letter were not, to preach there anie longer."[38]

When he had slowly recovered health and strength, he "took counsell still," he declares, "and had no rest, what he might do for the name & kingdom of God. He often complained of those euill dayes & with manie teares sought where to find the right-

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[32] *Ibid*, 6.
[33] *Ibid*, 6.
[34] *Ibid*, 2.
[35] *Ibid*, 6.
[36] *Ibid*, 6.
[37] *Ibid*, 7.
[38] *Ibid*, 7. Probably not Richard B., afterward Abp., then of Teversham. *Hook*, x: 192.

eous, which glorified God, with whome he might live & reioise together, that thei putt awaie abominations;"[39] beseeching the Lord "to shewe him more comfort of his kingdome & church then he sawe in Cambrige." And it coming to his ears that there were some in Norfolk who were "verie forward" in the reform of religion, he "thought it his duetie to take his voiage to them; first, because he considered that if there were not onelie faultes but also open & abominable wickednes in any parish or companie, & thei would not or could not, redresse them, but were held in bondage bie antichristian power, as were those parishes in Cambrige by the bishops; then euerie true christian was to leaue such parishes, & to seek the church of God wheresoeuer." Also, "if anie be forced by lawes, penalties & persecution, as in those parishes, to ioine with anie such persons [from whom Paul (2 Tim. iii: 5,) warneth us to turn away] ether in the sacramentes, or in the service & worship of God, thei ought utterlie to forsake them, & avoid such wickednes."[40]

Just at this time Robert Harrison came to Cambridge.[41] Harrison had been matriculated pensioner in St. John's College, Cambridge, in October, 1564. Thence he removed to Corpus Christi, where he proceeded B. A. in 1567; and was well on toward the master's degree, which he took in 1572, when Browne had first come up to the same College in the University. In 1573 he had been an applicant strongly endorsed by the mayor and alderman of Norwich for the mastership of the grammar school at Aylsham in Norfolk.[42] But the Bishop had alleged against him that he was very young, and lacked experience; that he was reported to scruple the reading of profane authors by young children; that his health was not firm; and especially that, having lately been married, he had expressed some conscientious scruples as to the form of that service enjoined by the law of the land.[43] These objections were, however, finally waived, and Harrison put in place over the school, under strict charge of good behaviour. But in less than a month, being god-father of

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39 *Ibid*, 7.

40 *Ibid*, 7, 8.

41 *Ibid*, 8.

42 T. Cooper has gathered together the authorities for these various statements in his *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii: 177, 178.

43 Strype [*Life of Parker*, ii: 335] gives a somewhat minute account of the nature of Harrison's difficulties, and the requests made by him as to desired changes in the marriage and baptismal service, here referred to. Lancelot Thexton was the vicar.

a child to be baptized, having given offence by requesting certain changes made from the rubric in the administration of the ordinance, he had been summarily displaced.[44] Subsequently — at what date is not clear — he became master of a hospital in Norwich; as I suppose that of Saint Giles, commonly called the Old Men's Hospital.[45] He now came back to his *alma mater*, which under the influence of Cartwright and others had become so great a seat of Puritanism, with the purpose of entering the ministry, or at least of satisfying his mind more fully with regard to the same. He and Browne were old acquaintances, if not old friends, and he now sought Browne's help to further his plans.[46] He was informed of the determination which Browne had reached, and that he now abhorred "such trash and pollution" as the bishop's authorizing, yet nevertheless, that if conscience led the hospital-master to seek an entrance to the ministry at the bishop's hands, "he would do for him what he might." Harrison soon decided to return to Norwich and to seek the ministry, if at all, in some other way. And a short time after, Browne followed him thither, and — Harrison with his wife keeping house, and having plenty of room — lodged and boarded with them.[47] This appears to have been in or about 1580; when Browne would be not far from thirty years of age.

Here they were accustomed to walk much in the fields, and talk together "of the lamentable abuses, disorders and sinnes" which reigned everywhere. "At the first," Browne says, "they agreed well together, but yet so as that in some things R. H. doubted: notwithstanding he came on more and more, and at

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44 Some three years subsequently he has been said to have been cited before Bishop Freake at Norwich for some unspecified offence, with the statement that he not only refused to obey the summons, but wrote the Bishop a spicily faithful letter in which he besought him to have a care for his own soul, and took the liberty of advising him to renounce the office which he had usurped; — but this was probably Robert Harvey and not Robert Harrison, the coincidence of initials (R. H. standing for both) confusing their identity. Cooper [*Ath. Cant.*, ii: 178] makes the statement, but Strype [*Annals of the Reformation*, ii (2): 62] and B. Brook [*Lives of Puritans*, i: 191] attribute the letter to Harvey. The letter itself is printed in *A Parte of a Register*, etc. (1590), 365.

45 That he was master of a hospital at Norwich, Browne himself says a little further on [*Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 8], and that it was St. Giles's, is made probable by the fact that there was some connection between it and the Aylsham school — the hospital paying £10 a year to the Aylsham master; while the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich, who had befriended Harrison when he sought the office of grammar-master, then enjoyed the right of appointing the master of this hospital. Blomefield, *Hist. Co. of Norfolk*, iv: 376, 400.

46 *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 8.

47 *Ibid*, 8.

last wholie yeelded to the trueth, when he sauue it began to preuaille and prosper."[48] It is very clear that Browne's mind took the lead, and that here at Norwich, following the track of thought which he had long been elaborating, he thoroughly discovered and restated the original Congregational way, in all its simplicity and symmetry. And here, in this or the following year, by his prompting and under his guidance, was formed the first church in modern days of which I have any knowledge, which was intelligently, and as one might say philosophically, Congregational in its platform and processes; he becoming its pastor.[49]

It was not like this man, when thoroughly persuaded that a message had been committed to him, to be timid or hesitant in its delivery. Accordingly, on the 19th of the following April [1581] we find Bishop Freake of Norwich sending to Lord Treasurer Burghley articles of complaint, "against one Robert Browne, and his personal answers thereto:" alleging that "the said party had been lately apprehended, on complaint of many godly preachers, for delivering unto the people corrupt and contentious doctrine." It was further declared that "his arrogant spirit of reproof was something to be marvelled at; the man being also to be feared lest if he were at liberty he should seduce the vulgar sort of people, who greatly depended on him, assembling themselves together to the number of an hundred at a time in private houses and conventicles to hear him, not without danger of some evil event."[50] By a communication of Sir Robert Jermyn to Lord Burghley of 28 July following, it appears that Bury Saint Edmonds was the place where Browne had been thus offending against the peace and dignity of the Bishop, and the Established Church.[51] Burghley, who was Browne's kinsman,[52] and whom we shall find to have been his

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48 *Ibid*, 8.

49 *Ibid*, 19, 20.

50 *Lansdowne MSS.* (British Museum), xxxiii: 13.

51 Strype, *Annals*, iii (1): 22.

52 I have not found it easy to fix this exact relationship. Fuller, who was born within a mile of the home of Browne's later years, says [*Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 68] that Burghley's eldest son Thomas, was Browne's "near kinsman and patron." The unknown author of *A Threefold Discourse*, etc. [1642], who seems to have been familiar with the family, says [6] Browne and Burghley were "neere a kin." Whalley [*Bridge's History of Northamptonshire*, etc. (1791), ii: 366] says the Brownes were "allied to" the Lord Treasurer. Dr. Waddington calls Browne "first cousin" of Burghley [*Congregational History*, (1567–1700) 23]. But, as in the same paragraph of five

powerful and efficient friend, replied, 21 April, to the Bishop, suggesting that the errors of his young relative doubtless proceed "of zeale rather than of malice," and thinks it well that he be "charitably conferred with and reformed," proposing that, if he be not at once discharged, he be sent to him at London "to be further dealt with as I shall take order for upon his coming."[53] From Robert Jermyn's letter, to which I have already referred, it looks very much as if Browne had been discharged on this request, and gone straight back to Bury Saint Edmonds to repeat the offence. At any rate, on the second of August following we find the Bishop once more addressing the Lord Treasurer in regard to the troublesome young man, declaring that he had lately been preaching "strange and dangerous doctrines in his diocese, in all disordered manner, had greatly troubled the whole country, and brought many to great disobedience of all law and magistrates." He thought all others could have been managed if Browne had not come back "contrary to his expectation, and greatly prejudiced these their good proceedings, and having private meetings in such close and secret manner, that he knew not possibly how to suppress the same." The Bishop was "sorry to foresee what must needs in short time by him [R. B.], and other disorderly persons, which only sought the disturbance of the church, be brought to pass." And so "the careful duty which he ought to have to the country, being his charge, enforced him most earnestly to crave his Lordship's help in suppressing him [R. B.] especially."[54] Again, to all

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lines, he makes an error of three years in a date, calls Robert's father "Edmond" when his name was Anthony, misnames his mother and her family altogether, and three times prints "Cypele" where, to make any sense, he must mean Cyssel (or Cecil), one feels no great amount of confidence in his assertion. The writer in *Notes and Queries* [1st series, ix: 494], who appears to have led Dr. Waddington into these errors, says that Burghley's Aunt Joan, dau. of David Cyssel of Stamford (grandfather of Lord B.) who was half-sister of the Lord Treasurer's father, married Edmond Browne. But the family pedigree in Blore [93] makes Edmond third son of Francis, and uncle of Anthony. All I can make out of this is that Lord Burghley's grandfather would be father of Robert's great aunt —not very near kinship surely. But this may be an error, or there may have been some other and nearer tie. Burghley himself, in writing to Robert's father [Fuller, *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 65], speaks of Robert as "of my blood," and signs himself "your loving friend, and *cousin*." But I take it that the word "cousin" was often used vaguely, as well as closely; [*Halliwell* defines "cousin" by *kinsman*]. To the Bishop of Norwich he calls Browne his "kinsman." The Lord Treasurer's mother in her last will (1582) calls Anthony Browne "my friend." F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, i: 121.

53 Fuller, *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 64.

54 *Lansdowne MSS.*, xxxiii: 20.

appearance, Burghley's interposition availed to get his irrepressible relative first into, and then out of, the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury;[55] and this general experience, with that of others of the company, brought them all, at last, to the full persuasion "that the Lord did call them out of England."[56] Some at first favored Scotland as a refuge; but Browne dissuaded from this, on the ground that that kingdom "framed it selff in those matters to please England toe much," and "because some corruption should come upon vs from their parishes, which we ought to avoid, or because wee there should have great trouble wrought vs from England, as iff we kept still in England."[57] Jersey and Guernsey were also considered,[58] but Zeland was finally pitched upon, and, apparently in the autumn of 1581, the little church and its pastor emigrated in a body to Middelberg, where they received permission of the magistrates to abide in freedom of faith and worship.[59]

Before leaving Norwich altogether, it may be added, that almost all writers about Browne have represented him as preaching there first to the large Dutch element of the population[60] which was Anabaptistically inclined, and from them leavening his own countrymen. Thus Fuller writes: "In the city

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55 Fuller, *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 64.

56 *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 21.

57 *Ibid*, 21.

58 *Ibid.* Brown calls them "Gersey" and "Garnsey."

59 "Met verlof der Regering." [*Naam-Lyst der Predikanten, Ouderlingen en Diakenen, die de Engelsche Gereformeerde Gemeente te Middelburg*, etc. (Middelburg, 1770), 1]. This list of ministers, elders and deacons of the English Reformed Church in Middelberg, has a brief preliminary notice of the Brownists there, and dates the coming of Browne in 1588. As it is clear, however, that this date is taken from D. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, and not from any municipal or other records in Middelberg, it cannot alter the truer chronology otherwise derived. W. Steven [*History of Scottish Church, Rotterdam* (1833), 316] copies this error from this *Naam-lyst.*

60 In 1565, Norwich was in much distress from the decay of its worsted manufacture, and its authorities, as the result of a conference with the Duke of Norfolk, passed a resolution to invite "divers strangers of the Low countries" who were now come to London and Sandwich for refuge from the persecution raised by the Duke of Alva; the consequence of which was a large influx of Dutch to that city. In October, 1571, there were by actual count 868 Dutch men, 203 Walloons, 1,173 women of both nations, and 1,681 children under 14 years — of whom 666 had been born in England; a total of 3,925. [Blomefield, *Hist. Co. Norfolk*, iii: 282, 291; *Le Grand Tresor Historique et Politique du florissant Commerce des Hollandois*, etc. (Rouen, 1712), 14, 18.] These Dutchmen had a flourishing congregation of their own, and its minister, on occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit there, 19 Aug., 1578, made her a neat Latin speech, and presented her with a cup worth £50, for their protection under her government. [*Blomefield*, 337.] There were 363 Dutch and 396 Walloons reported as communicants of the "forraigne" church at Norwich in 1634; 759 in all. John Bulteel, *Relation of Troubles of For. Chhs. in Kent*, etc. (1645), 22.

of Norwich, a place which then spake little more than *medietatem linguæ*, having almost as many Dutch strangers as English natives inhabiting therein. Browne, beginning with the Dutch, soon proceeded to infect his own countrymen,"[61] etc. And one of the historians of Norfolk has even gone so far as to name the church of St. Peter Hungate as that in which Browne preached.[62] Collier has amplified his account with still other particulars, telling us that "Browne made his first essay upon three Dutchmen, and being of a positive imperious temper, took care to pick out the most flexible and resigning. And after having made some progress amongst them, and raised himself a character for zeal and sanctity, he began to tamper further and advance to the English; and here he took in the assistance of one Robert Harrison, a country schoolmaster,"[63] etc. As Collier, however, did not publish until more than a century and a quarter subsequent to these occurrences, and declares that Browne went over into Zeland, first joined Cartwright's congregation there, and then printed a book, copies of which he sent over to England to prepare the way for gathering his church, previous to becoming a missionary at Norwich; and as Fuller says that Browne went over into Zeland "to purchase himself more reputation from foreign parts," for the reason that "a smack of travel gives an high taste to strange opinions, making them better relished to the lickerish lovers of novelty," before all this took place; we shall perhaps be justified in questioning the accuracy of their statements. While, from the intrinsic improbabilities of such a theory; from the total absence of all reference to anything which would justify it in the minutely circumstantial narration which Browne himself gives in his *Trve and Short Declaration;* and from the absence of Dutch names from those which he incidentally mentions as connected with the enterprise; it seems most likely that these reports were adopted without due evidence by the first writers, and passed from them down the everlengthening lines of historians, and encyclopædists. It is probable, however, that some Brownists did remain behind in Norwich who could not, or at least did not, take part with the church

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61 *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 63.

62 Chambers, *General History of the Co. of Norfolk*, etc., 1188.

63 *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, to reign of Charles II.*, etc. (Lathbury's ed. 1852), vii: 2.

and its pastor[64] in this exodus, and that they completed, and for a time maintained, a separate church organization; inasmuch as George Johnson, in 1603, speaks more than once of such a church as existing there, calls it "the elder sister," and says that "Mr. Hunt" was then its pastor.[65]

Arrived thus where they were at liberty to follow conscience in worship, the next two years were spent here. Richard Schilders's[66] printing office bore witness that they were not years of idleness to Robert Browne. If they could do anything for their native land by stretching forth a hand of love out of their exile, it must be done by the press. If they could do anything to take off the reproach which was charged upon them of being troublers and fanatics; and if they could convince the thinking portion of their contemporaries, and of posterity, that they had discovered a more excellent way, even that original way in which holy men walked of old; it must be done through the press. Three treatises clearly were printed during those two years from the pen of Browne,[67] and two from that of Harrison.[68] These books, aside from any little local currency which they may have had, were sent over in sheets into England, where they were bound and circulated by warm sympathizers there; where they arrived at the dignity of drawing a special proclamation from the queen; and where, before Browne trod again his natal soil, two men had been hanged for dispersing, and another

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64 C. Lawne [*Profane Schisme of the Brownists*, etc., 18] gives an account of one Edward Tolwine, who "saw the very beginning of the separation," often entertained Browne, and had made all his arrangements to go to Zeland after him; but the man who had bought his property died suddenly before he had paid for the same, so that the "bargaine came to nothing," and Tolwine could not go. Years after he went to Amsterdam and joined the Brownists there.

65 *Discourse of some Troubles and Excommunications in the Banished English Church at Amsterdam* (1603), 44, 205, 206.

66 In some of his English issues — those of Robert Browne, for example — he Englished his name into "Richarde Painter."

67 *A Booke which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians, and howe vnlike they are vnto Turkes and Papistes, and Heathen folke. Also the Pointes and Partes of all Divinitie*, etc. (1582).

A Treatise vpon the 23. of Matthewe, etc. (1582).

A Treatise of Reformation without Tarying for anie, etc. (1582).

Sometimes found together, and bound as one, my impression is that these were issued separately as fast as printed, but rather with the intention of making one book of the three. One purpose clearly unifies them.

68 *A little Treatise vppon the the firste Verse of the 122. Psalme, Stirring vp vnto carefull desiring and dutifull labouring for true Church Governement* (1583), 16mo, (n. p.) pp. vi, 124. [This was reprinted by William Brewster at Leyden, in 1618, in 16mo, pp. vi, 82.]

Three Formes of Catechismes, conteyning the most principall pointes of Religion (1583), 16mo, pp. 64.

nearly hanged for binding the same.[69] There is some evidence that Harrison had inherited or laid up something, and that he furnished the money which was needful for the printing.[70] I have found no proof of the assertion, repeatedly made,[71] that Browne and Harrison and their company first joined themselves to Cartwright's English church at Middelberg, and subsequently seceded in separate organization; while all probabilities render such a course most unlikely on their part. The rumor

[69] Some account of these men — Copping, Thacker and Gybson — will have a place in the fourth lecture of this series. The Proclamation is worth quoting, for the illustration which it gives of the temper of the times:

"By the Queene: A Proclamation against certaine seditious and scismatical Bookes and Libelles, etc.

"The Queenes most excellent Maiestie being giuen to vnderstande that there are sent from the partes beyond the seas, sundry seditious, scismaticall, and erronious printed Bookes and libelles, tending to the deprauing of the Ecclesiastical gouernment established within this Realme, set foorth by ROBERT BROWNE and RICHARD HARRISON, fled out of the Realme as seditious persons, fearing due punishment for their sundry offences, and remaining presently in Zealande: which seuerall bookes, doe manifestly conteine in them very false, seditious, and scismatical doctrine and matter, and haue notwithstanding bene secretly solde, published, and dispersed in sundry places within this Realme, to the end to breede some scisme among her Maiesties subiectes, being persons vnlearned, and vnable to discerne the errors therein conteined: Her highnesse therefore perceiuing the wickednesse of these euill spirits, and the malicious disposition of lewde and euill disposed persons to be readie to violate and breake the peace of the Churche, the Realme, and the quietnesse of her people, and knowing it also to be most requisite and conuenient for her highnesse to vse those meanes which God hath appointed for preuenting thereof, doeth will, and also straightly charge and commaunde that all maner of persons what so euer, who haue any of the sayde Bookes or any of like nature in his or their Custodie, that they and euery of them doe foorthwith vpon the publishing hereof, bring in and deliuer vp the same vnto the Ordinarie ["One who has ordinary or immediate jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical." Lee, *Glossary*, sub voce] of the Diocesse, or of the place where they inhabite, to the intent they may bee burned, or vtterly defaced by the sayde Ordinary. And that from henceforth no person or persons whatsoeuer, be so hardy as to put in print or writing, sell, set foorth, receiue, giue out or distribute any more of the same or such like sedicious bookes or libels, as they tender her Maiesties good fauour, and will answere for the contrary at their vttermost perils, and vpon such further paynes as the Lawe shall inflict vpon the offendours in that behalfe, as persons maintayning such seditious actions, which her Maiestie myndeth to haue seuerely executed.

"Giuen at her Maiesties Mannor of Greenewich the last day of June, in the fiue and twentieth yeere of her highnesse Reigne [1583]. God saue the Queene." [*Grenville Collection*, (British Museum) fol. 225.] Mr. Arber has also reprinted this in his *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, i: 502.

[70] S. Bredwell says Harrison was "bewitched by Browne," by "stretching his purse so wide, to the printing of his booke." [*Rasing of Foundations of Brownisme*, xii.]

[71] P. Heylyn, [*Hist. of the Presbyterians*, etc. (ed. 1672), 256]; Collier [*Eccl. Hist.*, vii: 1]. Brook [*Lives of the Puritans*, ii: 367] represents Browne as forming his church after his arrival in Zeland. Hanbury [*Hist. Memorials of the Independents*, i: 19], who mentions Harrison only incidentally, falls into the same error. Cartwright, in that letter of his to Harrison which Browne answered in print, says: "your first page had raysed me vnto some hope for the reunitinge of your selfe, with the rest of your company vnto vs, from whom you haue thought good to sunder your selues." [*Answere to Master Cartwright His Letter, etc. whereunto said letter is annexed* (ad calcem), i.] This implies what I have stated in the text.

probably arose from the fact that Harrison, and those who remained with him after Browne sailed for Scotland, then appear to have united themselves to Cartwright's church, and to have remained for a time with them, but afterward to have felt constrained in conscience, against Cartwright's urgency, to make another attempt at separate life.

Browne's own narrative, in that little later quarto[72] the shocking quality of whose typography demonstrates that it was not from Schilders's press, makes evident, what a little reflection upon the likelihoods of the case, not less than contemporaneous history, would lead us to suspect; that these two years included, especially toward their close, great sorrows for him from within. I shall have occasion hereafter to call attention to the fact that the very quality of the reform in which these good people — such as they were, and in their conception of their duty — were engaged, was such as not merely to invite, but almost to necessitate, contention among themselves. It will be sufficient here to mention that, by Browne's own statement, their internal harmony was again and again interrupted by differences of judgment and alienations of feeling; that a party arose among them, who, wearying of the hardness of the way, longed again for the fleshpots of England; that Harrison, the trusted friend, was felt by his pastor — who suffered again from severe illness, incapacitating him for a considerable period from performing the duties of his position — to have lifted up his heel against him; that Mrs. Browne — I have met with no record of the date of her appearance upon the scene — was thought to have added fuel to the fire;[73] that on three several occasions Browne laid down his pastorate, as many times to resume it on the general request; and that all ended in his taking ship, in November or December of 1583, with a minority of "four or five Englishmen with their wives and famileis," who clung to his fortunes, for Scotland; doubtless in the full intent, as King James afterwards scornfully and bitterly said, to "sow" his "popple" there.[74]

Landing at Dundee, and finding some support, he proceeded to Saint Andrews, whence, Andrew Melville giving him a let-

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[72] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 21–24.

[73] G. Johnson, *Discourse of Some Troubles*, etc., 51.

[74] *Introduction to Βασιλικον Δωρον. Works* (1616), 143. The King says this of "Browne, Penry and others."

ter to Mr. James Lowsone, he pushed on to Edinburgh, where, with his company, he arrived on Thursday, 9th January, 1584, and took up his residence in the Canongate,[75] beginning at once to circulate his books and disseminate his peculiar doctrines. This was the summary of his teaching, as set down at the time by a hostile critic:[76] "They held opinioun of separation from all kirks where excommunication was not rigorouslie used against open offenders not repenting. They would not admitt witnesses [i.e. sponsors] in baptism; and sondrie other opinions they had." This goes to show — what indeed lies on the surface of all these men's writings, utterances and endeavors — that the first great thought with them was *reformation.* They were seeking holiness of life; and they advocated a new polity not for its own sake, not, indeed, in the outset, because it was more Scriptural than any then existing, for their studies were only beginning to be turned toward that aspect of the matter; but because of their profound conviction that the practical reform which they sought in the spiritual life, could never be reached in connection with that parish system of churches which considered all baptized persons to be redeemed children of God, until excommunication should furnish proof to the contrary.

The Scotch, whom John Knox had very thoroughly Presbyterianized, were scarcely in the mood to welcome this new faith, and they took time by the forelock, citing Browne to appear on the following Tuesday before the session of the kirk of Edinburgh. Then, and there, as they thought — for the Presbyterian lamb held the pen which portrays this terrible Brownist lion — in "a very arrogant manner," he maintained that sponsors in baptism were not a "thing indifferent, but simplie evill." Strange to say, he failed to convince the session of the correctness of his view. On the following Tuesday (21 January), in a further hearing, he made bold to allege that "the whole discipline of Scotland was amisse; that he and his companie were not subject to it; and therefore, he would appeale from the kirk to the magistrat." The session, upon this, in the benevolent intent of safety in keeping him, and in keeping others from him, appears to have procured his incarceration in

[75] D. Calderwood, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Woodrow Society's ed. 1843—which is vastly superior to edition of 1678), iv: 1.

[76] *Ibid*, iv: 1.

the common jail, and appointed Mr. James Lowsone and Mr. Johne Davidsone to apply their magnifiers to his books, with a view to "be ready against Moonday nixt" with a list of his heresies, "to pose him and his followers thervpon, that therafter the king might be informed."[77] On the following Tuesday (28 January) Browne "with the rest of his complices" was called before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and "continued till the morne." He frankly acknowledged his responsibility for his publications, and his readiness to defend the same, and the two gentlemen before requested to diagnose his theological pestilentiality, were still further enjoined to perfect their work "to be presented to the king."[78] Here the interesting minuteness of this Scotch record suddenly ceases. The "articles" setting forth Browne's enormities were evidently completed and sent up to the Court, and his condemnation thereon confidently anticipated. But the State wind happened, at the moment, to be blowing from another quarter, and the civil authorities were rather minded to vex than to please the Presbytery. The disgusted historian dismisses his comments on these interlopers with the curt sentence: "they were interteaned and fostered to molest the kirk." Browne was released, and, if so light a phrase befit so grave a subject, was rather winked at by the controlling powers. He appears thereafter to have traveled over Scotland in its "best reformed places,"[79] and I am sorry to add that the result of his observation made him say: "I have seen all maner of wickednes to abounde much more in their best places in Scotland, then in our woorser places heere in England,"[80] and the result of his experience made him feel that not only was the soil, as he had three years before foreboded, inhospitable,[81] but the time an evil one for missionary purposes, and he soon returned to England, where he published a book, whose name even I have as yet failed to recover, and which, so far as I am aware, now exists only in a few passages which were quoted from it by Bancroft, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, in his famous sermon at Paule's Crosse on the 9th of February, 1588, and in the indig-

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77 *Ibid*, 2.

78 *Ibid*, 3.

79 R. Bancroft, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse the 9. of Februarie, being the first Sunday in the Parleament, anno 1588* (1588), 76.

80 *Ibid*, 76.

81 *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 21.

nant comments made thereon by certain Scottish writers who reviewed that discourse. The passage which especially incensed them was this, in which he spoke his mind of Presbyterian ways and tendencies: "'I judge' saith he (writing of this Parleament now assembled), 'that if the Parleament should establish such names [of elders and Presbyters] and those the officers according to those names which seeke their owne discipline, that then in steede of one Pope we shoulde have a 1000. and of some lord Bishops in name a 1000. Lordlie tyrants in deed, which nowe do disdaine the names. This I have found by experience to be true: I can testifie by triall of Scotland, which have travelled it over in their best reformed places as in Donde, Saint Andrewes, Edenborough, & sundrie other townes: and have known the king in great danger, and feare of his life by their lordlie discipline.'"[82] The general impression left upon my mind by this language is that its author must now have spent considerable time in Scotland before his return to England.

In what precise mental and spiritual mood he found himself once more in his native country, we lack full evidence. Our first trace of him, with the exception of the fact that he seems to have now published another tract — possibly two; is in a letter from Lord Burghley to the Archbishop of Canterbury, bearing date the 17th of the following July (1584), containing this passage: "I am content that your Grace, and my Lord of London, where I fear Browne is, use him as your Wisdoms think

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[82] Bancroft, *Sermon at Paules Crosse*, 9 Feb. 1588, 76. Bancroft does not mention Browne by name, but only calls him "one of our owne countrie-men, who was in Scotland about the same time, and observed verie diligentlie, etc." [75.] Subsequently [77] he quietly adds: "this mans opinion heerin I know will be greatly contemned, bicause I thinke he hath bin of another judgement. But yet they may give him leave to speake, as his experience (which is no foolish master) hath taught him. For commonly it comes to passe, when rash men run hedlong into any new devises, that *Posteriores cogitationes solent esse sapientiores:* their afterwits are best. Howbeit let him finde what favour at their hands he shall. I must indeed confesse, that if this matter had onely depended upon his report, or opinion, I would not at this time have made mention of him. But it is far otherwise." From all this, while we might suspect Browne, we could not identify him. But the author of *A Briefe Discovery of the Vntruthes and Slanders (against the true Gouernement of the Church of Christ) contained in a Sermon preached ye 8. of Feb. 1588, by D. Bancroft, and since that time set forth in print, with additions by the said authour*, etc. [n. d. 4to], says [43] indignantly: "*Browne*, a knowne Schismaticke, is a man very fit to be one of your witnesses against the Eldership. His entertainment in Scotland was such as a proud ungodly man deserved to haue," etc. While Calderwood [*True History of the Church of Scotland* (ed. 1678), 229] says Bancroft traduced in a public sermon at St. Paul's Crosse "our Kirk and Ecclesiastical government, grounding his calumnies" on "one Robert Browne a ringleader of the Brownists," and "a male-content, because his opinions were not imbraced."

meet. I have cause to pity the poor man."[83] For our next we must go to another letter of the same nobleman to Anthony Browne at Tolethorpe a year from the next October [1585].[84] From these I conjecture that Robert had come back exhausted by misfortune, shattered in health, and staggered by the fact that every door which he tried to open abroad and at home seemed to be shut and barred by Providence against him and in the face of that pure, simple and sufficient gospel to the elaboration and proclamation of which he had devoted his life; yet that he had still endeavored, mainly in his old haunts in and around London, to proclaim his faith, and to circulate the treatises in which it was explained and defended; that he had been arrested by the Bishop of London and cited before the Archbishop of Canterbury, to answer charges tabled against him out of one of these books; and that, on the interposition of the Lord Treasurer, after an extended imprisonment, advantage was taken of the fact that he could not be proved himself to have *circulated* the offensive volume whose authorship he acknowledged, and he was released and remitted to his father's care — Lord Burghley becoming security for his good behavior, and pleading with the old man that he would not "for this cause, or any his former dealings," withdraw from him his "fatherly love and affection, not doubting but with time he will be fully recovered and withdrawn from the relics of some fond opinions of his, which will be the better done if he be dealt withal in some kind and temperate manner."

Another glimpse of the condition of the man, and his affairs, we get on the 17th of the following February [1586] from a second letter of the Lord Treasurer to the same party, which brings out the facts that the improvement in the son's condition appeared very slow to his father; that there seemed "little or no hopes" of his desired return to Conformity; that the father, thinking it might more further the end sought, had asked Lord Burghley's permission to remove his son to the ancient home of the family at Stamford; and that leave had been granted for the transfer.[85]

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[83] Cited by *Hanbury* [i: 22] from *Cole's MSS. Kennet's Collections*, xlviii: 137.

[84] The letter is given by Fuller, *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 65.

[85] *Fuller*, as above. Bredwell says: "before his subscription [at St. Olaves] being about Stamford," etc. [*Rasing of Foundations of Brownism*, etc., 135.]

Here, for a few months, a haze sets in which dims the story. Chalmers[86] somewhere picked up the statement that Anthony Browne lost patience and cast him out. He says: "his good old father resolved to own him for his son no longer than his son owned the Church of England for his mother, and Browne chusing rather to part with his aged sire than his new schism, he was discharged the family." However this may have been, the balance of testimony appears to favor the conclusion that Browne went from Stamford to Northampton in this early spring of 1586, and resumed there the teaching of his offensive doctrines; that Linsell, Bishop of Peterborough, cited him to his court for trial for this renewed offence; that he neglected, or refused to appear; whereupon the Bishop, upon mature deliberation, "excommunicated him for contempt."[87]

The sad remainder of the story may be briefly told. Deeply impressed, as the Church of England writers say, with the fearfulness of this ecclesiastical condemnation, he became reconciled, and readmitted to the church.[88] On the 21st of November following [1586][89] he was elected to be master of the grammar school at St. Olaves, Southwark. This was done only after, in addition to a general pledge of good behavior, he had bound himself over his own signature to comply with the six conditions following, viz.: (1) not to keep any conventicles, or have conference with suspected or disorderly persons; (2) to accompany the children to sermons and lectures in the church; (3) to renounce any error of which he should be convinced, and

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[86] *Biographical Dictionary*, sub nomine.

[87] Brook [*Lives of the Puritans*, ii: 368]. In the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, etc. (1709), Browne's case is used to point the moral of the reclaiming value of the excommunicatory act. Dr. Thos. Bayly while preaching on one occasion before clergymen spoke so freely in favor of this extreme measure of discipline, that Dr. Hammond gently reprimanded him, "but when Dr. Bayly told him the story of Browne, the Doctor was satisfied, and thanked him for his learned discourse." [xii.]

[88] *Brook*, as above, ii: 368.

[89] There is some confusion about these dates, which it seems impossible wholly to adjust. That here given (21 Nov., 1586), not only is that attached to the citation from the original record as given by Dr. Waddington in his *Historical Papers* (1st series), 46, and *Hidden Church*, 32, but it is that which best harmonizes with the requisitions of the narrative. So that I take this to be accurate, and that of 1589, as given by him in his *Congregational History*, ii: 23, and by a writer in *Notes and Queries* [May, 1854, 494], to be erroneous. Bredwell [*Rasing of Foundations of Brownism*, 140] gives the time of his signing the humiliating conditions on which he received election to the school, as "7 Oct., 1585." But this would be inconsistent with Lord Burghley's letters; so that Bredwell must have missed a year, or (possibly, but very improbably) the conditions by a twelvemonth antedated the election.

conform to the doctrine of the Church of England; (4) to use no other than the regulation catechism in the school; (5) at convenient times to take the communion in that parish, according to law; (6) and, not being contented to abide these articles, to avoid the mastership.[90] He is said to have received here a salary of £20 a year.[91] From this position we find him writing, 15 April, 1590, to his noble kinsman an extraordinary letter,[92] enclosing a little treatise containing "tables, and definitions," which he has sought in vain to bring to the notice of several learned Bishops, but which "are ether neglected or through greatre busines forgotten." He has framed them out of the Word of God, which he esteems the fittest original "of all necessarie & general rules of the arts & all learning;" and he stands ready "to justifie this treatise and the exact methods & trueth thereof, against the multitude of philosophers, doctors, & writers heretofore." He is confident that scholars may learn more from his tables in one year, than now in ten times that time they "untowardlie learne in the universities;" and feels sure that if he were authorized to read public lectures, as Plato, Aristotle, Socrates and Pythagoras did, he could do great things, with his Lordship's "good countenance." No trace of any response to this extraordinary paper appears; and to the everlasting loss — greater or lesser — of the world, these "Latine tables and definitions thereof," do not appear to have attained even the secluded immortality of the manuscript rooms of the British Museum, where his autograph letter which enclosed and pleaded for them reposes.

Some nine months before this time [20 June, 1589], Lord Burghley had written to the Bishop of Peterborough asking that Browne, "who hath been so notably disliked in the world for his strange manner of writing and opinions held by him" — seeing "he hath now a good time forsaken the same, and submitted himself to the order and government established in the church," might be received again into the ministry as "a means and

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[90] Extracts from the Minute Book of the School are given by Dr. Waddington in his *Historical Papers* (first series), 46, 47, and *Hidden Church*, 32, 33.

[91] J. Waddington, *Congregational History*, 1567–1700, 23. R. Seymour [*Survey of London*, etc. (ed. 1735), i: 817] says of this school: "Here is a first and second master; the former hath £60. *per ann.*, the latter hath £40. The writing master hath £40. *per ann.*, and the English master hath £40. *per ann.*"

[92] *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxiv: 34.

help for some ecclesiastical preferment."[93] We may infer that the request was granted (but not immediately), for in September, 1591, we find Browne resigning his mastership, and instituted rector of the little parish of Achurch cum Thorpe,[94] a hamlet which a century later contained only some eighteen families.[95] As this living was in Lord Burghley's gift,[96] we may conclude that the subject of our inquiry was now once more indebted to that friendship — or at least that kinship — which had served his turn so many times before.

Here, at Achurch, in some fashion he abode[97] and wrought during the long period of more than forty years, until at some date between 2 June, 1631,[98] and the institution of his successor 8 November, 1633,[99] he died, eighty years old or more, in Northampton jail;[100] the place of his burial being as uncertain as are most of the circumstances of his later life.[101]

Of co-workers, in the strict sense of that term, Browne appears to have had almost none. Possibly the peculiarities of his temperament indisposed others, as well as himself, toward that intimate and abiding connection out of which earnest confederate effort must proceed.[102] The names of only two persons have

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93 *Lansdowne MSS.*, ciii: 60.

94 Bliss, in his edition of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* [ii: 17], copies from the Peterborough registers the minute of Browne's preferment: "*Sept. 6, 1591, admissus fuit Robertus Browne, clericus, ad rect. de Achurch, vac. per laps. temp.*" etc.

95 Whalley, *Bridge's Hist. Northamptonshire*, etc., ii: 364.

96 In "A particular account of all such lands, and other real estate as the Rt. Hon. Wm Lord Burghley, Ld. Treas. of England, etc. was possessed of at the time of his death, as the same was taken and returned upon inquisition" [of date 23 Apr., 1599], occurs the following: "*133. Advocatione Ecclesiæ de Thorpe & Aychurche & vicarie S. Martini in Stamford cn dicto com. Northampt.*" F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, i: 183–189.

97 "A little thatched house he lived in at Thorpe-Waterville is still subsisting, and inhabited by a tenant of the Earl of Exeter. On the chimney is this date—1618." Whalley, *Bridge's Hist. North.*, as above.

98 The last entry in Browne's handwriting upon the parish register of Achurch, bears date 2 June, 1631, being the burial record of "Marce ye daughtr. of a wanderer."

99 Whalley, *Bridge's Hist. North.*, as above.

100 R. Baillie was, I believe, the earliest to mention this [*Dissvasive from the Errours of the Time* (1645), 14]. It may be doubted, however, whether Fuller, who followed him, in 1655, and who probably wrote of his own knowledge, has not been the main authority for its circulation. *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 70.

101 Chalmers [*Biog. Dict.*, sub nomine] and Masters [*Hist. Corpus Christi*, 254], say he was buried in his church at Achurch; the latter specifying that it was "under a large stone at the entrance of the chancel." Fuller, on the contrary, as above, says the interment was in a church-yard neighboring to the jail in Northampton.

102 Browne mentions, as among his early associates at Cambridge, Robert and William Harrison, and Robert Barker. [*Trve and Short Declar.*, 1]. He names, in connection

come down to us as specially identified with him in the public mind.

Of these Robert Harrison, to whom reference has been already made, was chief. He united in the original formation of the first Brownist church at Norwich, and in Browne's early labors in England.[103] He went with the company to Zeland; probably having been second officer of the church from the beginning. After the disruption, the departure of Browne and his handful to Scotland, and the fruitless endeavor to effect a satisfactory union with Cartwright's company, he seems to have assumed, and until his early death retained, the pastorate of that portion of the church still in Middelberg. Besides some small catechisms,[104] he published *A Little Treatise Vpon the first verse of the 122. Psalme, stirring vp vnto carefull desiring and dutifull labouring for the true Church Government*, which William Brewster thought worthy of his reprinting at Leyden in 1618.[105] He wrote in great humility, as one "which for my unworthinesse and poore

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with the organization of the Norwich Church, "Roberts, Barker, Nicolas Woedowes, and Tatsel, Bond." I suspect — and the wretched character of the printing would account for any number of blunders — that the first, if not the fourth of these commas should be omitted, and that here were only three men instead of five; the first being him last named at Cambridge. [*Ibid*, 19.] He further states that R. H. [of course meaning Harrison]; C. M.; W. H. [possibly the William Harrison—was he Robert's brother? — who was at Cambridge]; and I. C., were chief actors in the difficulty which led to the breaking up of the company. *Ibid*, 24.

[103] It is clear that these co-labors were at that time sufficient to impress the public mind with the thought of the two as partners in a common endeavor. 12 July, 1583, Oliver Pigg of Rougham, Suffolk (near Bury St. Edmonds), wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham supplicating some favor, taking pains to add that "he detests from his heart *the euil proceedings of Browne, Harrison, and their fauorers*." [*State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, clxi: 33.] I have already [p. 75] referred to the evidence that Harrison afforded pecuniary aid to Browne in the first printing of his books. As to Harrison's history, consult *Ath. Cant.*, ii: 177; Strype, *Annals*, II, i: 433, 435; III, i: 269; *Parker*, II, 69, 336. *Fuller* [v: 67] calls him *Richard*, as does the Queen's Proclamation before cited [p. 75].

[104] *Three Formes of Catechismes, conteyning the most principall pointes of Religion.* R. H., 1583, 16mo, 64. These are designed for the general edification of a congregation, and scarcely allude specifically to church government. The first, and most elaborate, in answer to the question:

"Where doth the Lord nourish and bring up his people?" etc., says:

"In ye place which ye Lord doeth chuse to putt his name there: even his churche, his Sion where he vouchsafeth to dwell, ye kingdome of his Sonne, which he do gouerne by ye Scepter of his Worde, a Scepter of righteousnesse. Which church holdeth one law and order under her kinge, and therefore is called Catholike. And ye members of ye same holde a happie fellowshippe as ye members of one bodie, serving one to another by yr giftes and graces, and sustaininge one an others neede in mutuall charitie. And this is called ye communion of saincte," etc., 52.

[105] The original edition [1583, 16mo, vi, 124] is in the British Museum, [3090, a], and at Lambeth, [xxx, 9, 3, (2)]. I have met with no other copy of Brewster's reprint, than that which I possess.

gift, had thought never to haue set forth anything publickly," but persuaded thereto by the facts: that divers brethren in England who desired to join them in Zeland "were restrained;" that for him and his associates to return to them "would little availe," because it would be to immigrate to prison; and so the only way "to bestow upon them some thing which might help to increase their spirituall courage and comfort," was to write "some little treatise."[106] He is urgent as to the need "that we remoue our selues from euill, and worship God according to his word, chusing rather to suffer the crosse, then to deny Christ by slauish giuing ouer of that authoritie and libertie, which he hath given vnto his people;"[107] and is severe upon some [Puritans] who were "onely making conscience at the Cap and Surplesse, and kneeling at the communion, and therein stood all their religon;" and of others who "when they were tried and weighed," were "found too light," and "so by their untowardnesse they caused the savour of the Lords worke to stinke in the nostrils of the people."[108] He labors to make it clear that the ill example, or unfortunate end, of any reformer ought not to "quench our zeale and care of searching out the Lords cause, that we should not take it in hand;"[109] answers the objections of those who are loth to submit themselves to "the Admonition, Rebuk and Excommunication of the Minister and the Congregation;"[110] and repudiates earnestly that notion which would "tie the Ordination of every minister, as it were, unto the girdle of other ministers, that of necessity it must at all times depend and stay upon them."[111] In one point he was behind Browne — who, as we shall see, was in advance of his age in arguing that the secular authority has nothing to do with matters of religion, except as civil offence may become involved — teaching that "the civill magistrates may & ought also to strike with their sword every one which being of the Church, shal openly transgresse against the Lords commandements."[112]

At some date which we cannot precisely fix, subsequently to

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106 Preface (ed. 1618), iv. He speaks here twice of "sicknesse" as having seriously interfered with his plans. His early death seems to have had premonitions.

107 *Ibid*, 34.

108 *Ibid*, 35.

109 *Ibid*, 40.

110 *Ibid*, 66.

111 *Ibid*, 46.

112 *Ibid*, 79.

his withdrawal with his friends from the Conformist church of the English merchants at Middelberg to which Mr. Cartwright then ministered, Harrison addressed a letter to Mr. Cartwright; a letter apparently intended to justify that withdrawal. Mr. Cartwright answered it in a tone indicating respect for its writer,[113] and Robert Browne replied to this answer — printing the same in the end of his book,[114] but I find no evidence that Harrison's letter was ever printed.

The name of Edward Glover was also associated with that of Browne in the literature of the time, but it is quite possible that this association was due much more to the fact that both antagonized the established order, than that they were at one either in their theories or methods of doing so. Of him we only learn that he was a minister;[115] was at the head of a religious company;[116] and wrote a book, which was ascribed to Browne's influence, in which he was charged with teaching the heresies of perfection and free-will;[117] that he had a conference with Messrs. Whitaker and Egerton;[118] was imprisoned by Whitgift in 1586;[119] and in April of that year wrote a letter,[120] which still exists, to Lord

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[113] He begins [i] by speaking of the "hope" which the first page of Harrison's letter "had raysed me vnto" of his return to the church; and concludes by expressing his willingness to hearken unto any — "much more vnto you whom the Lord in mercie hath bestowed good graces vpon, shewing better thinges," etc. [x.]

[114] *An Answere to Master Cartwright his Letter for ioyning with the English churches: whereunto the true copie of his sayde Letter is annexed, etc.* London, [n. d.] 4to, ii, 85, xi.

[115] Strype, *Annals*, iii (1): 634. Brook, *Puritans*, i: 313.

[116] Strype, *Annals*, iii (1): 634.

[117] Stephen Bredwell, *Detection of Edward Glovers Heretical Confection, etc., with an Admonition to the followers of Glover and Browne* (1586), [119]. The only copy of this book which I have ever seen is in the Cambridge (Eng.) University Library. Press-mark: [8. 29. 49.]

[118] *Ibid*, 119.

[119] Strype, *Annals*, iii (1): 634.

[120] The letter — which Strype has imperfectly printed — is as follows:

"Acknowledginge my selfe most highlye bownde unto your honor in yt you would voutchsafe for ths. poore & contemptible prisoner to write so graciouslye unto ye Archebishop, theese are to repaye, what poore recompense & thankes I am able, wishinge unto your Ldp. most good I can, thoughe I am of power to do none, & prayinge to God most hartylye for ye same. Also to preavent synister information, I thought it most neadefull to explayne truly & briefely unto your wisdome ye capitall poyntes for ye whh. we suffer, & wherein yt we can be proved to erre, we require to be reformed by reason & not by rigor.

"1. The first and cheefest is in yt we teache yt all men to be justified must come to Christe, who is only & wholy our remission & iustification, by ye way of true faythe & repentance or amendment of lyfe, as Iohn Babtiste teacheth: and not by faythe only, as Luther of late hathe taughte.

"2. The second is, yt God hathe from ye beginninge chossen in Christe & predestinate none to be in ye state of salvation for yt time as they are not predestinate to be in ye state of charitie & true repentance: as Mr. Calvin newly hath written.

"3. The third & last, yt ye viniard of God,

Burghley, who so often befriended Browne, implying similar kindness received by himself, and explaining somewhat his real views.

I need hardly remind you that it has been usual — almost universal — to brand Robert Browne as an ambitious bigot in his earlier, and a contemptible sneak in his later, years; with the easy if not inevitable inference that he must have been a hypocrite through all. Fuller, who, not only by his eminence as a church historian, but by the fact that he was a native of the vicinity, and, in his own childhood had often seen the man, has usually been taken as the most trustworthy witness concerning him, would not believe that Browne ever really recanted his Brownism; insinuating that, by collusion between Lord Burghley, then Earl of Exeter, and the ecclesiastical authorities, he was allowed to enjoy the living without compliance with its standards, or performance of its duties. He says that he had lapsed from Sabbatarian strictness; that he neither lived with the wife he had vowed to cherish, nor preached in the church whose tithes he pocketed; and pictures him as a disagreeable, obstinate and quarrelsome old man, who had quite outlived all friendship, and whose dying was, through neglect of duty and contempt of law, among felons in a common prison.[121] To this Robert Baillie, who was not in the habit of letting slip any opportunity to throw in some darker shadow when he was painting the picture of a theological adversary, ten years before had added[122] — he says he has "heard it from reverend Ministers" —

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ye churche of Christe, is not given to sutch who professe in worde only: but only to sutch who bringe fourth ye frute thereof in there seasons. ffor ye discussinge whereof we referre our selues to ye due tryall & examination of ye worde especiallie, as also to ye authoritie of ancient ffathers agreable thereunto, by ye wh. yf we shall be convicte before indifferent Iudges in an open assemblye, we offer our selues willingely to be reformed, or els refuse no punishment. Humbly beseeching all in authoritie yt we may fynde this acquitie, wh. theves, murtherers & all malefactors fynde, to weete, that our Accusers & Adversaries may not be our Iudges: yt our causes may not be determined of in corners: yt they may not handle us as they like them selues: And so shall we not haue ye cause we haue in whh. to complayne of there iniquitie & tiranie.

"The Lorde Iesus preserue you & yours from all euill for ever. Amen.

"Your humble Orator, Edward Glover."

[The letter is not dated, but — though calendared at 1596 — it is endorsed in a handwriting of the time, "Ap. 1586. Ed. Glover to my L.;" which Strype accepts as the true date]. *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxv: 50.

[121] *Chh. Hist.*, v: 68.

[122] The *Disswasive*, etc., was first published in 1645; the first edition of Fuller's Church History came out in 1655.

that he "was a common beater of his poor old wife, and would not stick to defend publikely this his wicked practice;" that he was "an open profaner of the Sabbath;" and that it was because he was withholding the small pittance of the curate whom "lazinesse in his Calling made him keep," that he was where he was, when death took him away.[123] Pagitt, who was one of the best of haters, contemporaneously contributed to this ugly portrait one touch of varnish, by appending what he says was the justification which Browne was wont to offer for his brutality to his wife; to wit: that "he did not beate her as his wife, but as a curst old woman."[124] Honorus Regius went even further than this, styling him: "Vir impius, et dissolutissimæ vitæ."[125]

Contemptuous and disgraceful as are these statements of the Church of England writers, it is not strange that on the other side those whom Browne deserted should speak reproachfully of his character, and resist the baptism of his name; the more that — as we shall have occasion to see hereafter — most of the leading men who identified themselves with the earlier fortunes of the Congregational way, particularly in New England, were thoroughly afraid of democracy, and were ever exercising their ingenuity upon the contrivance of some kind of Congregationalism which should be Presbyterianism, without being such. Men thus minded, disrelishing the central element of his system as heartily as they thought themselves entitled to mislike his character, could hardly he expected to deal tenderly with Robert Browne. So we are quite prepared to find Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson, speaking, in 1604, of their Amsterdam company of believers as "such trve Christians, as are commonly (but vniustly) called Brovvnists;"[126] and Gov. Bradford, protesting against the injury done to the Plymouth men in being designated by his name, "whose person they never knew, whose writings few if any of them ever saw, and whose errors and backslidings they have constantly borne witness against;"[127] and John Cotton saying: "to speak with reason, if any be justly to

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123 *Disswasive from the Errours of the Time* (1645), 14.

124 *Heresiography*, etc. (originally 1645) (ed. 1654), 58. He refers to this again: "Father Browne, who would curstly correct his old wife, as before." 66.

125 In his *De Statu Ecclesiæ in Anglia*, as cited by J. Peirce, *Vindiciæ Fratrum Dissentientium in Anglia*, etc. (1710), 57.

126 *Apologie or Defence*, etc. [title].

127 Dialogue, etc., *Young's Chronicles of Plymouth*, 444.

be called Brownists, it is onely such as revolt from Separation to Formality, and from thence to prophanenesse;"[128] and, almost in our own time, the well-read Hanbury affirming that the rector of Achurch "left to the Church of England the ample legacy of his shame."[129]

I conceive that the question needing settlement in the outset, if we would form any just conception and fair estimate of this man's quality and work, is whether to human eye he were or were not genuine in the religious character of his early life, and the spirit of his Separatist theories and ministry. Upon this, fortunately, we do not lack abundant and apparently unimpeachable evidence. The tests which we should apply and regard as conclusive in any contemporary case, would surely be: first, the opinion of those having means of knowledge who are presumably themselves good judges of Christian character; and, second, the personal statements of the subject of inquiry. It so happens that both of these are within our reach in this case in a manner somewhat remarkable at this distance of time.

As to the first, we have his own averment, which does not lack corroboration, that the Rev. Richard Greenham, of Dry Drayton, was for a time his theological tutor, and the original promoter, and first sponsor, of his ministry.[130] Who, then, was Richard Greenham? The answer is not difficult, since, beside the verdict of his contemporaries, his own "Works"[131] still testify of his temper and toil. We first hear of him, apparently about 1573, as rendering to the Bishop of Ely an "Apologie," on "being commanded to subscribe, and to use the Romishe habite," in which he announced his "plaine, determinate and resolued purpose," that he "neyther can, nor will, weare the apparrell, nor subscribe vnto it, or the communion booke."[132] We learn elsewhere that "his constant course was" to preach thrice on the Lord's Day, then once on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednes-

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128 *Way of Cong. Churches Cleared*, etc. (1648), 5.

129 *Hist. Mem. relating to Independents*, etc. (1839), i: 24.

130 *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 2.

131 *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithfull Servant of Jesvs Christ, Mr. Richard Greenham, Minister and Preacher of the Word of God, collected into one Volume*, etc., folio, (mine is the fifth edition), London, 1612, pp. xviii, 875, xi.

132 See the *Apologie or Aunswere*, as reprinted by Waldegrave in *A Part of a Register*, etc. (1590), 86–93.

days, on Thursdays to catechize the youth, and on Fridays to preach again; that, on these week-day occasions, he "would be in the Pulpit in the morning as soon as he could well see," in order that his farmer hearers might feel able to afford the time to attend on his ministry; that twice a day he prayed in his family, and after sermon examined his servants. He was so thoughtful of the poor that, in a time of scarcity, when barley was ten groats a bushel, he managed that it should be sold for four in his town; kept but two beasts himself, that the needy might have his fodder; and when others sold their straw for "two shillings a dayes thrash," he sold his for ten pence — so by his prudence keeping the low-hearted from famishing.[133] It is easy to see from his printed Remains that he was an eminently godly man; the sweet savor of intense and memorable consecration exhaling in rare perfume from every page. He had a peculiar interest in young men, and in Cambridge young men, and a memorial of his to a person of quality pleads touchingly for such pecuniary aid as should at least keep them from being driven by hunger "into the Ministerie, both vnseasonably and hurtfully."[134] He was greatly exercised, moreover, as to the awful dangers of hypocrisy and hardness of heart in professedly Christian people, and especially in those who preach. The devil, he says, "knoweth it is more dangerous to poyson the Fountaine, whereof all drinke, than the cup whereof one drinketh; and therefore hee hath well prouided the Ministerie to bee but a spring, whereat all the wilde Asses quench their thirst."[135] Evil ministers, he declares, "bee like to bels calling other to the places where they neuer come; to blacke sope, making white and remaining blacke; to blunt whetstones, which sharpen other things but they continue dull; to rough ragged files, smoothing al other things, themselues remaining rough and not changed; to Noahs ship-wrights, which make the Arke, but themselves were not saued in it;"[136] and he "feared much the preposterous zeale and hastie running of young men into the Ministerie; because, as iudgment, so also stayednesse, and moderation, vse, experience, grauitie in ordering affections, and the hauing some

[133] *Harleian MSS.*, 6037: 17. See also S. Clarke, *Lives of Thirty-two English Divines*, etc. (ed. 1677), 12.

[134] *Works* (as above), 874.

[135] *Ibid*, 370.

[136] *Ibid*, 400.

masterie ouer corruption, was needful in him that should teach others."[137] With all this he did not estimate highly the importance of the questions then agitated as to church polity. "Many," we find him writing, "meddle and stirre much about a new Church gouernment, which are senseles and barren, in the doctrine of new birth: but alas what though a man know many things, and yet know not himselfe to be a new creature in Iesus Christ? It is often the police of Sathan to make vs trauell in some good thing to come, when more fitly we might be occupied in good things present."[138] He was a decided reformer, but a Puritan, and he reasoned thus: "it is one thing to liue where meanes of pure worship are wanting; another to bee where false worship is erected: for the first we are not to flie the Church, but by prayer and patience to stay the Lords mercie: for the other, we must depart because of that abomination."[139]

The first good thing here is that Robert Browne was himself drawn toward such a man, and of his own choice continued for a considerable period a member of his household, and a pupil in his school of the prophets.[140] One finds it difficult to conceive that an insincere and scheming soul should feel itself attracted to be, and to remain, within the nearest sweep and most urgent force of such an influence. The account of the matter which he gives is, that he was led thus to Mr. Greenham because "he hard sai" that he "of all others," was "most forwarde" [i. e.: in religious reform] and so he "thought that Vvith him, & by him, he should have some stai of his care & hope of his purpose."[141]

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[137] *Ibid*, 24.

[138] *Ibid*, 519.

[139] *Ibid*, 296. Nor was this reasoning suggested by any want of courage on his part, for we find him terrible in invective of wrong; as where he represents the souls "lying vnder the grislie altars of destruction" in consequence of negligent pastors, as crying out: "O Lord, the reuenger of bloud, behold these men whom thou hast set ouer vs to giue vs the bread of life, but they haue not giuen it vs, our toongs, and the toongs of our children haue sticken to the roofe of our mouthes, for calling, and crying, and they would not take pitie on vs: we haue giuen them the tenths which thou hast appointed vs, but they haue not giuen vs thy truth which thou hast commanded them: reward them O Lord as they haue rewarded vs, let the bread betweene their teeth turne vnto rottennes in their bowels, let them be clothed with shame, and confusion of face as with a garment, let their wealth as the doung from the earth be swept away by their executors, and vpon their gold and siluer which they haue falsely treasvred vp, let continually be written, The price of bloud, the price of bloud; for it is the valew of our bloud, . . . forget not the bloud of many when thou goest into iudgement." *Ibid*, 831.

[140] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 2. Browne says: "Wherefore, as those which in ould tyme were called the prophetes & children of the prophetes & liued to gether, because of corruptions among others, so came he vnto him."

[141] *Ibid.*

And the second pleasant fact in this connection is, that such a man thought so well of his young pupil and friend, as — with all his own evident insight of character, his general conservatism on such subjects, and his solicitude not merely as to the entrance of unworthy men into the ministry, but as to the premature entrance of worthy ones, as well — to suffer him after he had taken some apprenticeship in first speaking "of that part of scripture Vvhich was vsed to be red after meales," "to teach openlie in his parish" without "leaue & special vvord from the bishop." Pagitt refers to the connection between the two men, and says Browne, before finally leaving the Church of England, informed Mr. Greenham of his intentions, and that the Drayton pastor dissuaded his old pupil; but even Pagitt seems to admit that Mr. Greenham expressly acknowledged he "doubted not" the integrity of his purpose.[142]

This is substantial — and I venture to think sufficient — external endorsement; and I now call your attention to some proof from the man's own pen of the genuineness of his Christian experience, and the honesty of his purpose in entering the ministry. In general, I may say I could not entertain a doubt that any Christian of sound discernment who should carefully examine his rude little quarto, entitled *A Trve and Short Declaration, both of the Gathering and Ioyning together of Certaine Persons: and also of the Lamentable Breach and Division which fell amongst Them*, which is the modest name he gave to the constructive autobiography to which I have before referred, would rise from its perusal — while regretting, though scarcely wondering at, some things therein — with a profound and tender satisfaction in the godly honesty with which it was written. I can only present you with a bit from here and there, toward the proof of what I say.

When he begins the story of his starting out upon life for himself, he declares that he had "a special care to teach religion with other learning" to his "schollers." The thing which chiefly grieved him in the methods of instruction to which he had to submit, was, that the children could not "profit so much in religion, as that their other studies & learning might be

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[142] *Heresiography* 52. He says he (R. B.) | "went away in his hot zeale."

blessed thereby." It was his conviction, thus engendered, that something must somehow be wrong in the practical relations of religion to society, which led him wholly to give "him selfe to search & find out the matters of the church: as how it was to be guided & ordered, & what abuses there were in the ecclesiastical gouernment then vsed." He had one rule: "Whatsoever thinges he ffound belonging to the church, & to his calling as a member off the church, he did put it in practis." He labored in his school — "as all the Townsemen where he taught gave him witnes" — that "the kingdom off God might appeare." It was because it seemed to him that "by some better waie he might profit the church," that he abandoned teaching as a profession, and went back to the university and to Mr. Greenham. He says "he might haue lived with his father, being a man of some countenaunce,[143] and have wanted nothinge, if he hadd beene so disposed, but his care as alwayes before, so then especially, being set on the church of God, he asked leave of his father & tooke his Iournie to Cambridge." It was for the reason that the way of the Bishops did not seem to him to lead to the paths of spiritual peace, that he preached in Benet church against them. The great answer which he made to that Cambridge church, when declining their earnest and repeated call to their pulpit, was that his first appeal must be to conscience and to God, and his chief endeavor, to act as "his dutie did bind him." It was the conviction to which he was finally and unalterably forced, that it was hopeless to expect the needed reformation of spiritual life from the old-fashioned Popish system of parish churches, which drove him to the conclusion that resort must be had to associations of believers, who were godly men, "be they never so few." This conclusion was reached "with manie teares." His sole object in leaving Cambridge for Norwich — sending back the money of the church which besought his continuance with them — was that he might have the comfort and the advantage of being with those whom he thought to be living nearest to God of all of whom he could hear anything in the kingdom. So implicit and literal was his acceptance of the Word of God, that he was disposed to question the sound-

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[143] "Importance; account." Halliwell's | *Dict. Archaisms*, etc., sub voce.

ness of his friend Harrison's conviction that "his first calling & effectuall stirring to goodness was on a certaine time when he red in the Bible," because he himself understood Paul to teach that "faith cometh by hearing" a spoken gospel. The special burden which was on his spirit concerning his little church when it was formed at Norwich, was "that all should further the kingdom off God in themselues & especiallie in their charge & household, iff thei had anie, or in their freindes & companions & whosoeuer Vvas worthie." And, finally, there runs like a golden thread through all his simple and homely narrative, a perfectly apparent, never obtrusive but often exampled, willingness to suffer even unto bonds and imprisonment for the sake of bearing witness to the truth. When his Norwich flock were hesitating whether to flee out of England, from the Archbishop's dungeon in London he wrote to them "that thei were to do that good in England which possiblie thei might do before their departure, & that thei ought not to remoue before thei had yet further testified the trueth & the Lord had with strong hand delivered them frō these. And rather indeed would he haue it to be a deliuerance by the Lord, then a coweardly fleeing off their owne deuising."[144]

These all, I submit, are not the words of a charlatan, nor of a restless and ambitious fanatic. There is too much of the fine flavor of evangelical truth, too much of the sad soberness of a broken and contrite heart, about them for that. And when corroborated by the external testimony of one of the best men of his time, having opportunity of faithful knowledge, is it possible to entertain a reasonable doubt that it was as a man who walked with God, and who eagerly sought to be a co-worker with Christ on earth, that Robert Browne began, in his impetuous youth, his career as an ecclesiastical reformer?

I am ready, then, to approach, to open, and to explore his writings with that prepossession of confidence and respect, which the heart-born utterances of any man who speaks out of the depths of a prayerful, self-denying and consecrated life, may rightly challenge from kindred spirits.

Besides the *Trve and Short Declaration*, and the unrecognized treatise, mention of which has been made in connection with his

144 *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 1, 2, 6, | 7, 10, 20.

visit to Scotland on his way home from Zeland; another of which we know as little, and for the little that we do know of which we are indebted to the same sermon of Bancroft, wherein a passage from it is cited as from "a treatise of his [Browne] against one Barow;"[145] a reply from his pen to Stephen Bredwell's *Admonition to the followers of Glover and Browne*, which appears to have been circulated in manuscript but never printed, and two other similar manuscripts;[146] we have two separate works, the first (comprising, as I have said, three several treatises) printed at Middelberg, and the second at London. In its completeness, the former begins with *A Treatise of Reformation vvithout Tarying for anie, and of the wickednesse of those Preachers which will not reforme till the Magistrate commaunde or compell them.* [4to (n. p.), pp. 18.] Then follows *A Treatise vpon the 23. of Matthewe, both for an Order of Studying and Handling the Scriptures, and also auoyding the Popishe disorders, and vngodly comunion of all false Christians, and especiallie of wicked Preachers and Hirelings.* [4to (n. p.), pp. 44.] The third part is entitled *A Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true*

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[145] *Sermon at Paules Crosse*, etc., 76. I give the whole passage which Bancroft quotes, both for its intrinsic interest, and as a means of the possible identification of the book. I think the "treatise" must have been printed, or Bancroft would scarcely have fallen in with it, or, if he had found it in *MS.* would have mentioned that fact. "Whereas you charge us," saith he, "in denieing Christ in his offices, and consequently not to be come in the flesh: it shall appeere by your presbyterie or elder-men, that indeede you are and will be the aldermen even to pull the most ancient of all, Christ Jesus himselfe by the beard: yea and seeke not onely to shake him by the lockes of his haire out of his offices, but also all his ancients under him, I meane the lawful magistrates and ministers, which have lawfull authoritie from him.

"Wherefore not we but you rather seeke the glistering blase of great name: and if once you might get up the names of Elders and Presbyters, what mischiefe, crueltie, and pride would not streame from that name, even as fire from a blasing star to set on fire the whole worlde? For every busie foole, the more busie he were in discrediting others, and seeking mastership among the people, the better elder he should be judged. Yea and this new name of an elder given him, were even as a sacrament of grace, and woulde seale up all his knauerie: that whatsoever filthines dropped from him, yet the skirt of his ancients gowne should cover it."

[146] I judge that this Reply to Bredwell never went through the press, partly because I have found no trace of any such printed book, but mainly because Peter Fairlambe in his careful list of "Bookes in defence of Brownisme" which he had read, sets down "his [Browne's] Aunswere *in writing* to Steephen Bridewell, his first booke against Brownists." [*The Recantation of a Brownist*, etc. (1606), 19.] Stephen Bredwell, in his *Detection of Edward Glover's Heretical Confection*, etc. (1586), cites a passage from Browne's *Conference with M. P. & M. E.* as if it were accessible (I take it in *MS.*) to those whom he was addressing [p. 124]; and also seems to imply another *MS.* treatise from Browne's pen, in the *Seconde Answere or Reioynder to Brownes Replie for the doubts and objections of his Disciple*, to which he devotes several pages of his *Rasing the Foundations*, etc. [11–60].

Christians, and howe vnlike they are vnto Turkes and Papistes, and Heathen folke: Also the Pointes and Partes of all Diuinitie, that is of the reuealed will and worde of God, are declared by their seuerall Definitions, and Diuisions in order as followeth. [4to (n. p.), pp. 111.] The latter, which is without date, was most likely issued in 1584, after his return to England. It is a thin quarto [pp. ii, 85, xi], entitled *An Answere to Master Cartvvright, his Letter for Ioyning with the English Churches: wherevnto the true copy of his sayde Letter is annexed.*

From the three of these eight which are now accessible, we shall find it easy to develop the Brownism of Robert Browne. And if we discover it to be, in some essential features, other than has been commonly represented; it will not furnish the first instance on record in which a teacher has been proved to be a surer witness than his doubtful friends or his undoubted enemies, of the actual inner substance and vital force of his own doctrine.

The first thing to be considered, if we desire clear and accurate comprehension of this Brownism, is its point of contact with, and of departure from, the Puritanism out of which it was developed. It has been usually, I do not know but I should almost do right to say invariably, represented as a movement solely for the change of form — conceived and carried out purely in the interest of polity. The latest revision of the ponderous *Encyclopædia Britannica* — in a volume bearing date within the last twelve-month, and aiming to be a standard authority upon all points which it treats — says: "The occasion of the Brownists' separation was not any fault they found with the faith, but only with the discipline and form of government of the other churches in England."[147] There is of course a sense in which this is true; yet, unexplained, it must tend to suggest an impression not only essentially misleading, but unworthy of the men whom it is seeking to describe. Browne was not a peevish plotter, uneasy with what was, and looking every whither restless for what might be, until, the idea of democracy in ecclesiastical form occurring to him, he must needs move heaven and earth to have

[147] Article *sub nomine*. Diderot said, as well, (1772): "Ce n'etoit pas pour les articles de foi qu'ils se separoient des autres communions, mais a cause de la discipline ecclesiastique; et surtout de la forme du gouvernement de l'eglise." [*Encyc.*, sub nomine *Brownistes.*]

it tried. On the contrary he advanced very slowly in his retrocession from things as they were; and only as compelled of conscience, by a motive lying at another point of compass from all thoughts of polity. As I have already intimated, the one original, urgent, controlling thought, which grew to be a burden upon his soul which he could no longer carry, was that of the laxness, the corruption, the practical ungodliness of those parish assemblies of all sorts of persons which were the only churches that the Church of England knew. Not merely the worldliest, and the most selfish and greedy people, but unbelievers and those of scandalous lives, might legally, if in point of fact they did not habitually, partake of the Lord's Supper, without protest, or distinction, side by side with the very elect and anointed of God. It will be instructive to notice, further than has been implied in what has been already said, with some minuteness, how his mind labored on this point in the beginning.

"No man can serue twoe contrarie maisters, saieth Christ (Matt. vi.), nether can thei be the Lordes people without his staffe of beutie & bandes (Zac. xi: 7); that is, without the Lordes gouermēt. For his couenant is disanulled, as it followeth in the 10. verse. Novve his gouernment & sceptre cā not be ther, where much opē wickednes is incurable. For if opē wickedness must needes be suffered, it is suffered in those vvhich are without: as Paul saieth what haue I to do to iudge those which are without (1 Cor. v: 12). And againe he sayeth even of these latter times, that men shall be louers of them selues, couetous, boasters, proud, cursed speakers, disobediēt to parents, vnthāckfull, vnholie, without naturall affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, intemperate, feirce, dispisers of them which are good, traiters, headie, highmīded, louers of pleasures more then louers of God, haueing a shewe of godliness, but hauing denied the power thereof. From such we must turn awaie as Paul warneth (2 Tim. iii: 5), that is we must count them none of the church & leaue them, whether in all these, or in some of them, theie be openlie soe faultie, as that thei be incurable. Also if anie be forced by lavves, penalties & persecution, as in those parishes, to ioine with anie such persons, ether in the sacramentes, or in the seruice & worship of God, thei ought vtterlie to forsake thē, & auoid such wickednes. For the abomination is set vp, antichrist is got into his throne, & who ought to abide it. yea who ought not to seeke from sea to sea, & from land to land, as it is written (Amos viii: 12), to haue the worde and the sacramentes better ministred, & his seruice & worship in bettei manner."[148]

It was mainly because the Bishops justified this state of things, that he declared they could not be Christ's ministers. And it

[148] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 7. See | also closing sentences of *Treat. of Ref.* etc. 18

was because Mr. Cartwright, and even his good teacher Mr. Greenham, and the Presbyterian Puritans generally, not only saw their way clear to remain without protest in connection with such a system;[149] but proposed nothing whatever in the way of any modification of church arrangements which would cut loose the godly from the ungodly alliances forced upon them by the State, that the thought of coming out to be separate, first suggesting itself as an expedient of relief, grew in the fiery logic of his meditations to be the only philosophical method of right action; as, to his subsequent reflection, it revealed itself to lead to the exact reproduction of the original methods which inspiration has chronicled. "Some preachers," he said to Harrison, "while thei were forvvard and did striue for reformation, soe long thei did good: but Vvhen they relented, and fell to mitigations and tolerating: thei did not so much good before, but then thei did twise soe much hurtt."[150] The lungs of his soul were suffocating, and he broke forth because he must have air. If any one village or town were fully ready for reform, it was so tied down by the interlacings of the system that all others must be waited for; and the magistrate must be waited for, and the magistrate never would be ready. And so there was nothing for it but for those who were ready, to move; justifying themselves by their clear sense of such Scripture as clearly teaches the duty of those who will be righteous to separate themselves from the wicked, and trusting that, as he that doeth His will shall know of the doctrine, all yet unclear would be made manifest in due time to their obedience. The actual practical starting-point of Browne's system, then, was this:

1. It is necessarily the first duty of every true Christian to endeavor the highest attainable purity of faith and life.

Others, necessitated by the application of this to existing matters, followed.

2. The Church of England was inwardly so corrupt, and outwardly so under subjection to an unscriptural hierarchy, that

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[149] "They are all turned backe after bablinge Prayers and toying worshippe, after priestlie Preachers, blinde Ministers and Canon offices, after Popishe attire and foolishe disguising, after fasting, tythings, holy dayes, and a thousande more abominations; and their feete doo sticke faste in the myre and dirt of all Poperie, that they can not gett out." *Treatise on 23. Matt.*, etc., 30.

[150] *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 11.

every true Christian ought to strive at once to obtain its reform, or, failing that, to separate from it to follow Christ elsewhere. We have already noted his general view, and as to this corruption and subjection, he speaks much, and with tremendous emphasis.[151]

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[151] "O Churche of price! O the famouse Church of Englande! Tell ye the Church, that is, tell ye the Bishoppe of the Dioces. The Church can give him authoritie to authorise both the church itselfe, and the Ghospell, as if God should intreate such a Prelate to be good vnto him: and as if the church should pul him by the sleaue, that he put not out her eyes. O church without eyes! For thy light is shutt vp at the Bishops *Bene-placitum*. Art thou the church of Christe, when thy starres be not in his hande, but the fystes of thy Bishoppes doo pull them downe from thee? Yet is this church of Englande the pillar and ground of trueth! For the Bishops ouer-ryde it. They are the trueth and it is the ground. It is the Beast and they are the Ryders. It stoupeth as an Asse for them to get vp. The whippe of their spirituall courtes, and the Spurres of their lawes, and the Bridle of their power, do make it to carie them. We giue, say the Bishopes; then wee take, saye the Preachers. Hold, 'Take you Authoritie,' but on this condition, that you preach no longer then we list. Mark you this, say the Preachers: for wee haue no authoritie but by the Bishops, & if they giue it vs, why may they not take it away? So the theefe taker doth please the theefe giuer, and the yong wolfe wanteth, when the olde wolfe is angrie. O yee wolues, and worse then hirelings, which not only leaue the flock when ye see the wolfe come, but also rauen and devoure the flocke, as the Bishoppes giue you leaue." *Treatise on 23. Matt.*, etc., 30.

"Haue they not open abominations and wicked men amongst them, which they say must be tolerated, because they are incurable? Can they then haue anie Parte of Church gouernement, when neither by rebuke, nor by separation, they can cleanse the church of such greeuous wickednes, but as it pleaseth the Popishe officers? Is this to binde the Kinges in chaynes, and the Nobles with fetters of Iron [Ps. clxix], or to execute the iudgement that is written, Such honour bee to all his Saintes? Is this to fight with the spirituall weapons, whiche are not carnall, but mightie through God, to caste down houldes: yea all proude imaginations, and euerie high thing? [1 Cor. vii.] Is not this to bee servantes to menne, yea, to obey men rather than God? [Actes iv.] Beholde they shewe their sinnes as Sodome, and hyde them not, and say, that the Lordes gouernment is not able to redresse them, and therefore they must bee tolerated. Thus they houlde still the priesthoode of Antichriste, which is the tolerating and dispensinge with wickednesse, by such wicked Preachers, to make Christe and Belial agree. Therefore thus sayeth the Lord: I feede not my flocke at Paules Crosse in London, or Saint Maries in Cambridge, or in your English Parishes. O ye my sheepe goe ye not thyther, as though there were my foulde, and there I rested & fedd my flocke: for there be shepheardes and flockes also that followe thē, which are not of Christ, for they holde of Antichrist. Beleeue not euerie one which saieth, loe here is Christ, or there is Christ: but let the Lords sheepe heare his voyce, and forsake a straunger. They knewe those sheepefoldes before time that the wolfe ruled in them, and there they sawe playnelie the face of Antichrist looking ouer them.

"But nowe they hide the wolue in the folde, and saye here is Christe: they put a visarde on his face, and say that Antichriste is gone, he shall deuoure them no more. Thou art deceyued O Englande, though art gone from one destruction vnto another: Thou hast escaped the snare, but art fallen into the pitte. Woe to thee, for thy fall is great, and who shall rayse thee vp?" *Ibid*, 31.

"The Lorde doeth shewe thee O Englande, if thou wilt searche the Scripture, and knowe his voyce therein, the crooked pathes which thou hast made thy selfe, & thy great rebellions. But thou art obstinate, thy necke is an Iron synewe, and thy browe brasse. Behoulde thou seest not because thou wilt not see; a visarde hath deceaued the, and the sheepes clothing hath mocked thē: and thou saiest I will follow my shepherdes which haue put awaye Antichrist, and yet behoulde such rauening & mischeefe as was neuer the like, and

Perhaps the most telling argument which he urged in proof that the Church of England could not be a true church, and must therefore be separated from, was that all true church discipline within it was not merely unknown, but impossible. His reply to Cartwright is largely taken up with the presentation of this view. "Not that we can keep His commandments without all breach or offense, for we are not Donatists, as the adversaries slander vs, that we should say we may be without sin, or that the church may be without publick offences, or if there fal out some sort of grosser sins that therfore it should cease to be the church of God; we teach no such doctrine: but if in any church such gross sins be incurable, and the church hath not power to redresse them, or rebelliouslie refuseth to redresse them, then it ceaseth to be the church of God, & so remaineth till it repent and take better order."[152] "If any wickednes be open and the church will not redress it, it is guilty of the wickednes comitted, neither ought it to alledge that it cannot redresse it. For it hath the power of Christ to judge those that are within, & those strong weapons of the spiritual warfare which can cut off all wicked disorders in the church. Otherwise, as we have shewed, it is not the church of God."[153]

3. There was no hope of reform for the Church of England from the civil power, neither any obligation to wait for Prince or magistrate. "Sence the Lord," he says, "hath called vnto thē & thei refuse to be reformed in so manie & greuous pollu-

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wickednes is gone forth from thy shepherdes into all the land." *Ibid*, 32.

"They [the Bishops] loue the fleece and thinke on the fatte, and this is their inwarde calling. . . . The Popes olde house was destroyed in Englande, and they are called to builde him a newe. In the time of King Edward the 6. they began such a building. They had gotte the Popishe tooles, but they coulde not holde them. . . . Let vs welcome wise Gentlemē: they toke in hand to build the Lordes house, and now moe then xx. yeeres are past in studying for the groundwork. O perfect work, whē shall it end, which is so lōg in beginning?" *Ibid*, 39.

[152] *Answere to Master Cartwright*, etc., 32.

[153] *Ibid*, 84. Passages in another treatise are worth citing here. "Where open wickednes is incurable, & popish prelates do raigne vpholding the same, there is not the church & Kingdom of God. . . So that though there be a name of priests & of preaching, and of God amongst anie, yet if there be sett ouer them idol shepherdes, popish prelates, & hireling preachers vvorse then thei, that vphoulde antichristian abominations, there God doeth not raigne in his kingdom, nether are thei his church, nether is there his vvorde of message." [*Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 7.] "They are without the Lord's couenant, & without his gouernmēt; Thei haue altogether corrupted their waies, thei haue broken the yoake & Burste the bands in sunder. For euen those which can be none of Christ church abidnge in such wickednes, are cheefe in their churches," etc. *Ibid*, 19.

tions, & also pursue, imprison & persecute those which call for redresse, even all the bloud of the righteous shed vpon the earth vntill this daie shall come vpon them;"[154] while his *Treatise of Reformation without Tarying for anie*, etc., is one extended plea in proof of "the wickednesse of those Preachers which will not reforme them selues and their charge, because they will tarie till the Magistrate commaunde and compell them."[155]

Robert Browne, I must think, is entitled to the proud preëminence of having been the first writer clearly to state and defend in the English tongue the true — and now accepted — doctrine of the relation of the magistrate to the church. He says the magistrates "haue no ecclesiasticall authoritie at all, but onelie as anie other Christians, if so be they be Christians."[156] And again: "if then the magistrate will commaunde the Souldiour to be a Minister, or the Preacher to giue ouer his calling, and chaunge it for an other, they ought not to obeye him. . . . In all thinges wee must firste looke what is the Lordes will and charge, and then what is the will of man. . . And this freedome haue all Christians, that they consider what is lawfull, and what is profitable, what they may doo, and what is expedient, and in no case bee brought vnder the power of anie thing, as Paule teacheth vs."[157]

His general view he explains thus: "They [the magistrates] may doe nothing concerning the Church, but onelie ciuilie, and as ciuile Magistrates; that is, they haue not that authoritie ouer the church, as to be Prophetes or Priestes, or spirituall Kings, as they are Magistrates ouer the same: but onelie to rule the common wealth in all outwarde Iustice, to maintaine the right welfare and honor thereof with outwarde power, bodily punishment & ciuill forcing of mē. And therefore also because the church is in a common wealth, it is of their charge: that is concerning the outward prouision & outward iustice, they are to

154 *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 13.

155 *Treatise of Reformation*, etc. (title).

156 *Ibid*, 4.

157 *Ibid*, 7. He continues: "the Magistrates commaundement must not be a rule vnto me of this and that duetie, but as I see it agree with the worde of God. So thē it is an abuse of my gifte and calling, if I cease preaching for the Magistrate, when it is my calling to preach, yea & woe vnto me if I preache not, for necessitie is laied vpon me, and if I doe it vnwillinglie, yet the dispensation is committed vnto me. And this dispensation did not the Magistrate giue me but God by consent and ratifying of the church, and therefore as the Magistrate gaue it not, so can he not take it away. . . . I am to preache still, except I be shvt vp in prison," etc. *Ibid*, 7.

looke to it; but to cōpell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiasticall gouernement by lawes & penalties, belongeth not to them."[158] And, still further: "Goe to, therefore, and the outward power and ciuil forcings let vs leaue to the Magistrates: to rule the common wealth in all outwarde iustice, belongeth to them: but let the Church rule in spirituall wise, and not in worldlie maner; by a liuelie lawe preached, and not by a ciuill law written; by holinesse in inwarde and outwarde obedience, and not in straightnesse of the outwarde onelie."[159] . . . "For it is the conscience and not the power of man that will driue vs to seeke the Lordes Kingdome;"[160] and "we knowe that when Magistrates haue bin most of all against the Church, and the authorities thereof, the Church hath most florished."[161]

And, once again: "The Lorde be mercifull, and deliuer vs from these vnreasonable and evill men. For there is no ende of their pride and crueltie, which ascende vp and sit in the magistrates chaire and smite the people with a continuall plague, and such of them as haue not yet gotten the roume, do crie for Discipline, Discipline, that is for a ciuill forcing, to imprison the people, or otherwise by violence to handle and beate them, if they will not obeye them. But the Lorde shall bring them downe to the dust, and to the pitt, as abbominable carkasses, which would be aboue the cloudes, yea which dare presume into the throne of Christe Iesus, and vsurpe that authoritie and calling in his church which is opposed and contrarie to his kingdome and gouernement. . . Let them knowe that the Lords people is of the willing sorte."[162] As a necessary consequence of these views he held further: "The church hath more authoritie concerning church gouernement then Magistrates. . . For who knoweth not, that though Magistrates are to keepe their ciuill power aboue all persones, yet they comé vnder the censure of the Church, if they be Christians, and are openlie to humble themselues in vnfained repentaunce, when they haue

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[158] *Ibid*, 12. So when defining [*Booke which Sheweth*, etc., Def. 117] the duties and functions of civil magistrates, he is careful to limit them to civil things: "to rule the common wealth in all outwarde iustice," etc.

[159] *Treatise of Reformation*, etc., 15.

[160] *Ibid*, 11. So again: "The Lordes kingdome is not by force, neither by an armie or strength, as be the kingdomes of this worlde." *Ibid*, 10.

[161] *Ibid*, 15.

[162] *Ibid*, 10, 11.

openlie and greuouslie trespassed. . . For all powers shall serue and obeye Christ, saieth the Prophete."[163] He went so far indeed in this direction that he aroused toward himself the vague suspicion of being affected by the anarchic Munster fanaticism: "They charge vs as Anabaptistes[164] & denying Magistrates," he says, "because we set not vp them, nor the Magistrates, aboue Christ Iesus and his glorious kingdome. How often haue we proued by word & writing these matters [i. e.: how false these charges are.]"[165]

This was a whole generation before those treatises of Leonard Busher[166] and John Murton,[167] and two generations before those of Roger Williams[168] and Samuel Richardson,[169] which have been made the occasion of so much gratulation by our Baptist brethren, as identifying with the early writers of that faith all just claim to the origination of the true modern doctrine of toleration, and of liberty of conscience.

4. It was equally evident that no reasonable hope of reform was offered by the Presbyterian plan. This was not merely open to the objection of tarrying for the Prince, but, in its best estate,

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163 *Ibid*, 14.

164 I find not the slightest evidence that Robert Browne gained any tinge of thought from any publication growing out of the Anabaptist struggle; while from the minute statements which in the *Trve Description* he makes of the processes through which his mind passed, and of the manner in which he came to reach his conclusions, there grows a very strong presumption that, with the exception of the participation which he had in that general reforming of the Cambridge mind which was largely due to Cartwright, he was essentially the master of his own thinking, without being the disciple of any. Baylie declares that Browne taught liberty of conscience. *Dissvasive*, etc., 30.

165 *Ibid*, 13.

166 *Religions Peace: or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience. Long since presented to King James, and the High Court of Parliament then sitting, by Leonard Busher, citizen of London, and Printed in the yeare 1614. Wherein is contained certain Reasons against Persecution for Religion*, etc. London. 1646. [repr. 1846, by Hanserd Knollys Society, London.]

167 *Obiections: answered by way of Dialogue, wherein is proved, By the Law of God: By the Law of our Land: and by his Maies. many testimonies, That no man ought to be persecuted for his religion, so he testifie his allegiance by the Oath, appointed by Law, etc., 1615.* [Again as "Persecution for Religion Iudg'd and condemn'd, in a Discourse between an Antichristian and a Christian, etc." 1620, 1662, 1827, and by Hanserd Knollys Society, 1846.] *A Most Humble Supplication of many of the Kings Maiesties Loyal Subjects ready to testify all civil Obedience, by the Oath of Allegiance, or otherwise, and that of Conscience; who are persecuted (only for differing in Religion) contrary to Divine and Human Testimonies*, etc., which came out in 1620 [repr. 1662, 1827, and by Han. Knol. Soc., 1846] was also ascribed to John Murton.

168 *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution, for cause of Conscience, discussed*, etc. London, 1646 [agn. by Hans. Knol. Soc., 1846, and Narragansett Club, 1867].

169 *The Necessity of Toleration in Matters of Religion*, etc. London, 1647, 4to, [repr. by Hans. Knol. Soc., 1846.]

it offered nothing but a transfer of the parish churches with all their objectionable features, to another state likely to be worse than the first. Of this one thing he was clear: "Whosoeuer are not gathered from all false churches, & from their false gouernment, can neither be the church of God, nor preachers in the same."[170] "He that will be saued must not tarie for this man or that; and he that putteth his hande to the plow, and then looketh backe is not fitt for the kingdome of God: Therefore woe vnto you ye blind guides, which cast away all by tarying for the Magistrates."[171]

5. But, since it must be the duty of every believer to seek purity in religion, and since the Church of England was radically impure, with no hope of relief from magistrates, or the Puritans with another State church brought in from Geneva, it followed that it must be the duty of all true Christians to gather themselves from its defilements into separate churches. I have already referred to his views on this subject, and need not dwell upon them. "Though there be a name of priests," he taught, "& of preaching, and of God amongst anie, yet if there be sett ouer them idol shepherdes, popish prelates, & hireling preachers worse then thei, that vpholde antichristian abominations, there God doeth not raigne in his kingdom, nether are thei his church, nether is there his worde of message."[172] "The people were charged by Christ toe lett alone such blind guides, & not to be guided by them (Matt. 15, 14); howe much more should we let these blind guides alone, which never were lawfully called, and also sit in the seat of Antichrist."[173] So he says: "If the whole church be persecuted it ought wholye to flee, and if lawes be

[170] *Treatise on 23. Matt.*, etc., 47.

[171] *Treatise on Reformation*, etc., 5. "Let us not, therefore," he adds elsewhere, "tarie for the Magistrates. For if they be Christians, thei giue leaue & gladly suffer & submit themselues to the church gouernment: for he is a Christian which is redeemed by Christ unto holines & happines for euer, & professeth the same by submitting him self to His lawes and gouernment. And if they be not Christians, should the welfare of the church, or the saluation of mens soules hang on their courtesie?" [*Ibid*, 13.] "The magistrates," he says, "must bee vnder a Pastorall charge: They must obeye to the Scepter of Christe, if they be Christians." [*Ibid*, 3.] "For what Magistrates should we tarry? For those of our charge, trowe ye, or for those which are none of our charge? . . Muste wee not in all thinges looke duelie to our charge, and let them goe which are none of our charge? For wee shall not giue accomptes vnto God for them which are out of our charge [Acts xx]. . . But these men teach, that we must let our charge alone, and lay from vs the gouernment thereof, for their sakes which are none of our charge." [*Ibid*, 10.]

[172] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 7.

[173] *Ibid.*

made against all, thoughe as yet they be not executed on some, yet the persecution is generall, and they are called awaye."[174]

6. Any company of apparently true believers, separating themselves thus from the corrupt State church, and rightly associating themselves together, in so doing constitute themselves a true church of Christ, independent of all control but His. Browne's maturest statement under this head was this: "The church planted or gathered, is a companie or number of Christians or beleeuers, which by a willing couenant made with their God, are vnder the gouernment of God and Christ, and kepe his lawes in one holie communion; because Christ hath redeemed them vnto holines & happines for euer, from which they were fallen by the sinne of Adam."[175]

7. Such persons rightly constitute themselves a church by a public willing covenant made with God and with each other, in which they promise to submit themselves to His lordship and government. Under this head he asks a question, and answers it thus: "Howe must the churche be first planted and gathered vnder one kinde of gouernement? First, by a couenant and condicion made on Gods behalfe. Secondlie, by a couenant and condicion made on our behalfe. Thirdly, by using the sacrament of Baptisme to seale those condicions, and couenantes."[176] This is further explained: on the one hand, that on God's side this transaction binds him to be our God-and Saviour, and the God and Saviour of our seed after us — we remaining faithful — and to give us His spirit for "preparing and strengthning vs vnto all goodnes;" and, on the other hand, that it binds us to give up ourselves, and our seed, to obey His government in the church and lead "a godly and Christian life."[177] When his church was formed at Norwich, he says: "A couenāt was made & ther mutual cōsent was geuē to hould to gether. There vvere certaine pointes proued vnto them by the scriptures, all vvhich being particularlie rehersed vnto them with exhortation, thei agreed vpon them & pronoūced their agrement to ech thing particularlie, saiing: to this vve geue our consent. First, therefore, thei gaue their consent to ioine them selues to the Lord, in one couenant & felloweshipp to gether,

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174 *Treatise on 23. Matt.*, etc., 46.
175 *Booke which Sheweth*, etc. Def. 35.
176 *Ibid*, Def. 36.
177 *Ibid*, Defs. 37, 38.

& to keep & seek agrement vnder his lavves & gouernment; and therefore did vtterlie flee & auoide such like disorders & wickednes as vvas mencioned before."[178]

8. Church authority resides solely in the lordship of Christ over these local companies of affiliated believers, and that authority makes itself manifest and practical for the government of these churches through its individual members interpreting, exercising, and submitting to, those principles and laws which the Great Head of the Church has laid down for them — all under the promised guidance of His Holy Spirit. "The Church gouernment," Browne says, "is the Lordshipp of Christ in the communion of his offices: wherby his people obey to his will, and haue mutual vse of their graces and callings, to further their godlines and welfare."[179] Beautifully he states it again, thus: "The kingdome of Christ, is his office of gouernement, whereby *he vseth the obedience of his people to keepe his lawes & commaundements, to their saluation and welfare.*"[180] So he sheds light upon his doctrine from another point of view, by declaring that "euerie one of the church is made a Kinge, a Priest, and a Prophet under Christ, to upholde and further the kingdom of God, & to breake and destroie the kingdome of Antichrist and Satan;" and explains that "the kingdome of all Christians is their office of guiding and ruling with Christ, to subdue the wicked, and make one another obedient to Christ: Their Priesthoode is their office of cleansing and redressing wickednes, whereby sinne and vncleannes is taken away from amongst them": and "Their Prophecie is their office of iudging all thinges by the worde of God, whereby they increase in knowledge and wisedome among them selues."[181]

Browne had no idea of being a democrat, or that he was teaching democracy. His conception of church government, it is clear, was of the absolute monarchy of Christ over his church. But then he conceived of Christ the king as reigning

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178 *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 19.

179 *Booke which Sheweth*, etc., Def. 35.

180 *Ibid*, Def. 48.

181 *Ibid*, Defs. 54, 55. What was done at Norwich was that "thei particularlie agreed off the manner . . . . for gathering & testifying voices [i. e., how to get at and record the real judgment of the members] in debating matters, & propounding them in the name off the rest that agree; for an order of chosing teachers, guides, & releeuers when thei want; for separating cleane from vncleane, for receauing anie into the fellowship, etc." *Trve and Short Dec.*, etc., 20.

through as many regents as there are individual subjects of his kingdom, who fulfil the conditions of their high office, and live near to Him, and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. So he backed round into the East, sailing with his face set like a flint ever toward the glowing West!

9. The Scriptural ordinary officers[182] of such a church are a Pastor, "hauing office and message of God, for exhorting & mouing especially, and guiding accordinglie;" a Teacher of doctrine "for teaching especiallie and guiding accordinglie, with lesse gifte to exhorte and applie;" one or more Elders, "for ouersight and counsaile, and redressing thinges amisse;"[183] one or more Releeuers, "to prouide, gather & bestowe the giftes and liberalitie of the church, as there is neede;" and one or more Widowes, "to pray for the church, & to visit and minister to those which are afflicted & distressed in the church," all to be first tried and then "dulie chosen."[184]

10. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the seal of the "growing togither" of this church "in one bodie, whereof Christe is the heade;" and preparation must be made for the reception of this ordinance by the individual members in self-examination; duly, by conscience, applying the word of God unto the life, "least the guiltines of our secret sinnes and priuate offences, doo make us vnworthie receyuers;" and, by the body, in separating itself from the unworthy who are "vnmeete to receaue," and by redressing "all open offences and faultings."[185]

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[182] Browne expressly provided in his system for officers "who haue their seueral charge ouer many churches," but defined them as being (1) apostles, (2) prophets, (3) evangelists. His words, in their connection, imply that he did not regard these to be officers ordinarily existent as workers under the permanent organization of Christianity. *Booke which Sheweth*, etc., Def. 52.

[183] He uses also this language: "they whiche helpe vnto them [i. e. pastors and teachers] both in overseeing and counsailinge, as the most forward, or Elders." [*Ibid*, Def. 53.] By this term "the most forward" he always means those who are farthest advanced in spiritual attainments; so that his conception of the Eldership was of the most cultured and discreet Christians, aiding the Pastor and Teacher by their counsel and co-working, and the membership by the suggestions of their experience — not at all of any ordering of affairs by them. In other words, his conception of Elders in nothing resembled the Presbyterian officers of that name, but was precisely analogous to the ordinary ex-sacramental function of the Deacons and of the "Examining Committee" in the Congregational churches of to-day. And his idea was that these would usually most naturally come from the elder members of the body, as he says: "Age and Eldershippe is a gift whereby they haue greater authoritie as by naturall deserte of their wisdome, if so by continuance of time they haue gotten that wisdome." *Ibid*, Def. 115.

[184] *Ibid*, Defs. 53, 54.

[185] *Ibid*, Defs. 59, 60.

11. Still further, in this latter direction: since the great object of such a church is to train its members to be in themselves perfect as their Father which is in heaven is perfect, and, in their relation to others, workers together with God until His will be done in earth as it is in heaven; it is one of its functions as a body to examine constantly the lives of its members, with a view to test their rate of pious advancement, and check and correct all that is not as it ought to be. Browne says of his little church at Norwich: "They particularlie agreed off the manner howe to Vvatch to disorders, & reforme abuses, & for assembling the companie, for teaching priuatlie, & for warning & rebukeing both priuatlie & openlie, for appointing publick humbling in more rare iudgementes & publik thankesgeuing in straunger blessinges; . . . . for taking an order that none contend openlie, nor persecute, nor trouble disorderedly, nor bring false doctrine, nor evil cause, after once or tvvise warning or rebuke."[186]

I may suggest, in passing, that, more than anything else, this rule, in whose application they clearly felt constrained toward a severe minuteness which sometimes found it easy to take on something of an inquisitorial flavor, proved to be the rock on which they split.

12. To all this clearness of conception of the self-completeness, nature and functions, under Christ, of the local church, Robert Browne added an equally clear conception and enunciation of the other focal principle of the Congregational system — which I conceive of as an ellipse rather than a circle — namely that of the privilege and duty of fellowship between all such local churches. Every such church sustains a relation to the headship of Christ identical with that of every other, so that being one in Him they must be one with each other. As to Him making together one family, their mutual relation must be a sisterly one; admitting no control of one over another, but alway inviting kind offices, and, when needful, friendly advice and aid from all to any. In this respect Brownism has been misunderstood and misrepresented by the great mass of Congregationalists, who have been apt to associate with that term

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[186] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 20. | There is much more like this.

the thought of narrowness and exclusion.[187] Scarcely could there be a greater mistake. Provision was expressly made in the fundamental constitution of the original Norwich company for "seeking to other churches to haue their help, being better reformed, or to bring them to reformation,"[188] should need require. And in his most careful statement he says: "there be Synodes, or the meetings of sundrie churches: which are when the weaker churches seeke helpe of the stronger, for deciding or redressing of matters;" and again he says: "a Synode is a Ioyning or partaking of the authoritie of manie Churches mette togither in peace, for redresse and deciding of matters which can not wel be otherwise taken vp."[189] That by the word "authoritie" here he meant just what every true Congregationalist always means by it in such a connection — the authority of Christ, the great Head, revealing itself through such advice of His servants, as may be the result of their examination of the facts under the guidance of the Holy Spirit — is made beautifully clear by something which he incidentally says, where another thing was first in his mind. He is giving his reasons for refusing his call to Cambridge under the Bishop, and declares that such a call is not Scriptural, for over all is Christ appointed to be the Head of the Church, and —

"next vnder Christ is not the bishop of the dioces, by whom so manie mischiefes are wrought, nether anie one which hath but single authoritie, but first thei that haue their authoritie together: as first the church which Christ also teacheth, where he saieth, If he will not vouchsafe to heare them tell it vnto the church, & if he refuse to heare the church also, let him be vnto the as an heathen man & a publican (Matt. 18, 17). Therefore is the church called the pillar & ground of trueth (1 Tim. 3, 15). & the voice of the Vvhole people, guided bie the elders and forwardest, is said to be the voice of God. And that 149. psalme doth shevue this great honour Vvhich is to all the saincts. Therefore the meetings together of manie churches, also of euerie whole church & of the elders therein, is aboue the Apostle, aboue the Prophet, the Euangelist, the Pastor, the Teacher, & euerie particular Elder. For the ioining & partaking of manie churches together: & of the authoritie which manie haue, must needes be greater & more Vvaightie, then the authoritie of anie single person. And this alsoe ment Paul where he saith (1 Cor. 2, 22) Wee are yours, & you are Christes, & Christ is Godes. Soe that the apostle is inferior to the church, & the church is inferior to Christ, & Christ, concerning his manhood & office in the church, is inferior to God."[190]

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[187] Cotton calls Brownism a "way of rigid separation." [*Way of Chhs. Cleared*, etc., 5.] It has been common to speak of it thus.

[188] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 20.

[189] *Booke which Sheweth*, etc. Def. 51.

[190] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 2, 3.

This is surely a self-consistent and logical system. I must take leave to think it also a very remarkable one to have been elaborated, under all the adverse influences of England in the last half of the 16th century, by a young man of scarcely nine and twenty, with no help that I can see other than the Bible, and the promptings of the Holy Spirit. It was the exact converse of the prelatical system. That taught a Christ regnant afar off, committing all power to a hierarchy, commissioning them to ordain their successors, and making it the one duty of the laity simply to reverence, accept and obey; this taught a Christ indwelling, interposing, imparting His wisdom and entrusting His power to all true believers according to the measure in which they receive His spirit and come into vital union with himself; and a ministry chosen of and ordained by such believers to be over them in the Lord, to lead them as a shepherd his sheep, and as a captain his soldiers, loving not their lives unto the death, as he gathers them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty. It was an absolute monarchy so diffused in the channels of its working, as to become, to the cognizance of that philosophy which catalogues results, a pure democracy — one king supreme, reigning through as many viceroys as he has faithful subjects, each governing himself and offering all friendly aid to the government of all, by the king's law. It offered an effectual remedy for the fatal defect of the Presbyterian plan of reform, in that, so to speak, it builded as many water-tight diaphragms across the great hulk of the church in general in any land, as there might be local churches therein; and so, dividing it into sections, made it impossible for the flooding of one, or of several, with heresy or infidelity to sink all, until all should become alike unfaithful; while any one could be pumped out, and its lifting power applied to the others, without demanding, in so doing, the impossibility of simultaneously freeing all. By one long leap over fifteen centuries, it replaced the idea of the church upon the original platform of the Acts of the Apostles; restoring it to be in harmony with all precepts, promises and warnings of the Word. It is true there is a sound of Eldership about it, but Browne always explained himself as meaning by that word simply "the forwardest" — not in the sense of being most forward to seek the office, but

in the sense of having made greatest attainments in holiness, and so best able out of their own experience to counsel others — as elder brothers naturally looked up to, and specially helpful in a household.[191] Sometimes he calls them "guides."[192] Curiously the sole passages which have reached us from three treatises of his — one which was printed, and two which, as I take it, remained in manuscript — are passages in which he combats the Presbyterian theory of Elders, and declares the presbytery unessential to a church.[193]

Again, this polity specially provided not merely for the systematic culture of piety in the membership, but for the arousal of that feeling, on the part of every covenanted person, of personal responsibility to Christ and for the souls of men, which has been thought to be one of the marked peculiarities of the Christianity of the generation that now is. It overdid the matter of the church supervision of individual growth in grace — as the event proved; but it would be hard, perhaps, to find a wiser statement of the responsibility of every member of a church toward the well-doing of all church work within and without, than is implied in the arrangement made by the little Norwich Church, "for presēting the dailie successe of the church, & the wantes thereof."[194] And, once again, this system had its crowning excellence in that it thrust every soul into immediate and vital contact with the Divine Spirit, and the Divine Word. It bade each church member feel that, by diligent and prayerful study of the Scriptures, *he* could know of the doctrine; while it taught him to regard himself as under most sacred obligation so to lay open his mind to the precepts and his heart to the motives of the Gospel, that it would be possible, so to speak, without indecorum, for the Great Head of the Church to counsel, and to act, through him. This, to them, was an amazing stim-

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191 "The gathering of voyces & consent of the people, is a general inquirie who is meete to be chosen, when firste it is appointed to thē all, being dulie assembled to looke out such persons among thē; & then the nūber of the most which agree, is taken by some of the wisest, with presenting and naming of the parties to be chosen, if none can alledge anie cause or default against them." *Booke which Sheweth*, etc., Def. 119 (opp. page).

192 *Booke which Sheweth*, etc., Def. 119.

193 I refer to the brief passages from the tract about affairs in Scotland [see page 78 ante]; to the "treatise of his against one *Barowe*," which Bancroft quotes [*Sermon at Paules Crosse*, etc., 96], and to his *Conference with M. P. and M. E.*, etc., cited by Stephen Bredwell in his *Detection*, etc., *and Admonition*, etc., 124.

194 *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 20.

ulus, and, I must think, a spiritually helpful one. And we may apply to it the moral of the ancient saying, that, although he who aims at the sun in the zenith will not hit, he will yet send his arrow higher than if his mark were some sublunary thing. This polity surely had in it the elements of a better manliness, and a better godliness, than any which it labored to supplant.

Two things, beyond the poverty and general straits which hampered those exiles, especially contributed to those disasters which befell its initial trial at Middelberg. One was that the culture of the time was so low in that rank of life to which most of this company of Brownists belonged, as especially to incapacitate them from doing justice to their theories. The world has lately had sorrowful reminder how ages of oppression disqualify men lifted from under their influence from meeting at once new and large responsibilities; and the masses of the English people in 1580 must have been as unprepared for the refined processes of what amounted to a pure spiritual democracy, as the ex-slaves of the United States have proved themselves unfit to enter at once upon the responsibilities of full citizenship. But, beyond this, they undertook impossibilities. Full of zeal for purity and gracious growth, and with no past experience to warn them off from the impracticable, they had too much of the ideal in their commonwealth. Beginning with the appointment of regular times for reporting the results of their scrutiny of each other's faults, it is not to be wondered at that they had enough to do on those occasions, and that soon "there fel out questiones, offences & takeing of partes."[195] Then, contention. By and by "the contention grevve so far, that some fell from questions to euil speaches & slaunders, from slaunders to open defiaunce & railinges."[196] Browne was accused "of having condemned his sister Allens[197] as a reprobate."[198] Other "tales were told." Somebody "pauned off a siluer spoone," concerning which another was judged "an vnlawful surmiser."[199] After

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[195] *Ibid*, 21.

[196] *Ibid*, 22.

[197] *Sister-in-law*, most likely; as Robert Browne married an "Allen of Yorkshire." [Family Pedigree in Blore, *Hist. and Antiq. Co. Rutland*, 93.] The Achurch register seems to make it certain that Mrs. Browne's name was "Alice." She was buried in 1610.

[198] *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 22.

[199] *Ibid*, 23.

a long period of mutual quarrel in this petty way — each being taught as a Christian duty to bear on his, or her, conscience every imperfection seen, or imagined to be seen, or heard of, in all others — in "an open meeting euerie on confessed their ffaultes,"[200] and started once more together, making "a Faier shew, that thei would deale no more so ffoolishly."[201] Notwithstanding, such was the desire of some who had "wearied of the hardnes of that contrie" to "be gone into England, that thei were restles till thei had wholy diuided them selues." Then were there more "whisperings, backbitings, & murmurings priuily," also "openlie greuous threats, taunts, reuilings and false accusations." Harrison fell sick, and tales were carried to his sick chamber about Browne, and there was "much a doe" about Mrs. Browne, until finally, for very shame, another grand reconciliation took place. But when Harrison got well, "he troubled all againe." Accusations of heresy were laid against Browne, because, among other things, he said "thei did sinn which had a fful purpos to dwel stil in England, when the Lord did call thē away, & thei had libertie to depart." He says: "thei coueted & tooke awaie his seruant from him; Thei sould him bookes & then both stopped the saile & would haue burnt thē to his utter vndoing; debts were exacted which he neuer did ovve; some were thrust out off their roumes and duuellings that ioined Vvith him;"[202] and so the sad story goes on from bad to worse, until all exploded into fragments. Browne, with a few who clung to him, sailed for Scotland, and Harrison, after the failure of his efforts to find a home in Cartwright's church, until his early death ministered to the handful that remained.[203]

I cannot help thinking that one who — with the patient endeavor to put himself into their place — should carefully read Browne's own minute account of these troubles, would conclude that, if they could have started on a different theory in the respect which has been noted, they might have had a different history. I must say, also, that I find something to honor, as well as much to regret, even in their morbid anxiety to put the

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200 *Ibid*, 23.
201 *Ibid*, 24.
202 *Ibid*, 24.
203 Cooper says he died at Middelberg, in, or about 1595 [*Ath. Cant.*, ii: 178]. But Stephen Bredwell speaks of him as if he were already dead, in the summer of 1588. *Rasing of Foundations of Brownisme*, etc., xii.

hand of church amendment upon everything by any imagined to be amiss in every member. The motive was pure and lovable, however scandalous the issue; and even

> "the light that led astray
> Was light from heaven."

Children cannot safely manage edge-tools; but that often speaks well for the tools. A sun-dial would be of vastly more use in a Hottentot kräal than a chronometer with all the improvements, and regulated to within a fraction of a second of Greenwich time; but that would not be the fault of the chronometer.

And so, by as much as this polity, with the enormous friction of those abnormal and unwise appendages, failed at Middelberg in 1583 in the awkward though honest hands of these men just come out of the great tribulation of generations of intellectual minority, and spiritual repression, by so much might one reasonably look to see it prosper when fairly put by congenial agents to its wholesome uses. Of one thing as a matter of sober history there can be no doubt: that this system — which may as fairly be called Brownism, as the inductive is called the Baconian philosophy — in neither case in any intent of praise or dispraise, but simply as an appellation naturally referring it to that human mind to which it was revealed, and from which it was passed to the cognizance of the world of thinkers; this system — which, as we shall have occasion to see, was soon swept aside, and out of sight, by rival and variant systems, and covered with obloquy from its founder's fate — proved yet to have vitality enough, and enough of adaptation to the demands of human life, to resume and reassert its interrupted sway; so that, although the thought may not be in their minds, the Independents of England and the Congregationalists of America, more nearly than from any other, are to-day in lineal descent from that little Norwich church of two hundred and ninety-six years ago. A ter-centenary was recently somewhat kept by our churches in England. I must be allowed to question whether the movement were not premature. I hope I accord all due honor to Richard Fitz, and his company. They surely were near the verge of the true system. But I fail to find in the

simple documents they left behind them[204] evidence that they had elaborated for themselves any system whatsoever. They seem to me like a company driven by stress of storm to some uninhabited land, and provisionally living there for a time without any government, other than that which the first law of self-preservation supplied. While, even if we grant all that has been claimed for the movement, this remains incontestible concerning it: it was sporadic; it was sterile; as it had no ancestry, it left no posterity. During those years by which it antedated the church of Robert Browne, I can find no ripple on the sea of English thought fairly traceable to any act, or tract, or tradition, from it. Men suppose that rude galleons were blown across the great and wide sea to our western continent centuries before that famous expedition of 1492; but as they never went back to carry the tidings, it is usual to say that Christopher Columbus discovered America. So I submit that the name of Robert Browne, and not the name of Richard Fitz, stands legitimately first in the list of our distinctive politists; and that the true ter-centenary of English Congregationalism remains properly to be celebrated in 1880 at Norwich.

And one thing more. In that good time coming whose rosy light, in our best moments, we all seem to see glorifying the world's evening sky, the anticipation of whose millennial effulgence has inspirited so many precious saints, when by "things present" tempted to despond for the cause they loved; I think we may be sure, that, however the general assembly and church of the first born then on earth may marshal itself in different grand divisions varying somewhat in fashion of labor and form of worship, all will be at one in these four things: there will be, first of all, an utter sundering and separation of Church and State;

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[204] Dr. Waddington has printed them more than once, but never quite twice alike. The special points made in them are but these three, viz.: "*Fyrste and Formoste*, the glorious Worde and Euangell preached, not in bondage and subiection, but freely and purelye.

"*Secondly*, to have the Sacraments mynistered purelye onely and all together accordinge to the institution and good worde of the Lorde Iesus, without any tradicion or invention of man; and

"*Laste of all*, to haue, not the fylthye Cannon Lawe, but disseplyne onelye, and all together agreeable to the same heavenlye and Allmightye Worde of our good Lorde Iesus Chryste."

These are good Congregational principles as far as they go, but they scarcely more touch the question of pure polity, than the pile driven deep below the foundations of a building, suggests whether that is to be Gothic, Grecian, or pure Yankee, in its *façade*. See *Historical Papers* (1st series), 11–14; *Congregational History*, etc., i: 742–745.

there will be, next, a grand exaltation of the duty and privilege of the personal oneness of each redeemed soul with its Redeemer, with a correspondent hightening of the consciousness of the responsibility of each to be perfect in character and service; there will be, in the third place, the assured conviction that it is divinely intended for Christian people to accomplish their most effectual work upon the world around them through close co-working in the agency of their local assemblies — call them by what name you please; and there will be, finally, an intense and overwhelming conviction of the perfect brotherhood of all who are, in Christ, the children of the Highest. These dominant convictions must necessarily be accompanied by a correlate diminution of interest in all theories as to the church, the ministry and the sacraments, which lie athwart their path. In other words, whatever may or may not be true of outward seeming and statistics, in point of inward essence, the exalted and sanctified Christianity of the world's most glorious future — when the will of God shall be done here as it is in heaven — will have come back more nearly to the outline roughly sketched by our young Norfolk enthusiast, as with his friend the Master of the Hospital he roamed the fields, holding high converse as to how the earth could best be rid of the abominations of sin, than to any other, at least I may say then within the range of human thought.

> The bud *did* have a bitter taste,
> But sweet will be the flower!

And now what, on the whole, shall be our judgment of Robert Browne?

We may safely affirm, in the outset, that there are two sides to his story, and that those historians of a former day who painted him almost without a redeeming trait, wrote unadvisedly with their pens. Fuller says he had, in his time, "a wife, with whom for many years he never lived, parted from her on some distaste; and a church wherein he never preached."[205] To this William Nichols, in 1707, added the extra touch, that he was thrown into the prison where he died, for a breach of the peace

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[205] *Church History of Britain to the year | M.DC.XLVIII.*, etc., v: 69.

in abusing his wife![206] But Browne's contemporary, Sir George Paule, in his life of Whitgift, says that the rector of Achurch was "a painfull preacher"[207]—the exact epithet which Fuller himself uses in high commendation of others; and which, though obsolete in our day, was then one of the best words by which faithful pulpit service could be characterized."[208] Moreover the baptismal register of the parish of Achurch,[209] which is in Browne's own handwriting from his institution through the entire forty years of his pastorate there, with the exception of eight years and nine months (from Sept. 1617 to June 1626), when he seems to have been altogether secluded or absent; bears the evidence that—faithful at least in this—he appears to have entered therein every marriage, baptism and burial which took place in the parish; besides noting, as well, cases where some of his parishioners were married, baptized or buried in other places. It is to be added that this register contains the record of the burial, in June 1610,[210] of Alice, the wife of Browne's youth, and

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206 "Tandemque, propter uxorem inclementer tractatam, in vinculis mortuus est." [*Presbyteri Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, etc., 30.] Hoornbeek (1653), who doubtless took his "facts" from Baillie and Pagitt, says "reliqua vita, tum sævitiæ erga uxorem, quam se verberare ajebat, non ut uxorem, sed ut pessimam vetulam, etc." [*Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, etc. (ed. 1658), 739.] Hornius (1666) tells the same story in nearly the same words: "verum ut nefariam & maledictam vetulam." *Hist. Eccles.* (ed. 1687), 397.

207 *Life of Archb. Whitgift* (1699), 70.

208 "And of other clergymen we have three generations of the Wards in Suffolk; as many of the Shutes in Yorkshire, no less *painful* than pious and able in their professions." [*Worthies of England*, (ed. 1840) i: 80.] "Almost incredible was the *painfulness* of Baronius . . . . who, for thirty years together, preached three or four times a week to the people." [*Holy State*, (ed. 1841), 77.] Bishop Davenant, he says, was "humble, hospitable, *painful* in preaching and writing," etc. [*Church History of Britain* (ed. 1845), vi: 193.] Such use of the word was common at that time. "Most happy we were, during our continuance here, in the weekly sermons, and almost frequent converse of Mr. Edward Calamie, that was the preacher of that parish; and this indeed was one of the chief motives that drew us thither, to partake of his *painful* and pious preaching." [*Harleian MSS.*, 646.] Dean Hook makes use of the same adjective to describe Bancroft (a contemporary of Browne, afterwards Archb. of Canterbury): "for four and twenty years he had been a *painful* preacher of the gospel," etc. [*Lives of the Archbs. Cant.*, x: 196.] The Bishop of Norwich was accused of treating "*painful*" ministers with harshness, etc. [*Wren's Nest Defiled*, etc. (1641), *Cat. Prints in Brit. Museum*, i: 170.] So Ward of Ipswich was characterized [*Ibid*, i: 171] as: "That ancient, famous, good and *painfull* man."

209 See an article, by "H. W.," in *Notes and Queries* [2d series (1860), ix: 148]. I have personally verified the general correctness of the statements made by him. The first parchment volume (1591–1669) commences with Browne's incumbency. The record is kept with singular neatness and care, great pains having frequently been taken to print names in Old English text. During his time there are set down: marriages, 74; burials, 179; baptisms, 296. This latter item intimates how much larger families averaged then than now.

210 The date of the day of the month is so far obliterated that only a cipher can be made out. It is, almost certainly, either 20 or 30.

the mother of his four sons and three daughters.[211] Fuller was then but two years old, so that although Providence "placed his nativity within a mile,"[212] his personal knowledge of the relations of this lady and her husband could be nothing to speak of. But I have not found any evidence, from this register, or from the family pedigree, given with great minuteness even down to the children of Robert's children, in Blore's *History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, or from any other source, that he ever married again![213]

From another quarter we get a gleam of sunshine — to my eye very gladsome it is — streaming across this darkly-shaded canvas. Like Grossteste, and Zwingle, and Luther — reformers before him — he was fond of music, and we have some evidence that it might be truly said of him as it was said of that good Bishop of Lincoln six hundred and fifty years ago:

> "He loued moche to here the harpe
> For mannys wytte yt makyth sharpe;
> . . . . . .
> Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
> He hadd solace of notes and layys."[214]

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[211] The family pedigree says that Robert Brown married "an Allen of Yorkshire." [*Blore*, 93.] From that pedigree, corrected by the Achurch records, it would seem that Browne had seven children, viz: (1) *Timothy*, who died without issue; (2) *Francis*, born Nov. 1592 at Achurch, and buried there 8 Sept. 1596; (3) *Thomas*, born at Achurch Mar. 1593, died 1664; married Dorcas Lenton of Aldwincle; had (a) *John*, who died without issue in 1665; (b) *Thomas*, apothecary of Uppington, who married Prudence Kirkby of Caldecote, Rutlandshire, and had Thomas, John, Francis, Prudence and Susanna; (c) *Alice*, who married John Quincy of Achurch; (d) *Dorcas*, who died unmarried, and (e) *Susanna*, who married William Watts of St. Saviours; (4) *Bridget*, born at Achurch 10 Dec. 1595, who died without issue; (5) *Grace*, born at Achurch, 19 Dec. 1598, buried there 30 Oct. 1603; (6) *Alice*, born at Achurch, 16 May 1600, buried there 12 Apr. 1602; (7) *John*, born at Achurch 26 Aug. 1603, who lived at Dartford, Kent, and had issue not named. A writer in *Notes and Queries* [1st series, ix: 572] says: "The last descendant of Robert Browne died on Sept. 17, 1839, *aet.* 69, widow of George, third Earl of Pomfret; and as she had no issue, her house and estate at Toltrop [i. e., Tolthorp] in Rutlandshire, about two miles from Stamford in Lincolnshire, probably passed to his heir and brother, Thomas William, the fourth Earl."

[212] *Chh. Hist.*, v: 68.

[213] From the excessively painstaking way in which Browne kept the Achurch records, putting down apparently all extra-parochial marriages and other happenings to any of his parish; and from the patent fact that the churchwardens kept their eye also on all, certifying at intervals usually of not more than a year, "that *all* the marriages, christenings and burials, are truelie as is aboue to be seene registred;" it seems so incredible that he should have neglected all reference to his own second marriage had one ever taken place, that I throw out the supposition altogether; the more that it has not the slightest support from Blore, or any other person familiar with, and able to speak with exactness and authority on, the subject — not to dwell upon its intrinsic improbability.

[214] Rob. de Brunne's English version of Grossteste's *Manuel des Pechés*, in H. R. Luard's *Rob. Grossteste Epis. Quon. Linc. Epistolæ*, London, 1861, p. xiii.

In 1642 was published *A Threefold Discourse*, etc.[215] Its anonymous author seems to have had personal acquaintance with Browne and his family, and he introduces this bit of testimony regarding him into his dialogue between Aldgate and Bishopgate; making the latter say: "I assure you he . . . . dyed an Orthodox Protestant and an honest man. . . . . besides he was endued with many good and gentile qualities, among the rest he was a singular good Lutenist, and he made his son Timothy — [whom I take to be his eldest son and child, born at Middelberg] — usually on Sundays bring his viol to church, and play the Base to the Psalmes that were sung;"[216] — not, by the way, a violent endorsement of Fuller's insinuation that Browne shirked all Sunday service!

Three hypotheses seem to me to exhaust the subject of this remarkable career. Robert Browne was dishonest altogether, and bad, as a Dissenter and a Churchman, from skin to core, from the beginning to the end; or he was honest in all, honestly returning to the former fold in 1586, or thereabouts; or he was an honest man whose sensitive mind, under great stress of trial, made shipwreck on his return to his native country; who never became really himself again; and who, for the larger portion of the last five and forty years of his life, was in a shattered mental condition, which in our time would be thought better placed in a lunatic hospital, than in the rectory even of an Established church of eighteen families. I throw out altogether the notion that he could have been a genuine man to the period of his return to the communion which excommunicated him, then breaking down, of a sudden, into a renegade and a reprobate; because, in general, I do not believe in that kind of falling from grace; because the change in him was too sudden to have been of that character — *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus;* and because if that thing had happened, we should surely have found him publishing books against the Brownists, and at the very least, under Burghley's patronage, bidding for a bishopric!

But he was not, in all and alway, corrupt. Richard Greenham did not think so. The Benet Church people in Cambridge

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[215] *A Threefold Discourse betweene three Neighbours, Algate, Bishopsgate, and John Heyden the late Cobbler of Hounsditch, a professed Brownist*, etc., London, 1642, 4to, pp. 12. This was reprinted, in 1873, in *The Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, etc., edited by C. Hindley, Esq., iii: No. 18.

[216] *Threefold Discourse*, etc., 6.

did not think so. The companies who flocked after him at Islington, and Bury St. Edmonds, and Norwich, did not think so. Those who followed him into exile in Zeland, did not think so. We who, after so long, are permitted to look, through the rude window of his little book, into his young, longing heart, do not think so. That could not be!

Nor, true-hearted throughout, did he become truly reconverted to the church estate into which he was born; for, if one trait more than another seems to animate his books and characterize what we know of his first thirty years, it was that of decision, and thorough earnestness of conviction. He was the opposite of a hesitant and half-way man. One cannot conceive of him, as, with all his old intellectual and spiritual forces and impulses, reconverted to the hierarchy, without seeing him animated by an eager zeal to undo what would then seem to him to be the grievous mischiefs he had wrought; and personally laboring with those whom he had led, as he must now think, astray, in the intent to recover them out of the snare of the devil. Nothing of all this do we discover. But we do find, on the other hand, as I shall show, many things so irreconcilable with it, as, with other facts, to push us inevitably on to the conclusion that the real key to the mystery of this career is to be found in a recognition of the fact that its larger portion was clouded by dark shadows of mental disorder; sometimes almost — and quite likely for one period of years altogether — deepening into the midnight of actual insanity.

There are various considerations which combine to enforce the reason of this judgment; no one sufficient of itself, but all together, to my mind, conclusive.

In the first place, his natural constitution seems to have been of that nervous, brooding, fervid, fitful, fiery quality which is easiest perverted by disease into irrationality. I cannot stop to show how many passages there are in his works which suggest this. It is sufficient to remember that he is almost uniformly described, whether by friends or enemies, as a man of extraordinary "vehemence."[217] Fuller says he "was of an imperious nature."[218] Nichols calls him "hot-headed and turbulent,"[219]

[217] Dean Hook, *Eccl. Biog.*, sub nomine.
[218] *Chh. Hist.*, v: 68.
[219] *Defence of Doc. and Dis. of Chh. of Eng.* etc., 34.

Baillie, "rash,"[220] and George Johnson, "fierce."[221] Harrison thought him sometimes guilty of "leaning to Antichristian pride and bitternesse."[222] Bishop Freke declared that he had "an arrogant spirit."[223] Stillingfleet esteemed him "a man of a restless and factious temper."[224]

In the second place, he seems to have had a feeble physical constitution. He was very very sick at Cambridge.[225] He was sick again at Middelberg.[226] It would seem a natural suggestion of the letters of Lord Burghley to his father, that he was in poor health after his return to England.[227] And Fuller says that in his old age he was so infirm that it was necessary to carry him to the cell where he died, on a feather-bed in a cart.[228]

In the third place, he underwent great sufferings. His history as we have been able to recover it, implies as much. And we have evidence that he said he had undergone imprisonment in thirty-two different dungeons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day.[229] Bungener, in his Life of Calvin, remarks about Servetus: "to live in a prison in the sixteenth century was horrible;"[230] and the remark was as true of England as of the continent, and no doubt Browne had even more occasion to know how true this was, than the Spanish pantheist.[231]

In the fourth place, we can detect peculiarities in his language and conduct which have an insane look, or at least which we can harmonize better with the theory of an unsound mind than with any other. A tendency to be dense, terse, and severely logical, and a tendency to be diffuse and wild, and to say the same thing needlessly over and over again, are found in unnatural conflict in his books.[232] Not to dwell upon many minor instances that might be culled from his writings, if he

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220 *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, etc., 13.

221 *Discourse of some Troubles*, etc., 51.

222 *Treatise upon the 122 Psalme* (ed. 1618), 35.

223 *Lansdowne MSS.*, xxxiii: 13.

224 *The Unreasonableness of Separation*, etc. (1681), 48.

225 *Trve and Short Declaration*, etc., 7.

226 *Ibid*, 21.

227 See page 80 *ante*.

228 *Chh. Hist.*, v: 70.

229 *Ibid*, 67.

230 *Edinburgh Edition* (1863), 252.

231 I have somewhere seen statements on the part of the Brownists, which I cannot here recall for specific reference, to the effect that they were always thrust into the dismallest and most unwholesome parts of prisons; felons and Papists being uniformly preferred before them.

232 There are several instances where the same baptismal or burial register was entered by him under two different years, and subsequently erased under one of them.

ever uttered the stupid pun which Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, puts into his mouth, one wants to think, remembering the different tone of his younger days, that he was out of his head. Wood represents him as in the habit of saying there was no Established church in the kingdom but his, and that was *Achurch*.[233] You will remember my reference to his letter[234] enclosing the Latin "tables" to Lord Burghley, while he was teaching in Southwark in 1590. I have read this in its original most carefully, and I cannot think that the mind from which it came was balanced as it was when writing the "Booke which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians." When a man talks, as he does therein, of correcting college "metaphysics by the lawes of creatiō, covenant and sanctification;" boasts that he has "iustly altered the arts & the rules & termes of Art, by evidence of the word, & corrected manie errors of all our professors;" and, referring to what he calls "a prophetic" of "God touching Oxford & Stameford" that "good studies & professiōs of learning" were to shine out at Stamford "to the shame of Oxford," and brags: "in this poore treatise of me a Stamford man," one can see it "partly verefied;" I am quite prepared for the consideration of other evidence that he is not in his right mind. I have remarked that suddenly in the autumn of 1617 his handwriting disappears from the parish records — Arthur Smith, "curat," and John Barker, "minister," successively taking his place — and that in the summer of 1626 Browne resumes the pen, to hold it till it drops from his tremulous fingers as the cart trundles him off to Northampton jail. And this is the curious thing about it: for a time before this absence, and for a considerable period after his return, he interlards his records with comments always uncalled for, and sometimes severe, and to which, had he been wholly in his right mind, I cannot think he would have given place there.

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[233] *Ath. Ox.*, ii: 17. The parish is now known as Thorpe Achurch, comprising two hamlets a mile asunder, touching the London and North Western R. R., three or four miles from Oundle. It contains 1494 acres, and had, in 1871, a population of 178. The living is a rectory with the vicarage of Lilford attached, worth £450 per annum. It is in the gift of Lord Lilford, and at present in the incumbency of his brother, the Hon. and Rev. Edward Victor Robert Powys, LL. B. The church edifice is in the early English style, with nave, chancel, north and south aisles, north transept, south porch, and square tower with spire and four bells. With the exception of the transept, which was added in 1862, when the whole was restored, the edifice is without doubt substantially the same as in Browne's time. It is 90 ft. by 18 ft. 10 in., and 44 ft. in the cross aisle.

[234] *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxiv: 34.

Must not the reasonable explanation of all this be, that while during the whole period suffering from more or less of mental disease, in this interregnum of eight years and nine months his malady was so severe upon him that he was either housed at home, or in some safe retreat; and are not these features of the record[235] accounted for by such mental unsoundness?

But the most insane thing about his conduct was the indecision, and what were he thoroughly master of himself would have seemed insincerity, of his behavior at the St. Olaves Grammar School in the years after his return to the Established Church, and before his institution as rector [1586–1591]. The fact that before election he was required to give a written obligation that he would keep no conventicles, would go with the children to the parish church, would conform to the church and take the sacrament therein, looks as if the fourteen governors doubted his steadiness, and so cast all these anchors over into the stream to moor him, if possible. It is always hazardous, I know, to draw conclusions from testimony mainly from one side, but we have in this case what seem to be fairly candid statements from Stephen Bredwell — a physician, of a good spirit, and who appears much more free from prejudice than most of the writers of his day — and whose statement of facts sounds like that of an eye-witness. Bredwell declares distinctly, going into full particulars of evidence of the justice of every charge he makes: (1) that Browne, after these pledges, and after his appointment in virtue of them, still continued to denounce the Church of England as before, invoking vengeance upon it for "the bloud of all those of his sect that haue died any way by pursuite of law;" (2) that during the nearly two years time then elapsed since he took these obligations, he had never at any time "cōmunicated with them in the Sacrament;" and (3) that, instead of promoting the peace of the church, he had seduced one poor woman by a "writing" of "v. or vi. sheetes of paper," to leave St. Olaves for the Separation; that he had disturbed the congregation at Dertford and "drawn away some," and that he had himself preached on the "Lordes Day" in a private house "not farre from Ludgate." Quite well all

[235] I give examples: "Died 18 Julie 1606, Marie Hobson, an ould poore maied." "15 Dec. 1608. Thomas Draper, base-born, as he saied before his death, a boy-servant of Henrie Willamot run away from his maister, and was intertained and kept by Henrie Willamot con-

this[236] agrees with Fuller's notion that he never really renounced his Brownism; and with his Brownistical way of calling the parish of Achurch the "towne;" and with Bredwell's saying: "The man remayneth of the same iudgement against the English assemblyes, which he helde before, when he passed the Seas."[237]

If the pose of his mind were gone, leaving him sane enough in most respects for daily work, but making him unsound in that department of the life which these things touched, all becomes clear. Otherwise mystery hangs over all.

But could he be thus unhinged without the fact being remarked by his contemporaries? Scarcely; and yet most of those who have transmitted their judgments to us were ill-placed for much allowance for the poor man, and were in danger of the uncharity of charging confidently to the heart, what might after all have been the defect of the head. Still, we have evidence of this description enough, as it appears to me, when added to previous considerations, to make out a case.

I seem to see in all Lord Burghley's letters on his behalf, and concerning him, a kind of patient pity — for the Lord Treasurer had no sympathy whatever with Separatism — which would be natural and noble if he felt that his kinsman were not only a bruised but a broken man; and when he succeeded in getting him so far back into the ministry of England that he could legally present him to this little living, I fancy that he felt a grateful sense of a duty of compassion done.[238]

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trarie to his maisters will, and surfeited in haruest in Henrie Willamots worcke, and was turned out of him being sick, and afterward receiued againe and kept by him in his sicknes tyll he died." So, in three cases in the summer of 1614 (but nowhere else), he specifies that the party deceased was "a married man." So in five cases he goes into particulars in another direction, "Henry, son of Thomas Woodrax, the *shoemaker;*" "Mabel, daughter of Thomas Woodruf, *carpenter;*" "Marce, y^e^ daughtr of a *wanderer;*" "Edward Greene, an ould and lame *bachelar;*" "An, y^e^ child of a *sorowing woemā*." And there are *seven* entries which are sampled by this: "A child of my ungracious god-sonne Robert Greene, baptized els-were in schisme." [*Achurch Register*, No 1, 1591–1669.] The last entry but one in his handwriting is the following: "8 Maie 1631. A child of Jame [sic] Connington baptized and buried by by [sic] him selfe in schme." I fancy that what the shattered old man thought he meant, in most of these cases of "schism," was, that some one beside himself performed the service. Thus, the record: "25 Oct. 1629. Allen Greenes child baptized in schisme at Lylford, named John," I interpret as indicating that poor Browne being so unsound in mind as to make it unpleasant to the parties to have him officiate, they had quietly gone over to Lilford and obtained baptism for their child at other hands.

[236] *Rasing of the Foundations of Brownisme*, etc., 132–140.

[237] *Ibid*, 123.

[238] I have been struck with a peculiarity in the way in which he was spoken of by two

Beyond question, many who wrote concerning him used language which well adjusts itself to this theory. Sir Robert Jermyn, even so early as Browne had been in trouble at Bury preaching, said that many of his utterances were "godly and reasonable," but there were other things "strange and unheard."[239] Strype characterized him as "very freakish."[240] Fuller's account of the way in which he came to be consigned to his death in prison — that the constable "somewhat roughly and rudely" making a demand for some payment upon him, he in a passion struck him; is precisely what might naturally have happened to a semi-insane person, while the additional fact which he mentions that the old man, after his forty years' ministry there, actually had no friend to proffer aid even in the degree to substitute a carriage for a cart for his last journey, comports much better with the supposition of a poor crazed dotard who has worn out the patience of his generation, than with any other conception of what would be possible in a village both Christian and English.[241] Pagitt gives a story of Browne which I have not seen elsewhere. He says: "when the whimseyes came first into his head, he was advised by some of his friends to conferr with Master Fox; and having been with him, he reported that he had been with a mad-man, who thrust him out of his doores, telling him that he would prove a fire-brand in Gods Church."[242] Bredwell, who seems to have known him best of all, and especially at the turning point of his life, speaks of the "tempest of his disturbed and stormie affections;"[243] says that he has been "bitten & torne" by him "as it were with a mad dog;"[244] calls his pen "furious,"[245] and talks of "the inward ruines and downefall of iudgement"[246] in his case. "Browne," he says, "is sound, his braine is sicke."[247] He says again: "This *Troublechurch* Browne

Separatist writers during the first twenty years of his Achurch ministry. One is the good Henry Ainsworth who, in his *Counterpoyson*, in 1608, says to a Church of England man: "How wel Mr. Brown approueth of your church, though he liue in it; himself, if you ask him, I suppose, wil tel yov." [39.] The other is the unknown author of the Dialogue printed in 1611, which includes Henry Barrowe's "Platform," which says of Browne and of his early theory: "And yet (I think if he were asked) his conscience wil not suffer his tongue to say, that it is not the trueth." 134.

239 Letter given by Strype. *Annals*, etc., iii(1): 30.

240 *Life of Arch. Parker*, ii: 69.

241 *Chh. Hist.*, v: 70.

242 *Heresiography*, etc. (ed. 1654), 51.

243 *Rasing of the Foundations*, etc., 63.

244 *Ibid.*

245 *Ibid.*

246 *Ibid*, xiii.

247 *Ibid*, 65.

. . . . is (in a heauie, though iust iudgement) compassed about with a strong delusion."[248] So once more: "If he be so mad that he vnderstandeth not practise to be workes, then is he too mad, to bee talked withall."[249] His criticism upon one of Browne's positions is: "Whereunto if I shoulde answere hee was madde, I should fauour him much, in mouing pitie for him; and if it be not taken so, both friends and enemies must needes set a harder sentence vppon him."[250] And finally he declares: "And thus (belike) because Browne is not yet so madde, as that hee will suffer no clothes vpon him, wee shoulde not beleeue diuerse of his great friendes, who say, he is madde, or out of his wittes, whereby they seeke to excuse his dealings."[251]

Bredwell, as I have said, was a physician, and seems to have been familiarly acquainted with the master at St. Olaves; and, being an expert in such matters, I must think he would have scornfully repudiated this notion of insanity, if it had seemed to him a mere fetch, meant to cover cowardly infidelity to principle.

I have personally known, both in social and business relations, for more than thirty years, a person much of this quality — like Browne, passionately fond of music, and as "singular good" a flutist as the other could have been lutenist — sane enough on most subjects to slip along through life without attracting much attention to his eccentricities except from those who know him best; insane enough on one subject to override all the ordinary forces of motive, and make me think that the question of close confinement, for safety's sake, may most likely some day be settled against him. And that same sound

"Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh,"

which I hear in him, comes reverberating faintly out of the past to my ear from the last half-century of that life which we have now been studying.

It is, indeed, much more with his works, and his system, than with him, that we have to do. Yet, as he once said concerning Mr. Cartwright, that he wondered the ill savor of a certain sen-

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[248] *Ibid*, 112.
[249] *Ibid*, 72.
[250] *Ibid*, 13.
[251] *Ibid*, 97.

tence did not nauseate him as it flowed from his pen-point;[252] so, conversely, it has seemed almost a necessity somewhat to disinfect the memory of Robert Browne, before we could fairly do justice to his opinions. On the whole,[253] I am persuaded we need

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[252] *Answere to Master Cartwright*, etc., 6.

[253] It may interest the reader if I put on record here the judgment of some who have spoken as to the true relation of Browne to the general ecclesiastical system to which his name has been as persistently assigned by its enemies, as it has been repudiated by its friends. I begin with one of his contemporaries, the physician whom I have already had frequent occasion to cite. He says:

"Although (as it hath beene obserued) sundrie among them, from time to time, haue laboured to be leaders, and so vpon the spurre of emulation haue gallopped as hard as they could: yet without all question, there is none among them that can iustly take the garland from *Rob. Browne*. His writings doe foreiudge the cause agaynst all his competitors. And albeit newe maisters are risen among them, that nowe, in a fresh hote moode, condemne his coldnesse and colourable dealing, and that worthily: yet they must, euen *Barow* and *Greenwood*, with the rest, acknowledge him the shop of their store, and the steele of their strength: for arguments, obiections and shiftes, to colour, and (if it were possible) to vphold their crasie cause withall. Let them not disdaine (therefore) that he should beare the name, as the father of that familie and brood, which, of late yeares in a quarell for the Discipline, haue made that rende in the assemblies of Englande." *Rasing of the Foundations*, etc., viii.

So George Giffard of Maldon says (1590) of these Separatists:

"We terme them *Brownists* as being the Disciples & Scholers of *Browne*. There be indeed new masters sprong vp, which seeke to carrie awaye the name, and I haue heard diuers say, they go beyond *Browne*. But whosoeuer shal reade his books, and peruse all their writings, shall well see, that he deserueth to haue the honour, if any be, and to be called the Captaine and maister of them all. They haue all their furniture from him: they do but open his packe, and displaye his wares. They haue not a sharpe arrowe, which is not drawne out of his quiuer." *Short Treatise agst. Donatists of Eng.*, v.

So Baillie (1645) wrote of Browne's books: "Whence ever since the best Arguments for that Schism are drawn," and, again: "Whosoever shall read Brown his Books, and peruse all his Scholars writings, shall see that they have no sharp arrow but which is draun out of his Quiver." *Dissvasive*, etc., 14, 18.

I append to these the judgment of four of the ablest among late writers who have referred to the subject:

"The crude immediate beginning of that process [by which modern Independency came to its growth] should be sought in the opinions propagated, between 1580 and 1590, by the erratic Robert Browne;" which fifty years later, "passed through a singular history in the minds and lives of men of steadier and more persevering character." Prof. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, etc., ii: 536.

"Although Richard Fitz was the first pastor of the first Independent Church in England, to Robert Browne belongs the honor of founding the denomination." H. S. Skeats, *Hist. of Free Churches of England* (ed. 1869), 23.

"The principles, however, which he espoused did not depend on him for their truth, and consequently were cherished by great numbers of the people. Instead of dying out of the minds of men, they revived with increasing power, and spread with great rapidity during the reign of Elizabeth." J. Fletcher, *Hist. Independency*, etc. (1862), ii: 130.

"His [Browne's] books and pamphlets formed for a long time the arsenal, whence the controversial weapons of his party were procured: and he is acknowledged by the latest Independent historians to have held all the views which distinguish the denomination at this moment, with one important exception, [which we have already seen to be an erroneous view founded on false information]—viz.: that he had no idea of what we now mean by '*toleration*.'" G. H. Curteis (Bampton Lect. 1871), *Dissent in its Relation to the Chh. of Eng.*, 68.

The quotation with which the lecture closes is from the *Spectator*, No. 518.

not be ashamed of him, nor recognize the least necessity of trying to dislodge him from his natural primacy among the great thinkers of Liberalism, and of modern Congregationalism.

That charity which is predisposed to think no evil, with trustful tolerance will insist, in the face of all calumniators of his own and of succeeding generations, that if his spirit were sometimes harsh, and his language often violent; something of this was due to the anomalies of a natural temperament for which he was nowise responsible, and more to the tremendous urgencies of the times — when such a gale of Established forces was blowing in the face of reformation, that whispers and even common words were wasted breath, and no sound that was much less than a shout, or a shriek, had ability to catch the public ear.

Surely, if we could find his unknown grave, it would be safe for us — in the comfortable, if not the sure and certain, hope of a glorious immortality for him in that blessed country where "the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick," — to inscribe upon it at least this ancient epitaph:

"Hic jacet — in expectatione Diei Supremi:
Qualis erat — dies iste indicabit."

LECTURE III.

The

Martin Mar-prelate Controversy.

Auffidius. What is thy name?
Coriolanus. A name vnmusicall to the Volscians eares,
And harsh in sound to thine.
Auf. Say, what's thy name?
Thou hast a Grim appearance, and thy Face
Beares a Command in't: Though thy Tackles torne,
Thou shew'st a Noble Vessell: What's thy name?
Corio. Prepare thy brow to frowne: knowst ye me yet?
Auf. I know thee not.—Thy Name?

Shakespeare (ed. 1623), Coriolanus, Act iv, p. 22.

Men of most renowned virtue have sometimes, by transgressing, most truly kept the law. *Milton, Tetrachordon, Prose Works (ed. 1848), iii: 324.*

I am called Martin Marprelat. There be many that greatly dislike of my doinges. I may haue my wants I know. For I am a man. But my course I knowe to be ordinary and lawfull. I saw the cause of Christs gouernment, and of the Bishops Antichristian dealing to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read any thing, written in the defence of the on and against the other. I bethought mee therefore, of a way whereby men might be drawne to do both, perceiuing the humors of men in these times (especially of those that are in any place) to be giuen to mirth. I tooke that course. I might lawfully do it. I [*aye*], for iesting is lawful by circumstances, euen in the greatest matters. The circumstances of time, place and persons vrged me thereunto. I neuer profaned the word in any iest. Other mirth I vsed as a couert, wherin I would bring the truth into light. The Lord being the authour both of mirth and grauitie, is it not lawfull in it selfe, for the trueth to vse eyther of these wayes, when the circumstances do make it lawful?

My purpose was and is to do good. I know I haue don no harme howsoeuer some may iudg Martin to mar al. They are very weake ons that so think.—*Hay any Worke, etc., 14.*

The Martin Marprelate Controversy.

IF one will take the pains, as vividly as he can, to summon before his mind a great school of boys and girls, which since the memory of living men has been maintained in the sternest old fashion under the discipline of the rod, until its venerable master, in all the solemn starch and buckram of his scholastic pomp, has come to seem there as but little lower than the All-mighty; and then will imagine them assembled some day in the great hall, in trembling terror, as the extreme penalty of the birch is about to be administered with all the honors upon some misdoers; and, in the awful preliminary hush, will conceive the side door to open suddenly, and Mr. Punch, in all the uniqueness of his jolly belly, his protuberant and rubicund nose, his merry squint, and the shrill cackle-chuckle of his thin and tinny voice, to come blandly bounding upon the platform; squeaking aside a "How are ye, ancient fellow!" to the master, and, while delivering a ludicrously awkward bow to the thunder-stricken assembly, contrive to land upon his hands, and from this inverted position proceed — gesturing with his heels — to make a speech, denouncing the "old man out there" as a humbug and a tyrant, begging to call the

general attention to the fact that if he got his deserts he would be kicked out at once in favor of some master with a thimbleful of brains in his skull, and an ounce, or so, of red and humane blood in his heart; and when the great man at the desk has sufficiently recovered from the sudden shock of this amazing apparition to strut with stiff obstreperousness forward in the intent to bring the infamous indecorum to an instant and inglorious end; if one will behold Mr. Punch, recovering his uprightness, with unexpected muscle pitching into the precise old pedagogue like two or three larger men — to right, to left, and all ways, sending his spectacles in one direction, his wig in another, his false teeth and glass eye in still others; tearing his shirt down the front, ripping his coat up the back, and knocking him generally into a state of demolition and chaos, himself not indeed unhit by return blows, but essentially unharmed in the struggle; lifting over all his shrill and impish "ha! ha!" until, flapping his arms, he jumps upon the table and fairly crows like a cock, as his humiliated antagonist gathers himself together and hurriedly retires for repairs; if one will take pains, I say, to imagine such an extremely improper scene as this, he will, if I mistake not, concede me two things, viz.: that there would be an astonishment merging into a jubilant uproar there which would strain the roof-tree and arouse the town; and that, even if all ended in the removal of Mr. Punch to the station house by the police, and due process of law, the question of that master's resignation would be left essentially one of time.

England, in regard to her ecclesiastical affairs, was in a position much like that which I have tried to hint in the opening of this school-picture, when Martin Mar-prelate came bouncing before the great public of the common people, flirting about his little cheap books — printed nobody knew where — that might easily be circulated and were sure to be read; with an oddity of impudence and an impudence of oddity so thoroughly English in their grain, as to appeal strongly in what they were, as well as by their very novelty, to the broad-mouthed masses. Educated to take the hierarchy as in the place of God, and to reverence and implicitly obey their ecclesiastical superiors, the vast majority of Englishmen of that period had no idea that

they could think for themselves in matters of religion, or had any right to do so if they could. That petrifaction of the public mind, which especially in a low state of general culture is inseparable from the thorough working of the Papal system, had been but feebly and partially modified, by the feeble and partial quality of that transfer of the English Church and nation from the religious headship of Pope Clement VII. to that of King Henry VIII., which it is common to call the Reformation in England. A few — mostly of the clergy who had been driven into exile under bloody Mary, and become indoctrinated from Geneva — had been for some time diligently laboring to influence their fellow-clergy, and to move the Court and the Queen; but with a success so indifferent as to throw doubt upon the wisdom of their methods, and, at last, to lead one of themselves to say: "We have used gentle words too long, which have done no good; the wound grows desperate, and wants a corrosive."[1] It was indeed beginning to seem almost a hopeless task to move the general mind in any such degree as should energize the nation towards its own deliverance from the frigid despotism of an ecclesiastical sway, which, so far as it could be said to look decidedly in any direction other than that of its supposed self-interest, looked lovingly back toward Rome.

Just now, of a sudden, this new form of attack upon existing abuses was developed.

In the ecclesiastical literature of that day satire had, as yet, found no recognized place; being indeed hardly yet known in the English tongue.[2]

Three quarters of a century before, the inimitable Erasmus, first started on the line of thought by the oddity of the fact that the wisest and the wittiest man whom he knew should bear a name which in Greek signifies a fool,[3] in a single week[4] had

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[1] John Field to Mr. Pearson, Neale, *Hist. Puritans* (ed. 1837), i: 188.

[2] "Satire, specifically so called, did not commence in England till the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth." T. Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry* (ed. 1840), iii: 404.

[3] "Quæ Pallas istud tibi misit in mentem? inquies. Primum admonuit me Mori cognomen tibi gentile, quod tam ad Moriæ vocabulum accedit, quam es ipse à re alienus." Erasmi Rot. *Præfatio In Moriæ Encomium.*

[4] R. B. Drummond, *Erasmus, His Life and Character*, etc., i: 184; A. R. Pennington, *Life and Character of Erasmus*, 78; G. Feugère, *Erasme, étude sur sa vie et ses Ouvrages*, 46.

dashed off in the house of that friend, Sir Thomas More, that waggish *Moriæ Encomium*, which, having gone through seven editions in a few months, and been translated into most modern languages, with Holbein's serio-comic illustrations remains — a book among a thousand of its class — as it delights us, to teach us that in some things on which we pride ourselves, the former days were quite as good as these days; and to show, in its treatment of monks and theologians,[5] what a tremendous weapon the lash of satire may become against abuses which are easier felt than remedied.[6] Some ten years later the same facile pen, in the world-read *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ*, and especially in the colloquies therein of the "Pilgrimage," the "*Ιχθυοφαγία*," and the "Seraphic Obsequies," applied the same lash to the Church of Rome with such stinging effect that the book soon earned the condemnation, and prohibition, of the Sorbonne.[7] The great German Reformer's *Colloquium Lutherum inter et Diabolum*,[8] sounds a little as if it might have belonged to the same family with these; but an examination of the work will show that the Satan[9] who acts as Luther's interlocutor, and who begins by addressing him in the most respectful manner, as "Doctor perdocte," is a mere peg on which to hang a discussion of the character of masses which were called private because the priest alone partook of them; so that he might, for aught one can see,

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5 "Mais c' était surtout contre les moines et les théologiens que l' attaque était sans merci. Sous le couvert d' une ironie qui ne nous paraitra pas toujours assez fine pour ne pas blesser notre gout, il était facile de reconnaitre que la haine d' Erasme était ardente contre ces deux classes d' hommes dans lesquels il se hatait trop de personnifier le charlatanisme et l'ignorance hautaine." *Feugère*, 46.

6 In his second visit to England about 1506, he and More had spent some time together in translating some of the works of Lucian into Latin, and that Greek humorist and satirist was a favorite with the great Dutch scholar, and no doubt tempted him to write in a similar style. Anticipating, however, objections which would be made to the application of satire to religious things, he insists that Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Polycrates, Seneca, Plutarch, Juvenal and even St. Jerome "lusit hoc in genere multo liberius ac mordacius;" declares that nothing is more pleasant than "seria nugatorie tractare, ita nihil festivius quam ita tractare nugas;" and is sure that a good natured satirist does not "mordere videtur, an docere potius, ac monere;" and thinks that the man who complains, will betray his own guilt, or, at least, cowardice ["is aut conscientiam prodet suam, aut certe metum."] *Prefatio In Moriæ Encomium.*

7 *Drummond*, ii: 246.

8 *Colloquium Lutherum inter et Diabolum, ab ipso Luthero conscriptum in ejus Libro de Missa privata atque Sacerdotum unctione. Opera* (ed. 1558), vii: 228; repr. Paris 1875, par Isadore Liseur. 18mo, viii, 93.

9 In 1687, Abraham Woodhead, the Roman Catholic who managed to live quietly for many years on an Oxford fellowship traveling allowance of £20 *per annum;* he being supposed to be beyond seas, when he was all the time lying concealed within two miles of St.

as well have been the Angel Gabriel, John Calvin, or Michael Servetus. In 1552 there had been published at Geneva a little volume entitled *Epistola Magistri Benedicti Passauantij*,[10] which was, no doubt correctly, attributed to Beza. Pierre Lizet, first president of the parliament of Paris, and subsequently provided for as Abbot of St. Victor, had been very active in the persecution of Protestants, and had published sundry controversial treatises of so extreme a character as to make himself absurd. Passavantius purported to have been sent by Lizet to Geneva to find out what was said there about him and his works, and this letter is the report rendered of his mission. It deals in a very free manner[11] with its subject, in no way sparing such personal peculiarities as could be made effective, and applying the balm of *aqua fortis* to every wound. Beza's works were popular in England, and there is evidence[12] that this was read there, and was cited, by one who seems to have known as much about Martin

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Paul's, published at Oxford *Two Discourses; the First concerning the Spirit of Martin Luther and the Original of Reformation*, etc., in which [61–91] he goes at great length into the attempted proof that the Devil really appeared to Luther (rather habitually); and that, in point of fact, Luther mainly acted as his agent in promoting the Reformation! Francis Atterbury of Christ Church, replied to him, in *An Answer to Some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther*, etc., published at Oxford the same year. *Ath. Ox.*, iii: 1162.

[10] *Epistola Mag. Benedicti Passiuantij. Responsiva ad commissionem sibi datam à venerabili D. Petro Lyseto, nuper Curiæ Parisiensis præsidente: nunc verò Abbate Sancti Victoris, prope muros.* There are two editions (not the first) in the British Museum. One is *Florentiæ*, 1554, 12mo, pp. 91; the other *Lutriviniani*, 1584, 12mo, pp. 125. The latter contains, appended by some irreverent editor, a *Complainte de Messire Pierre Liset sur le trespas de son feu nez*, in six pages of rhyme, ending in the following comic epitaph:

> *"Ci gist enchasse en verre*
> *Le feu nez de Maistre Pierre:*
> *Priez O vous qui passez,*
> *Pour tous les nez trespassez."*

[11] Bayle (1820) styles it "un ecrit macaronique tout-à-fait plaisant" [sub nom. *Lizet*]; and the *Nouvelles Lettres de la Critique Generale de l' histoire du Calvinisme, de M. Maimbourg*, etc. (1685), calls it: "une satyre burlesque, où on tourne cruellement en ridicule le President Lizet," etc. [i: 144.] It continually addresses M. Lizet in the most stately mock-heroic manner as "Dom. Nuper-præsidens et Nunc-abbas;" throws epithets about in a very reckless way, calling (e. g.) one Joachim Perionius "æque magnus asinus in Theologia, ac tu es mulus de tua patria;" and closes by recommending his patron "omnibus sanctis & sanctabus paradisi. Esto sanus & sacrilegus, sain & alegre Gallice, per omnia secula seculorum. Evovæ, Amen. Et ecce unum bonbum pro istis hæreticis, & postea finem Gebennæ." (Ed. 1554), 90, 91.

[12] "After that tyme upon some other occasion, this examinate asking Mr. Penry whether this were a lawfull course, that Martyn had taken in the two sd. Books, to pst. in such sort, & to detect to the world such mens infirmities: He answered that godly men had taken heretofore the like course, *as Mr. Beza in his Booke named 'Passauantius;'* the author of the 'Beehiue,' 'Pasquin in a trance,'" etc. [*Harleian MSS.*, 7042, 21.] This "Beehive," was, doubtless, *The Beehiue of the Romishe Churche: a worke of al good Catholikes too bee read, and most necessary to be vnderstood: Wherin both the Catholike Religion is substantially confirmed, and the Heretikes finely fetcht ouer the coales. Translated out of Dutch into English by Geo. Gilpin the elder*, etc., London,

Mar-prelate as any body of the time, as justifying, if not suggesting, that issue.

In England itself, as far back as the 12th century, satire had been called forth by the corruptions of the church, and had done good service on behalf of truth, but not in the English tongue. Walter Map invented a Bishop Golias, whom he made to stand as an incarnation of all the fleshly corruptions of the Romish Church, carrying the idea through as many as twenty short Latin poems,[13] which became immensely popular, and did good service in the days of the struggle between Henry II. and Thomas Becket. One of the most famous was the *Apocalypsis Goliæ Episcopi*, in 440 lines, which was named in allusion to the Revelation of John. It represents the Bishop—that is to say, the poet—as taken up into heaven and there told: "siste, videbis quæ Iohannes viderat;"[14] when there were revealed to him the various vices of the clergy, from the loftiest to the lowliest rank. I copy a single stanza as sampling the style and spirit of the whole:[15]

> "Væ! genti mutilæ cornutis ducibus!
> qui mulctant mutilos armatis frontibus,
> dum habet quilibet fœnum in cornibus,
> non pastor ovium, sed pastus ovibus."[16]

One hundred and fifty years later William Langland, in his *Vision of Piers Plowman*, spared not the priests, summing all up:

> "The frere with his phisike, this folke hath enchanted
> And plastred hem so easely, they dread no synne,"[17]

but even this was scarcely in the English tongue.

1580, 16mo, cxxii, 730. Good copies have one, and sometimes two, droll cuts; representing a beehive by the popes triple crown, with the bees flying about, some with cardinals hats on, others with miters, the rest tonsured. The other was earlier, being *Pasquine in a Traunce: A Christian and learned Dialogue* (*contayning wonderfull and most strange newes out of heauen, Purgatorie and Hell*), etc., etc., London, 1555, 4to, 224, etc.

[13] The Camden Society of London published these poems in 1841, under the editorship of Mr. Thomas Wright, F. S. A., etc.

[14] Line 64.

[15] Lines 129–132.

[16] These lines are thus rendered in a translation dating in the close of the sixteenth century:

> "Woe to the horned [mitred] guydes of this poor mangled flocke!
> That dothe bothe hurt and mayme the same with armed head,
> Whiles on their hornes they bear eche one of them a locke,
> And doe not feede their sheape, but with their sheape are fedd."—*Harleian MSS.*, 846: 36.

[17] Ed. 1561, 256.

After almost another one hundred and fifty years, we have Sir David Lindsay and George Buchanan; the one exhorting the clergy:

> "To preiche with unfeignit intentis,
> And treulie use the sacramentis;
> Efter Christis institutiounis
> Leuing their vane traditiounis
> Quhilk dois the sillie scheip illude,
> Quhome for Christ Iesus sched his blude," etc.;[18]

and the other, in his *Franciscanus* and *Fratres Fraterrimi*,[19] attacking the abuses of the monasteries with sharply pointed pens. But both of these were Scotchmen.

After extended and careful examination, the earliest English treatise in the English tongue in which the actual cautery of earnest satire was employed in defence of the truth, and in assault upon its enemies, which I have been able to discover, is a little blackletter pamphlet of 1586, by — as a matter of course — an anonymous writer, entitled *A Commission sente to the Pope, Cardynales, Bishops, Friers, Monkes, with all the rable of that Viperous Generation, by the highe and mighty Prince, and king Sathanas the Deuill of Hell.*[20] The wit of it is very respectable, and its pungency must have been considerable. It begins: "Sathanas king of sorrowe, Prince of Darkenesse, and Lorde of Hell, Abbot of Apostasie, Monke of hipocrisy, Frier of fayned

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[18] Complaint. *Warkis of the Famous and Worthie Knicht, Sir Dauid Lyndsay*, etc. (1592), 272.

[19] These two poems occupy together thirty-four pages of the densest type, in the Leyden edition of his *Poemata* (1628). A glimmer of his sarcasm comes out in the "Palinodia" of the second poem [78] thus:

> "Vobis relligio est sincero assuescere recto,
> Relligio est Christi facta, fidemque sequi,
> Raraque simplicitas, & rara modestia vobis,
> Et virtus rara est, & probitatis honos, etc."

[20] Published in London by Thomas Purfoote, 1586, 16mo, [n. p.] pp. 22. The only copy I have ever seen is in the Lambeth library [29. 9. 4.]. As it was suppressed soon after its issue, probably few remain.

There appears to have been, indeed, a document written near two centuries and a half before, which might have suggested this; an *Epistola Luciferi ad Malos Principes Ecclesiasticos*, whose first Paris imprint attaches to it the date of 1351 — throwing it back into Wiclyf's time. Fox [*Acts and Monuments* (ed. 1844) iii: 190–193] translates it, and appends some references to two or three other early documents of the sort, having at least traditionary existence. The Latin copy may be found in Wolfius, *Lectiones Memorabiles*, tom. i: 654; where it is ascribed to Nicholas Orem. Prynne [*The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie*, etc. (1641), pp. 338–343] prints the same in an earlier translation than that given in the edition of Fox which I cite. There is also in the Lambeth library [xxx. 9. 4. (2.)] *A Commyssion sent to the bloudy Butcher Byshop of London, by Sathanas the Devil of Hell;* but as it has neither note of place, printer or date, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assign it.

poverty, Provost of pride, and Prouinciall Generall of all mischiefe: unto our true subiects of the order of all Conuents of Liars, wee doe send our greeting, with as good welfare as wee haue our selues: desiring & charginge you upon your allegiance that ye at all times be ready and obeydient unto this our will and commaundement."[21] Throughout, it quietly assumes that the Devil is the real head of the Romish Church, and that that hierarchy, from the Pope down to the sub-deacon, are his understrappers — on the best of terms with him, and only too anxious to do his bidding. He says: "Iesu Christ, that miserable person, the sonne of Mary, hath deceiued us. For in time of his liuinge upon the earth, he fayned in all thinges, using himselfe so subtlely and craftely, that we might not know surely what he was,"[22] and by consequence he hath "set us in worse case then euer wee were before."[23] Under these circumstances, Satan proceeds to give minute directions to these his good servants what is to be done to repair this injury. He is particularly anxious that they should have "gospell bablers clapt vp in prison;"[24] and bids them "aboue al other things" beware "least these lewd lossels beare you downe with their wretched bible," for "if his gospell goe abroad, we, and all you, are vndone."[25] "If men fal to his gospel, they wil geue you no more almes as long as you be stronge & lusty, but wil cry vpon you to labor, as that beggerly wretch Paul did teach in his eluish pistle." It thus concludes: "We trust in your wisdom, wherfore we writ not many thinges to you, but take and print this our high commission in your hartes, and work thereafter, as wee truste in you, and yee shall haue no lesse ioye then our selues haue, in Hell. Fare you well: trust to vs as we do vnto you. Written in our bright and burninge Chayre, from our infernall kingdome of darknes, prepared to vs and you with all our Aungels. Your Lorde and royall King Sathanas, Prince of Hell. Vnder our Seale, Manuell. 1586."[26]

Whoever composed this "Commission," put Pope enough into it to take off the curse, and give it a fairly safe look at first glance on the outside, but that its real intent was to strike a

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[21] *Ibid*, 2.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid*, 5.
[24] *Ibid*, 20.
[25] *Ibid*, 22.
[26] *Ibid.*

blow against the hierarchy, and the administration of the Church of England, becomes plain upon its careful reading, and became so plain soon after its issue, that the license for its printing and circulation was withdrawn on the 27 February following; the book being "forbydden by the Archbishop of Canterburye."[27] One can hardly avoid the conclusion that its strong and broad humor proved acceptable to what might be called the more intelligent portion of the coarse-fibred common Protestant mind of England; or the suspicion that it had something to do in suggesting that multitude of somewhat kindred treatises which within less than two years after its issue, began to appear, and which established satire in plea against error and abuse, first in Church and next in State, as a permanent element of English Literature.

I regard a little tract of 67 pages, called *The State of the Church of Englande, laide open in a conference betweene Diotrephes a Byshop, Tertullus a Papist, Demetrius an vsurer, Pandocheus an Inne-Keeper, and Paule a preacher of the worde of God*,[28] as being really, for substance, the pioneer of the famous series which we are about to discuss — a little pilot balloon sent up to test the direction and force of the wind then blowing. It has not usually been so considered, but the facts — that it was printed by the secret press which issued the Mar-prelates proper, only some seven months before the first Martin; that it was clearly from the pen of one of the men who were concerned in their preparation if not publication; that it was burned by the Bishops, and endorsed by Martin as by his "frend and deare brother;" and that it made a decided, though as yet guarded, assault upon the English hierarchy — seem to justify that judgment.[29]

The author in his preface informs the "gentle reader" that he has "sette doun here in a Dialog the practize of Satan

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[27] See E. Arber, *Transcript of the Stationers Registers*, etc. (1875), ii: 457. The record is "expunctum in plena curia 27 februarij 1586 [i. e., 1587]."

[28] It has two texts on the title-page, viz.: Ps. cxxii: 6, and Rev. xiv: 9, 10. It bears no imprint, but from affidavits in *Harleian MSS.*, 7042, seems to have been printed on Waldegrave's peripatetic press at Kingston, in April, 1588, and to have been from Udall's pen. It was subsequently reprinted by Waldegrave in *A Parte of a Register*, etc. (1590), 333–365.

[29] "Trust me, his grace will owe that puritan printer as good a turne, as hee paide vnto Robert Walde-graue for his sawciness in printing my frend and deare brother Diotrephes his Dialogue." [*Epistle*, 6.] "It wil neuer come vnto hir Maiesties eare, as my friend Tertullus in the poore Dialogue that the bishops lately burned hath set downe." *Ibid*, 13.

which he vseth, . . . to subuert and vtterly ouerturn the course of the Gospell here in England;" suggesting further that the names of the speakers shadow forth their sentiments. "Diotrephes was he of whom S. John speaketh . . . that louinge to haue the preheminence, disturbed the course of good things in the Church, and therefore sustaineth the person of a Byshop, or Byshoply prelate." Tertullus, who defended ceremonies, "representeth the papists that maintaine their traish, to the rooting out of true religion."[30] Demetrius, who "lived by an vnlawfull trade, . . . doth play the part of an vserer." Paule "speaketh for the ministers of our time that stand for reformation." And Pandocheus, being "an Inkeeper in Greeke," stands for "a receiuer of all, and a soother of euerye man for his game." He further declares that "the cause of all vngodlines so to raigne in euery place, and of the papists so to increase in strength and number, ariseth from our Byshops and their vnlawfull gouernment," and because "they haue weakened the knees of the true preachers, and euery way crossed them in all good actions."

The dialogue is held in the inn of Pandocheus, somewhere on the road from London to the North, where Diotrephes the bishop's man and Tertullus the papist — who have been sent up into Scotland to counteract the Puritan influence there, but who are hastening home disgusted with their ill success, and fearing a like evil in England — meet Paul just from the metropolis, and question him as to what has been going on in their absence. The colloquy is very well managed, but I can only glance at two or three portions, which indicate the general temper of this attack upon the church as then by law established.

"*Diotreph.* You seeme to be a minister, can you tell me what good successe my Lordes the Bishops haue in their proceedings?

"*Paule.* They haue too good successe, they wax worse and worse, they growe euen to the heigth of their iniquity, so that I hope their kingdom wil not stand long.

"*Diotreph.* Why sir: what doe they, that they offende you so grieuously?

"*Paule.* They stop the mouth of the sheepe heardes, and set at liberty the rauening wolues, and turne the foxes among the lambes. . . . There are three abhominations committed by them: The first is, that they doe beare such an enmity against the kingdome of Jesus Christ, that they put to silence one after another, and will neuer cease (if God bridle them not) vntill they haue rooted

[30] *The State of the Church of Englande | laide open*, etc., 3.

out of the Church all the learned, godly, and painfull teachers: The second is that they enlarge the libertie of the common enemies the papists: The last is, that they commit the feedinge of the flockes of Christe vnto those that prey vpon them, and either cannot or will not labour to reclaime the wandering sheepe."[31]

Among hard hits which must have been as exasperating to the Bishops as they were agreeable to their enemies, was the suggestion, as from the prelates: "we haue reserved many popish prists in the ministery, wherof diuers doe yet remaine, which wee have done vpon special consideration: to wit, lest there shoulde be too manye learned, not one wherof wil stande to vs, saue onely they that either haue, or look to haue better preferment, or liue more easilye then S. Paules Epistles wil allow them."[32] So Paule tells this bishop's man when he threatens him with prison for his free speech: "Indeed the Clincke, Gatehouse, White-lyon, & the fleet, haue bin your onely argumentes whereby you haue proued your causes these many years, but you shall preuaile no longer, for your wickednesse is made manifest vnto all men, which God will shortlye repay into your own bosoms seuen fold, but pray you to God to giue you repentance, that those things hapen not vnto you."[33]

Near the close, the bishop's man asks the papist: "how shal we do to keep the Ministerie from too much knowledge, for that must bee doone, though we pretend the contrary?" He is answered: "take heed aboue al things, that the exercises of prophesie come not vp again," and "you must beware of the exercises that ministers haue at their meetings: for you know that in Leicester-shire they furthered knowledge greatly." And to the objection that this might be a difficult thing cleverly to do, inasmuch as the "exercise of prophesie" is expressly commended by the Apostle, the papist says: "You must answere it as you do the rest of their reformation, the particulars whereof are expressed in the newe Testament: namely, that they were things onely for the time,"[34] etc.

The book winds up with a set "conclusion," which is serious, practical, and earnest, and which rises to something like eloquence as it closes. Its object is to suggest — although its

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[31] *Ibid*, 13–15.
[32] *Ibid*, 23.
[33] *Ibid*, 42.
[34] *Ibid*, 57.

author is "one of the simplest of a thousand to giue aduise to proceede in any good course in so waightie a matter"—that a "moste humble supplication" be framed and presented to the Queen, entreating her that "shee woulde looke vppon the affliction of the pore church, and let vs haue our true teachers restored vnto vs againe." He proposes that some one "fitte" man be chosen to write, and two or three "godlie and honest" men to present the same; and possibly—he thinks—it might be well "first to moue our sute vnto some of the Byshops, as Winchester, or Salisburie, or both." And then, apparently to draw his readers' minds toward a frame of exalted thought which would fit them to bear any fate, and to leave them there, he pictures the contrast between the life that now is for the godly and faithful man, and that which will be:

"Heere he dieth thorow sinne, in the life to come he liueth in righteousnes: thorough many tribulations in earth he is still purged, with ioy vnspeakable in heauen is he made pure for euer: heere he dieth euerie hower, there hee liueth continuallie: heere is sinne, there is righteousnesse: heere is time, there is eternitie: heere is hatred, there is loue: heere is paine, there is pleasure: heere is miserie, there is felicitie: heere is corruption, there is immortalitie: heere we see vanity, there shall wee beholde the maiestie of God, with triumphant and vnspeakable ioye in glorie euerlasting."[35]

Late in the autumn or early in the winter following [1588],[36] as suddenly and as fantastically as a circus performer clad in motley leaps head over heels and heels over head into the ring, the first of the genuine, unmistakable and inimitable Martin Mar-prelate tracts challenged the attention of the astonished world. But I must premise a few words in regard to two other and very different books which had preceded this, that we may fully comprehend its drift.

Nearly thirty years before, John Aylmer, who had been Archdeacon of Stowe, and, in the hard fortunes of Queen Mary's reign, had been deprived, and fled to the continent with the many Protestant refugees whose heads were not then safe at home, had printed, at Strasburgh, a book in reply to John Knox's famous *First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous*

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35 *Ibid*, 63–67.

36 *Harleian MSS.*, 7042, 1, 19. The letter of the Lord Treasurer given by Strype in reference to the suppression of this unlicensed printing, is dated 14 Nov. 1588. *Life of Whitgift*, i: 552.

Regiment of women;[37] which he entitled *An Harborovve for faithfvll and trevve Subiectes, agaynst the late bloune Blaste, concerninge the Gouernment of VVemen; wherin be confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late made in that behalfe, with a breife exhortation to Obedience.*[38] In that book he had reasoned earnestly — some thought with an unwise earnestness — from the point of view which he then occupied, in favor of Elizabeth's title to the throne; and stigmatized, as belonging rather to the Papists, such views as Knox had advanced concerning the unlawfulness of women's government, the dethroning of princes when they persecute religion, and the like; and, to add force to his views, he had in several places declaimed against the luxury and worldliness of the Popish bishops, and spoken "with some seeming spite" against their civil authority.[39] In the changes of his generation, Aylmer had returned to his native country no longer a refugee, had become Archdeacon of Lincoln, and, after waiting a long time for further preferment, as a consequence, it was thought, of some of the indiscretions of his book, had been raised to the See of London, where he had been twelve years established at the time when Martin began to publish.

Still further, John Bridges, Dean of Sarum, had published in the previous year, a modest quarto of one thousand four hundred and twelve pages, entitled *A Defence of the Government established in the Chvrche of Englande for Ecclesiasticall matters. Contayning an aunswere unto a Treatise called The Learned Discourse of Eccl. Gouernment, Otherwise intituled, A briefe and plaine declaration*[40] *concerning the desires of all the faithfull ministers that haue, and do seeke for the discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande. Comprehending likewise an aunswere to the arguments in a Treatise named The iudgement of a most Reuerend and Learned man from beyond the Seas,*[41] *&c. Aunswering also to the argumentes of Caluine, Beza, and Danæus, with other our Reuerende learned Brethren, besides Cænalis and Bodinus, both for the regiment of women, and in defence of her Maiestie, and of all*

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37 Supposed to have been printed at Geneva, 1558, 8vo. B. M. [c. 12. b. 18. K. L.]

38 Printed at "Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill, M. D. lix." 4to, [n. p.] pp. 134, B. M. [884. h. 1. (1.)]

39 J. Strype. *Life of Bp. Aylmer*, 16.

40 The book here referred to was Travers's *Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ, et Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ ab illa aberrationis, plena è verbo Dei, et dilucida explicatio*, as translated and introduced by Cartwright, as *A full and plaine Declaration*, etc., in 1574.

41 This was by T. Beza, tr. by John Field, and published in London about 1580.

other Christian Princes supreme Gouernment in Ecclesiasticall causes, Against the Tetrarchie that our Brethren would erect in euery particular congregation, of Doctors, Pastors, Gouernors, and Deacons, with their seuerall and ioynt authoritie in Elections, Excommunications, Synodall Constitutions and other Ecclesiasticall matters. Aunswered by Iohn Bridges, Deane of Sarum. Ioh. i: 36. Come and see. Aug. Lib. Conf. viii. ca. 12. Take it up and read.[42] This ponderous plea begins on its fourteen hundred and eleventh page to draw its sixteen books toward a conclusion, in a few sentences one of which contains two hundred and twenty-six words, and four parentheses, exhorting all the godly "so farre as we haue attayned, to be thankefull to God for the same," and not to "bee wearie thereof and seeke innovations;" but "to builde vp the ruines of his temple (and not to hinder the building by controlling or defacing the builders thereof, by unnecessarie contradictions, and by deuising of new platformes)," with "all constant alacritie of going forwarde."[43]

We are now prepared for Martin. His first thin black-letter quarto is thus titled: *Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges, for it is a worthy worke: Or an Epitome of the fyrste Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, Iohn Bridges, Presbyter, Priest, or elder, doctor of Diuillitie, and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answere M. Doctor, they must needes say something that hath bene spoken. Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that have lernt their Catechismes, and are past grace: By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate gentleman, and dedicated to the Confocationhouse. The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the Bishops are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned Epistle. Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman.*[44]

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[42] Printed at London for John VVindet, for Thomas Chard 1587, 4to, pp. x, 1402, B. M. [1353. f. 1.] Dr. Waddington makes the astonishing statement that Bridges wrote this "ponderous volume" to "disprove the allegations contained in" a "series of anonymous publications known as the Martin Marprelate tracts," the first of which did not see the light until the year following its publication. *Cong. Hist.*, 1567–1700, 40.

[43] *Defence*, etc., 1401.

[44] 4to, pp. ii, 54.

The Tract plunges at once *in medias res:*

"Right poysond,[45] persecuting and terrible priests, the theame of mine Epistle, vnto your venerable master-domes, is of two parts (and the Epitome of our brother Bridges his booke, shall come out speedily). First, most pitifully complayning, Martin Mar-prelate, &c. Secondly, may it please your good worships, &c.

"Most pitifully complayning therefore, you are to vnderstand, that D. Bridges hath written in your defence, a most senceles book, and I cannot very often at one breath come to a full point, when I read the same.

"Againe, may it please you to giue me leaue to play the Duns for the nonce as well as he, otherwise dealing with master doctors booke, I cannot keepe *decorum personæ*. And may it please you, if I be too absurd in any place (either in this Epistle, or in that Epitome) to ride to Sarum, and thank his Deanship for it. Because I could not deal with his booke commendablie according to order, vnles I should be sometimes tediously dunsticall and absurd. For I haue heard som cleargie men say that M. Bridges was a very patch[46] and a duns, when he was in Cambridge. And some say, sauing your reuerence that are Bb. that he is as very a knaue, and enemy vnto the sincerite of religion, as any popish prelate in Rome. But the patch can do the cause of sincerite no hurt. Naye, he hath in this booke wonderfully graced the same by writing against it. For I haue hard some say, that whosoeuer will read his booke, shall as euidently see the goodnes of the cause of reformation, and the poore, poore nakednes of your gouernment, as almost in reading all Master Cartwrights workes. This was a very great ouersight in his grace of Cant. to suffer such a booke to come out. For besides that an Archb. is very weakely defended by masse Deane, he hath also by this meanes prouoked many to write against his gracious fatherhood, who perhaps neuer meant to take pen in hand."[47]

It is nearly as difficult an undertaking to give any fair idea, in brief, of such a pen-product as this, as it would be to epitomize a porcupine into a spear. But, partly because it has been so maligned, we must endeavor some just notion of it; which I think may be got in the shortest time by glancing at it from seven different points of view.

Its most obvious peculiarity, in certain parts, at least, is its liberty of style. It puns upon words. It addresses John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, as "*paltri*-politan,"[48] "his grace*lessnes*,"[49] "John Cant*er*,"[50] "John with his Canterburinesse,"[51]

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45 This, I take it, is one of those plays upon words which make a part of the fun of Martin, and stands for "puissant" — or, to speak more exactly, was suggested by it.

46 "A fool; perhaps from the Italian *pazzo*, or from wearing a patched, or parti-colored, coat." Halliwell & Wright's Nares's *Glossary*, sub voce. Shakespeare more than once uses the word in this sense.

47 *Epistle*, etc., 1.

48 *Ibid*, 1, 26.

49 *Ibid*, 31.

50 *Ibid*.

51 *Ibid*, 15, 16, 27, 43.

and so on. It deals roundly in epithets, like "bouncing priest,"[52] "proud, popish, presumptuous, profane, paultrie, pestilent and pernicious prelates."[53] It effervesces with little bubbles of language, like: "so ho!"[54] "go to, you Asse;"[55] "ka, mas. Doctor;"[56] "tse, tse, tse;"[57] "Wo.ho. how, brother London;"[58] "Alacke, alacke, deane John,"[59] and so on. While everywhere it comes straight home to the popular mind by its use of plain words, and homely proverbs. Martin says John of London has "a notable brazen face,"[60] and he calls the Bishops "cogging and cosening knaues."[61] He marvels whether brother Bridges were not "hatched in a goose nest"[62] to reason as he does; he declares that the Bishop of Winchester "is not able to say bo to a goose;"[63] he threatens the prelates with "at the least thirteene to the dozen,"[64] unless they turn over a new leaf, and says they will "lye like dogs;"[65] he thinks for "any maners" the Lord Bishops have, they might have been "brought up in Bridewell;"[66] and is sure the Dean of Sarum deserves "a cawdell of Hempseed, and a playster of neckweed, as weel as some of your brethren the papists."[67]

This suggests a second noticeable point, the easy impudence of manner which pervades the tract. To begin with, Martin puts himself upon a level with those whom he addresses. He says to the Bishops: "Take heed, brethren, of your reuerend and learned brother, Martin Marprelate."[68] So he says to Bridges: "Can you denie any part of your learned brother Martin his syllogisme?"[69] And so all through it is: "my lerned brethren;"[70] "Brother London;"[71] "your learned friend Martin;"[72] "my worthines your brother Martin;"[73] "brethren bishops,"[74] and the like. Referring to their mitres, he calls the bishops "horned

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52 *Ibid*, 15.
53 *Ibid*, 6.
54 *Ibid*, 10.
55 *Ibid*, 35.
56 *Ibid*, 16. "Ka" is clearly used here as a quaint corruption for "quoth;" that is, I interpret this phrase as intending: "said Master Doctor."
57 *Ibid*, 10.
58 *Ibid*, 36.
59 *Ibid*, 48.
60 *Ibid*, 37.
61 *Ibid*.
62 *Ibid*, 18.
63 *Ibid*, 47.
64 *Ibid*, 37.
65 *Ibid*, 22.
66 *Ibid*, 5.
67 *Ibid*, 17.
68 *Ibid*, 3.
69 *Ibid*, 4.
70 *Ibid*, 7.
71 *Ibid*, 9.
72 *Ibid*, 14.
73 *Ibid*, 29.
74 *Ibid*, 37.

masters of the Confocation house."[75] He says "I haue red somthing in my dayes."[76] He appeals to his readers, "whether Martin sayth not true, that there is too much cousenage now a dayes among the cleargie men."[77] He styles the Bishop of London "Dumbe dunsticall Iohn."[78] Doctor Perne is "Doctor turnecoats," and the "old turner."[79] He advises the Archbishop: "remember your brother Haman."[80] He accuses Bridges to be "as very a sot as euer lived (outcept dumb Iohn of London againe)."[81] This easy impudence imparts itself to his criticism. We have seen in his opening how hard he is upon the corpulent quarto of the Dean of Sarum, but he returns to it again and again: "Men wil giue no money for your book, vnles it be to stop mustard pots, as your brother Cosins answer to the Abstract did;"[82] "your bookes seem to proceede from the braynes of a woodcocke, as hauing neyther wit nor learning;"[83] "there is at all no sence in this period;"[84] "a man might almost run himselfe out of breath before he could come to a full point in many places in your booke."[85] "It would make a man laugh, to see how many trickes the Doctor hath to coosen the sielie puritans in his book; he can now and then without any noyse, alleadge an author clean against himselfe, and I warrant you, wipe his mouth cleanly, and looke another way, as though it had not bene he. I haue laught as though I had bene tickled, to see with what sleight he can throw in a popish reason, and who sawe him? And with what art he can conuaye himsefe from the question, and goe to another matter? It is wonderful to thinke. But what would not a Deane do to get a bishoppricke?"[86]

From this the transition is a natural one to another feature, and, in point of fact, one of the most effective features, of this troublesome pamphlet — its free personal assaults. Dr. Cosins

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75 *Ibid*, 5. The reference is here, of course, to the Convocation, or parliament of the clergy, and the place of their meeting.

76 *Ibid*, 7.

77 *Ibid*, 11.

78 *Ibid*, 20.

79 *Ibid*, 10, 16, 43. Andrew Perne, Dean of Ely, and head of Peterhouse, Cambridge, managed to keep always on the winning side, from Edward to Elizabeth.

80 *Ibid*, 32.

81 *Ibid*, 17. The word "sot" here doubtless has its ancient sense of "a fool," — see Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, sub voce.

82 *Ibid*, 10.

83 *Ibid*.

84 *Ibid*, 11.

85 *Ibid*, 12.

86 *Ibid*, 18.

should have "a little more grace, and a handful or two more of learning, against he answer the Abstract next."[87] The Bishop of Lincoln prayed at Peterborough "that his soule, and the soules of all the rest there present, might be with the soule of the vnrepentant papist departed."[88] John of Rochester, "hauing the presentation of a benefice in his hand, presented himselfe thereunto, euen of meere good-wil."[89] The Bishop of St. Davids he charges to have (simultaneously) "two wiues."[90] The Bishop of Gloucester he says — before he was bishop — preaching upon St. John's day, "came at the length vnto the very pithe of his whol sermon, contained in the distinction of the name of Iohn, which he then, shewing all his learning at once, full learnedly handled after this manner. Iohn, Iohn, the grace of God, the grace of God, the grace of God: gracious Iohn, not graceles Iohn, but gracious Iohn. Iohn, holy Iohn, holy Iohn, not Iohn ful of holes, but holy Iohn. If he shewed not himselfe learned in this sermond, then hath he bene a duns all his life."[91] The Bishop of Winchester is "very chollericke and peeuish, so are his betters at Lambeth;"[92] he is "a monstrous hypocrite," a "very duns, not able to defende an argument, but till he come to the pinch, he will cog [cheat] and face it out (for his face is made of seasoned wainscot, and wil lie as fast as a dog can trot), I haue said it, I doe say it, and I haue said it."[93] Further, so long as he and a few others whom he names are living, Martin says, "I doubt me whether all the famous dunses be dead."[94] He wants "brother Bridges" to tell him "where may a mā buie such another gelding, and borow such another hundred poundes" as he bestowed upon Sir Edward Horsey for his helping him to his deanery; and adds: "deale closeliar, for shame, the next time: must I needes come to the knoledge of these things."[95] But his chief force is spent upon the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Both are "pettie popes, and pettie Antichrists."[96] The latter he charges with "vnnaturall tyrannie"[97] and "monstrous crueltie,"[98] especially for his treatment of

87 *Ibid*, 2.
88 *Ibid*, 50.
89 *Ibid*, 11.
90 *Ibid*, 50.
91 *Ibid*, 47.
92 *Ibid*, 2.
93 *Ibid*, 33.
94 *Ibid*, 46.
95 *Ibid*, 19.
96 *Ibid*, 4.
97 *Ibid*, 24.
98 *Ibid*, 23.

Waldegrave, the printer of certain Puritan books, whose press and type had been destroyed and "himselfe vtterly depriued for euer printing againe," although he had "a poore wife and sixe Orphanes, without anything to relieue them," while at the same time "popishe Thackwell, though hee printed popish and trayterous bookes," was allowed "the fauor to make money of his presse and letters."[99] The Archbishop had been chief disputant on the Church of England side against Cartwright's Presbyterian views, but had maintained a dead silence in regard to his latest publications. Whereat Martin says: "It is a shame for your grace Iohn of Cant. that Cartwrights bookes haue bene now a dozen yeares almost vnanswered: you first prouoked him to write, and you first haue receiued the foyle. If you can answer those books, why do you suffer the Puritans to insult and reioyce at your silence. If you cannot, why are you an Archb. He hath prooued the calling to be vnlawful and Antichristian. You dare not stand to the defence of it."[100] He accuses him further of insufferable arrogance, when a worthy knight pleaded with him for the enlargement of "one of Gods deare children" kept by him in prison, in saying he was "the 2. person in the land, and neuer a noble man nor Counsellor in this lande should release him."[101] "We need not fear," he says, "(if we can keep him) the Spaniards, and our other popish enemies, because our metropolitans religion and theirs differ not much."[102]

Into John of London, however, he plunges his heaviest shots. He says he swears "like a lewd swag,"[103] and plays at "bowles vpon the Sabboth;"[104] in fact, he thinks that "the Diuell is not better practized in bowling and swering then Iohn of London is."[105] He accuses him of having instituted "the porter of his gate" as the rector of some parish, where he was a "dumb minister."[106] He gives the particulars — with names and residence of the guilty parties, of the stealing of some cloth by "certayn theeues," who hid the same on the Bishop's premises at Fulham; and declares that, as "al is fish that comes to

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99 *Ibid*, 23, 24.
100 *Ibid*, 3.
101 *Ibid*, 31, 32.
102 *Ibid*, 25.
103 *Ibid*, 3.
104 *Ibid*, 20, 49.
105 *Ibid*, 41.
106 *Ibid*, 19.

the net" with him, although the thieves when hanged confessed that that was the cloth, the proper owners had never been able to recover it.[107] "Brother London," he exhorts, "you were best to make restitution, it is playne theft and horrible oppression."[108] He further charges that one George Allen, sometime John of London's grocer, having died, his executors, Thomas Allen and Richard Alworth, merchants of London, in settling his estate found the Bishop indebted to him in the sum of upwards of £19. Having several times vainly tried to collect the money, they finally called to request it, in order that they might dispose thereof according to their trust. Martin says they were stormed at thus: "You are raskals, you are villaines, you are arraunt knaues, I owe you nought, I haue a generall quittance to shew. Sir, (sayd they,) shew vs your discharge, and we are satisfied. No, (quoth he,) I will shew you none, go sue me, go sue me. Then sayd one of the merchants, doe you thus vse vs for asking our due? Wee would you should know we are no suche vile persons. Done Iohn of London (hearing their answere) cried out saying: Hence away, Citizens? nay you are raskcals, you are worse then wicked mammon, (so lifting vp both his hands, and flinging them downe againe, said) You are theeues, you are Coseners: take that for a bishops blessing, and so get you hence." When they would have replied, the bishop's men turned them out of doors. Naturally indignant, they undertook to try the virtue of the law, when the Bishop "sent a messenger vnto them confessing the debt," but, adds Martin, "they cannot get their money to this day."[109] Still further, Martin declares that this prelate, "lying at his house at Haddam in Essex, vpon the Sabboth day (wanting his bowling mates) tooke his seruantes and went a heymaking, the godly ministers round about being exercised (though against his commandement) in fasting and prayer."[110] And, once again, Martin accuses him of cutting down and selling the noble old elms on the grounds at Fulham — in no sense belonging to him personally. And in this connection he brings in another story of his fraud and oppression. Somebody dying in Fulham had made one of the

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[107] *Ibid*, 8.
[108] *Ibid*, 9.
[109] *Ibid*, 36.
[110] *Ibid*, 49.

bishop's men his executor. A legacy had been left to a poor shepherd of the town, who after long trying in vain to get his money, appealed to an old resident whose name happened to be Maddox, to help him to his rights. On looking into the matter, he found that the Bishop was countenancing his man in the fraud, so, waiting upon his lordship, the friend endeavored to obtain for his neighbor his due, but succeeded only in enraging "Don Iohn," until, "growing in choller," the prelate "sayd y^t^ master Madox his name did shewe what he was, for, sayth he, thy name is mad Oxe, which declareth thee to be an vnruly and mad beast." To which it was answered that "the B. name, if it were descanted vpon, did most significantly shew *his* qualities. For, said he, you are called Elmar, but you may be better called mar-elme, for you haue marred all the elmes in Fulham; hauing cut them all downe."[111]

This is not great wit, but it must have been tremendously effective at the time, when it is considered with whom it dealt; and one can easily imagine broad-mouthed coarse-fibred yeomen shutting and barring the door, and making sure of no eavesdroppers under the windows, and then roaring and shaking their sides together, partly at what seemed to them the smartness of the book itself, but still more at the high fun that any body should have spunk enough to take this old bull thus by the horns.

Of course Martin did not forget the weak point to which I have referred in the Bishop's book published when he was plain John Aylmer, an exile for conscience' sake at Strasburgh. "I hope," he says, "one day her Maiestie will either see that the L. Bb. prooue their calling lawfull by the word, or as Iohn of London prophesied saying, come downe you bishopps from your thousands, and content you with your hundreds, let your diet be pristlike and not princelik, &c. quoth Iohn Elmar in his Harborow of faithful subiects. But I pray you, B. Iohn dissolue this one question to your brother Martin: if this prophesie of yours come to passe in your dayes, who shal be B. of London?"[112]

A fourth source of the power of this pamphlet over the popu-

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[111] *Ibid*, 21. | [112] *Ibid*, 3.

lar mind at the time, which is related to that last mentioned, is the sprinkling in of quaint and telling little incidents. He names a priest in Warwickshire who, for some reason, got so enraged in an alehouse as to swear he "would never goe againe into it." Feeling before very long "the discommoditie of his rashe vowe," he "hired a man to carie him vpon his backe to the alehouse; by this meanes he did not goe, but was caried thither, wherevnto he made a vow neuer to go."[113] Another is about Old Doctor Turner — he is careful to explain that he does not refer to Dr. Perne the turner [of his coat] — and his dog.[114] Another is of a priest preaching at Paule's Cross, in 1587, about "a leadden shoinghorn;"[115] and of his exhorting after before the Court, and exhibiting a piece of sarsnet as "a relique of Maries smocke," and a linen or woollen rag, as a fragment of "Ioseph's breeches."[116] Another I must mention because the gravest references have been made to its use, as if Martin were indefensible therein. It is told of the priest last named. Some one asked him "whether he should be bishop of Ely, to whom he replied that "he had now no great hope to [be] B. of Eli: and therefore quoth he, I may say well inough, Eli, Eli, Lammasabacthani: Eli, Eli, why hast thou forsaken me: alluding very blasphemouslie" — explains Martin — "vnto the words which our Sauiour Christe spake."[117] The blasphemy was the priest's, not Martin's; nor did it in point of taste strike that age as it would ours; while, if Martin had only thought of it, he might have alleged a precedent out of Aylmer's *Harborow*, where, speaking of a certain argument, he says this comes of a mistake, as "the Vicar of Trumpington vnderstode Eli, Eli Lamahzabatani, when he red the Passion vpon Palme Sonday: when he came to the place he stopped, and calling the Churchwardens saide: Neighbours, this geare must be amended; heare is Eli twise in the booke, I assure you if my L. of Elie come thys waye and see it, hee will haue the booke. Therefore by mine advice we shall scrape it out, and put in oure owne townes name, Trumpington, Trumpington, lamahzabactani: they consented, and he did so."[118]

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113 *Ibid*, 42.
114 *Ibid*, 43.
115 *Ibid*, 49.
116 *Ibid.*
117 *Ibid.*
118 *Harborowe*, etc., sig. G. iij. reverse.

But, in the fifth place, underneath all this froth runs a strong clear stream of argument, thus beginning: "Take heed, brethren, of your reuerend and learned brother, Martin Mar-prelate. For he meaneth in these reasons following, I can tell you, to proue that you ought not to be maintained by the authoritie of the magistrate in any Christian Commonwealth: Martin is a shrewd fellow, and reasoneth thus. Those that are pettie popes and pettie Antichrists, ought not to be maintained in anie Christian commonwealth. But everie Lord B. in England . . . all the Bb. in England, Wales and Ireland, are pettie popes, and pettie Antichrists. Therefore no Lord B. . . . is to be tollerated in any christian common welth."[119] Then he argues that they are petty popes and Antichrists who usurp authority over other ministers and pastors, who by the ordinance of God are to be under no pastors. Still further, he cites evidence in proof that the authority exercised by Lord Bishops in England is "accounted Antichristian generally by the most churches in the worlde."[120] In connection with this specific reasoning to which, in some one of its many possible aspects, he returns again and again, he introduces also collateral arguments, all intended to help the cause of the Puritans, and discredit and disgrace the bishops before the people.

The sixth noticeable feature of this tract is the proposition which it makes. He is willing to have peace, provided the Bishops will promise: (1) to labor to promote the preaching of the word in all parts of the land; (2) to have none but godly and fit persons made ministers; (3) to suffer Mr. Cartwright's answer to the Rhemish Testament to be published; (4) to punish nobody for refusing to wear the Popish garments, or for omitting Popish corruptions from the Prayer-book, or for not kneeling at the communion, etc.; (5) to leave off private excommunication and allow public fasts; (6) to molest nobody for this his book. "These be the conditions, which you brethren bishops, shalbe bound to keepe inuiolably on your behalfe. And I your brother Martin, on the other side, do faithfully promise vpon the performaunce of the premisses by you, neuer to make any more of your knauery knowne vnto the worlde."[121]

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[119] *Epistle*, etc., 3, 4. | [120] *Ibid*, 5. | [121] *Ibid*, 38, 39.

And the last point which we can notice is that of the prophecies and threats which are freely introduced. "Brother Bridges, mark what Martin tels you, you will shortly I hope haue twenty fistes about your eares more thē your own."[122] "Looke to your selues, I thinke you haue not long to raigne. Amen."[123] "May it please you that are L. Bb. to shewe your brother Martin, how you can escape the danger of a premunire, seeinge you vrge her Maiesties subiects to subscribe, cleane contrary to the Statute 13. Elizabeth;"[124] "I tell you . . . a premunire will take you by the backe one day, for oppressing and tyrannizing ouer her Maiesties subiects as you doe:[125] . . . you knowe the danger of a premunire, I trowe."[126] He wants a public disputation on fair terms, and he affirms: "vnlesse you answer me, . . . Ile kindle such a fire in the holes of these foxes, as shall neuer be quenched as long as there is a L. B. in England."[127] And if they prove incorrigible, he "will place a yong Martin in euerie diocesse,"[128] and publish whatsoever they do amiss. Nay, in some parts of the kingdom, he thinks it "were best to haue 2. in a parishe:"[129] whom in time he hopes "shalbe as worthie Martins as their father is, euery one of them able to mar a prelate."[130] He intimates, in fact, that he himself has several more books of the same sort ready for the press, which will soon be issued unless the Bishops come to terms; among which are his "Paradoxes," his "Miscelanea," his "Variæ leiciones;" his "Martins dreame;" his "Liues and doings of English popes;" his "Itinerarium," etc. His "Epistomastix" he will "make no mention of" at this time. His "Itinerarium" he thinks will have "nede to be in follio," in order to note all the "memorable pranckes" of all the priests in all the dioceses.[131]

The epistle concludes with some good sound advice, thus:

"Now, M. Prelates, I will giue you some more counsell, follow it. Repent cleargie men, and especially bishopps: preach fayth Bb. and sweare no more by it, giue ouer your Lordly callings: reform your families and your children: . . . . Praye her Maiestie to forgiue you, and the Lord first to put away your sinnes. . . . . You are now worse then you were 29. yeeres ago: write no more

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122 *Ibid*, 2.
123 *Ibid*, 3.
124 *Ibid*, 21.
125 *Ibid*, 22.
126 *Ibid*, 21.
127 *Ibid*, 18.
128 *Ibid*, 40.
129 *Ibid*.
130 *Ibid*.
131 *Ibid*, 41.

against the cause of reformation: Your vngodlinesse is made more manifest by your writings. . . . If you should write, deal syllogistically: For you shame your selues when you vse any continued speech, because your stile is so rude and barbarous. . . . Studie more then you doe, and preache oftener: Fauor nonresidents and papists no longer: labor to clense ye ministry of the swarms of ignorant guides wherewith it hath bin defiled: Make conscience of breaking the Sabboth, by bowling and tabling: Be ringleaders of prophanenes no longer vnto the people: Take no more bribes: Leaue your Symonie: . . . . Stretch your credit if you haue any to the furtherance of the gospell. . . . All in a word, become good Christians, and so you shall become good subiects, and leaue your tyrannie. And I would aduise you, let me hear no more of your euill dealing.

"Giuen at my Castle between two Wales, neither foure dayes from penniless benche, nor yet at the West ende of Shrofftide: but the foureteenth yeare at the least, of the age of Charing crosse, within a year of Midsommer, betweene twelue and twelue of the clocke. *Anno pontificatus vestri Quinto*, and I hope *vltimo* of all Englishe Popes. By your learned and worthie brother, Martin Marprelate." [132]

This, as I have said, came out in November or early in December [1588]. Such a pamphlet, with so much of the vigor of an unwonted style, and so much directness of such personal assault about it, would attract attention anywhere, and at any time. It is not strange that in England in 1588, where such writing was new, and where the press was so muzzled, and even the circulation of unlicensed books was so hedged about with tremendous penalties, there was an audacity of daring about it which was an added fascination. The tract flew on the wings of the wind, and that not merely among the common class of those able to read. The Earl of Essex took one out of his bosom, and presented it to the Queen.[133] The students of Cambridge and Oxford hid them in the folds of their gowns.[134] There was a general ferment and guffaw. The four Bishops who in it were principally attacked, met, counseled, and decided upon two things:[135] the author and printer must, at all hazards, be unearthed, and punished; and the attack must be answered — it would never do to leave such charges as Martin had made against them, without distinct rebuttal. The whole police force

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[132] *Ibid*, 53.

[133] R. Codrington. *The Life and Death of Robert, Earl of Essex*. This was reprinted in the omniverous *Harleian Miscellany* (ed. 1744), i: 214.

[134] This is implied in various passages of *Antimartinus*, eg. 42.

[135] This is directly asserted by Martin in his *Epitome* (p. 1), and implied in the *Admonition* of Bishop Cooper.

of the establishment was put vigorously upon the one duty; and Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, sat down earnestly to the other, his assaulted brethren aiding him with answers to their share of the onslaught. Letters by the Queen's order were directed to the Archbishop from the Lord Chancellor and Lord High Treasurer of England, to search, by the Ecclesiastical Commission, for "the authors and abettors of a seditious book against the Ecclesiastical government of the Church by Bishops, secretly dispersed abroad, tending to breed a dislike of the present government of the church, and expressing in a malicious manner many slanderous reports of his Grace, and other Bishops."[136] This was fortified by a proclamation on 13 Feb. following, forbidding the owning and reading, equally with the writing and printing, of such "libels;" and requiring all having knowledge of them to give notice to the authorities within thirty days, "at their uttermost perills."[137] Good speed was made, but before the tipstaffs could find author, printer or press, and before the quartette of prelates could get their joint document into the hands of the public, that public was shaking its sides over another black-letter Martin, which early in February[138] [1588-9] came suddenly abroad, even the *Epitome* promised in the *Epistle*. It was clearly from the same pen. And it began with the same dare-devil frankness:

"Why my cleargie masters, is it euen so with your terriblenes? May not a pore gentleman signifie his good will vnto you by a Letter, but presently you must put your selues to the paines and charges of calling foure Bishops together. Iohn Canterburie, Iohn London, Thomas Winchester, William of Lincolne: and posting ouer citie & countrie for poore Martin? Why, his meaning in writing vnto you, was not that you should take the paines to seeke for him. Did you thinke that he did not know where he was himselfe? Or did you thinke him to haue bene cleane lost, that you sought so diligently for him? I thanke you brethren, I can be well though you do not send to knowe how I do. My mind towards you, you shal from time to time vnderstand by my pistles."[139]

Having referred at so much length to the first tract, in order to aid you to some fair idea of its general scope and spirit—which are indeed characteristic of all—I have need to be very brief with the others. This *Epitome* refers in its introduction to the fact that

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[136] Strype. *Life of Whitgift*, i: 551.
[137] *Ibid*, iii: 216.
[138] *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 1, 19.
[139] *Epitome*, etc., iii.

the Puritans were not pleased with Martin.[140] They were not: for much the same reason that the Boston Association of Unitarian ministers did not enjoy Theodore Parker, and the most refined Abolitionists never specially relished the manner in which John Brown — soul and body — went marching on. Some, like good Richard Greenham, disliked it apparently because they were too serious to enjoy jesting in a good cause;[141] others, like Thomas Cartwright, took pains to dissociate themselves from it because it was a "kind of disorderly doings,"[142] and they preferred to have the whole Church of England become Presbyterian in an orderly manner. Martin defends himself for jesting: "I iested, because I delt against a worshipful iester. D. Bridges, whose writinges and sermons tend to no other ende, then to make men laugh."[143] He says, "I am plaine. I must needs call a spade a spade."[144]

The main purport of this second Martin is to epitomize, and answer, the first book of the Dean of Sarum's volume. The "compleat worke," he says, is "very briefely comprehended in a portable booke, if your horse be not too weake, of an hundred threescore and twelue sheets, of good Demie paper."[145] But while paying most attention to Bridges, Martin by no means forgets Whitgift and the others to whom, in the *Epistle*, he had paid his respects. Especially is this true of the Bishop of London, to whose unlucky *Harborow* he returns more than twenty times:[146] until one is quite prepared to believe him when he says: "Brother London, ... I thinke you would haue spent 3. of the best Elmes which you haue cut down in Fulham, and 3. pence halfepenie besides, that I had neuer met with your booke."[147] Near the close he brings an argument to an effective point thus:

"Brother parson Bridges, I praye you tell me, was there canonicall obedience sworne to Archbishopp Titus? What els man. Did they cal him my Lords

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[140] The Puritans are angrie with me, I meane the puritane preachers. And why? Because I am to open. Because I iest. I did thinke that Martin shoulde not haue beene blamed of the puritans, for telling the trueth openly." *Ibid*, iii.

[141] S. Clarke. *Lives of Thirty Two English Divines*, etc. (ed. 1677), 13.

[142] He was able to prove by sufficient witness, that, from the beginning of Martin, he had on every occasion testified his dislike and sorrow for such kind of disorderly doings." *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxiv: 20.

[143] *Epitome*, etc., iii.

[144] *Ibid.*

[145] *Ibid*, 1.

[146] *Ibid*, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, etc.

[147] *Ibid*, 25.

grace to? Do you dout of it? Did his gentleman Vscher go bareheaded before him? As though he could not be as popelike and pontificall, as my Lorde of Canterburie. But I hope a pore hedge priest might haue his letters of orders of him, though he would giue no bribes vnto his Secretorie, cooke, butler, &c. Might he so goodman noddie? Then how should his men I pray you be able to liue? As though bishops should giue their men any wages? Their blessing I trow will serue their men in steed of wages." [148]

One of the wittiest things in this *Epitome* is its appended "Errata, or faults escaped," one of which is: "wheresoeuer the prelats are called my Lords — take that for a fault." A second is that "there is nothing spoken at all, of that notable hypocrite Scambler, Bishop of Norwich. Take it for a great faulte, but vnlesse he leaue his close dealing against the truth, ile bestow a whole booke of him." [149]

When the *Epitome* came forth, the answer of the Bishops to the *Epistle* seems to have been mainly printed, and there was just time enough to make general allusion thereto before the issue of the latter; it would seem about the middle of February.[150] The book was a quarto of 252 pages,[151] bearing the title of *An Admonition to the People of England: wherein are ansvvered, not onely the slaunderous vntruethes, reprochfully vttered by Martin the Libeller, but also many other Crimes by some of his broode, obiected generally against all Bishops, and the chiefe of the Cleargie, purposely to deface and discredite the present state of the Church, &c.* The preface was modestly signed "T. C." One cannot but suspect that some old matter of a general sort which might perhaps have been in hand for an appeal on behalf of Bishops against the Puritan levelers, was worked in; and that the whole treatise was not prompted by anything which had lately occurred. The first thirty-two pages are devoted to a solemn admonition to the church and people of England, to "take heede of the contempte of those Bishops and Preachers, which God hath sent to them as messengers to bring vnto them the doctrine of their Salvation." The next forty-six pages are assigned to a refutation of "the slaunderous Libels of late pub-

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[148] *Ibid*, 37.

[149] *Ibid*, 42.

[150] The entry upon the *Stationers' Registers* is this: "Master Raffe Newbery. *10 Januarij:* Alowed vnto him vnder the Lord Archbishop of Canterburies hand *An Admonition to the people of England:* master Coldockes hand being to the copie." E. Arber, *Transcript*, etc., ii: 513.

[151] 4to, pp. viii, 244. B. M. [3932. e. K. L.]

lished vnder a fained and fonde name of *Martin Marprelate.*" Of these, fourteen are taken up with an "answere to such things as the most Reuerend the Archbishop of Canterburie is particularly charged withall in the Libell." The next twelve are similarly devoted to "my Lorde of London." The next page to the Bishop of Lincoln, after which follow fourteen, devoted to the clearing of the Bishop of Winchester—T. C. himself. The remainder of the volume is made up of eighty-two pages of "Answeres to generall quarrels made against the Bishops," and of eighty-three, of "Answeres to the Aduersaries of Bishops Liuings." With all the care taken by the four eminent joint authors, they showed their fear of their unknown adversary, by calling in the first edition almost as soon as published, and pasting into the copies two slight verbal amendments; one of which changed the sentence "the Libeller doth but dreame, let him and his doe what they *dare*," into: "let him and his doe what they *can;*"[152] and the other amended the over-strong admission as to the different quality of the primitive, to that of the prelatical church, from "I will not deny it," to the safer: "That is not yet proued."[153] This first edition appears to have been almost immediately followed by a second, bearing the date and semblance of the first, with these and a few other slight verbal corrections inwrought therein.

In general, it will be sufficient to say that this elaborate reply conferred great respectability upon Martin, in that such men answered, and at such length answered,[154] his rattling pamphlet;[155] while the Bishops, in disposing of most of the specific charges

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[152] *Admonition*, etc., 40.

[153] *Ibid*, 140.

[154] Two hundred and fifty-two quarto pages in reply to fifty-four.

[155] It has been usual to represent the *Admonition* as answering *several* of Martin's tractates. Dr. Waddington clearly speaks of it as if it were a reply to the "series" of Mar-prelate publications. But the testimony settles it that the *Admonition* was prepared as a reply to the first Martin (the *Epistle*) and that the *Epitome* (the second Martin), coming out just before the *Admonition* left the press, the reference in the latter was made plural rather than singular, and, to cover all contingencies, was phrased "three or foure odious Libels, etc." The general reference however remains, in the contents and elsewhere, to "Martins late *Libell*," and the careful reader will at once discover that no particular allusion is made, and no reply offered, to any statement except those of the *Epistle;* proving that the volume was shaped to be an answer directly to that, and to that alone. One wonders that a writer usually so careful as Mr. Maskell, should have failed to notice this. Which tempts one to say, that English literature perhaps contains no clearer illustration than this controversy affords, of the tendency to speak strongly on scant knowledge.

made, were under the awkward necessity of admitting so much of truth in them, and of so much depending upon elaborate explanation of the same, as seriously to weaken their side of the case before many minds. As to the Fulham elms: they had been cut down, to be sure, but then the Queen when she had visited Fulham misliked her lodging being so much shaded![156] As to John London's bowling on the Sabbath he says: "Man may haue his meate dressed for his health vpon the Sabbath, and why may he not then haue some conuenient exercise of the body, for the health of the body?"[157] As to commonly swearing "by my faith," London says: "in the phrase of our speech, 'by my faith' signifieth no more, but, 'in very trueth,' 'bona fide,' 'in trueth,' 'assuredly,' 'id est,' 'Amen.'"[158] But then see how he lays it on upon his antagonist in a return thrust: "It is to be thought, that Martin misliketh to say 'by his faith,' because a railing and slanderous spirite can haue no faith: for where Charitie is away (the soule of all good workes) there can be no faith. . . . The contraries whereof swell in Martin as venemous humours in an infectious sore."[159]

You will not think these likely to be the strongest passages in the book: I confess my judgment that neither are they the weakest.

Lord Bacon said he much admired "the wisdom and religion of that bishop who replied to the first pamphlet of this kind [Martin Mar-prelate] who remembered that a fool was to be answered, but not by becoming like unto him."[160] I can scarcely think, however, that it required the discriminating intellect of the author of the *Novum Organon*, easily to conclude that the folly of the "Admonition" is indeed of quite another kind from that of the treatise which furnished its occasion.

This book was scarcely dry from the press before a third Martin made its appearance (about the 20th Feb. 1588–9)[161] in the unpretending shape of a Broadside in Black-Letter, entitled *Certaine Minerall and Metaphisicall School points, to be defended by the reuerende Bishops, and the rest of my cleargie masters of the Conuocation house, against both the vniversities, and al the re-*

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[156] *Admonition*, etc., 56.
[157] *Ibid*, 57.
[158] *Ibid*, 62.
[159] *Ibid.*
[160] *Works* (Montagu's ed.), vii: 33.
[161] *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 2. 9. 21.

formed churches in Christendome. Wher in is layd open the very quintessence of all Catercorner diuinitie. And with all, to the preuenting of the Cauels of these wrangling Puritans, the persons by whom, and the places where these misteries are so worthely maintayned, are for the most part, plainly set downe to the view of all men, and that to the ternall prayse of the most reuerend Fathers. This consisted of thirty-seven propositions, each one fortified by reference to one or more church authorities; and as in nearly half of these cases reference is had to the *Admonition*, it is clear that this followed that, though it could have been by the interval of only a very few days. In general style and spirit it bears a strong resemblance to the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*, and it was printed at the same press, and circulated under the same auspices, but was perhaps from a different, though coöperative pen. Two or three of its "school-points" — whether "minerall" or "metaphisicall," I shall leave others to judge — will sufficiently intimate its general quality. As, for example:

"2. That a L. B. may safely haue two wiues *in esse* at once: the defendant in this point, is father *Marmaduke*, B. of S. *Dauids*, who hath 2. now liuing: the one *Elizabeth Gigge*, the other *Ales Pryme*. Prooued against him before the high commission."

"4. That our Sauiour Christ in his sermons, vsually sware by his fayth. For he said Amen, Amen, which is as much to say as 'by my faith:' the defendant in this point, is father *Thomas* of *Winchester*, alias profane T. C. pag. 62."

"33. That Christ Iesus the sonne of God was not so faithfull in the gouernment of his oune house as Moses was; for Moses ordained a gouernment that might not be changed by men, so did not Christ: the defendants in this point are all the 24. orders of Bishops, and all the cleargie masters."

This broad and not uncomely page winds up in striking type at bottom with six lines running across, by exhorting the "Good Reader" if he know of any parties who are prepared to argue these points, that is, to "defend Christ Iesus, and his prerogatiue, the trueth of his word, the credite of S. Paul, the veritie of the Apostles Creed, her Maiestie & her prerogatiue, etc. . . . and gainsay popish errors;" to "set vp his name, and we will sende a Purciuant for him. Whosoeuer he be, the matters shalbe according vnto order, quietly tried out betweene him and the bare walles in the Gatehouse, or some other prison."

The fourth Martin — or as I have suggested, likely enough the third from the veritable author — was not long in follow-

ing the *Admonition* which it reviewed, being issued about the 23d March [1588–9].[162] It was a Black-Letter quarto of 58 pages. Utilizing one of the street-cries of London, there was a pun taking to the masses in its very title:[163] *Hay any worke for Cooper: or a briefe Pistle, etc. . . . wherein worthy Martin quits himselfe like a man, I warrant you, in the modest defence of his selfe and his learned Pistles, and makes the Coopers hoopes to flye off, and the Bishops Tubs to leake out of all crye.*[164] *Penned and Compiled by Martin the Metropolitane. Printed in Europe, not farre from some of the Bounsing Priestes.*

"I see," he says, to the bishops, "you cannot forget me. I thought you to bee verye kinde when you sent your Purcivaunts about the countrie to seeke for me. But now that you your selues haue taken the paines to write, this is out of all crie. . . . Now truly brethren, I find you kinde, why ye do not know what a pleasure you haue done me. My worships books were vnknowne to many, before you allowed T. C. to admonishe the people of Englande to take heed, that if they loued you, they woulde make much of their prelates, and the chiefe of the cleargie. Now many seeke after my bookes, more then euer they did.[165] . . . Besides whatsoeuer you ouerpasse in my writinges, and did not gainsay, that I hope wilbe iudged to be true. . . You haue confyrmed, rather then confuted. . . . So that, brethren, the pleasure which you haue done vnto me, is out of all scotche and notche." [166]

He has no difficulty in determining who "T. C." is. "The stile and the phrase is very like her husbands y^t^ was somtimes woont to write vnto doctor Day of Welles."[167] This was a tender point to touch, and can only be justified when one remembers that Martin was literally fighting for his life, as well as for truth which he counted dearer than life, before all men of his time who could read the English tongue. But the fact was that "T. C." was dreadfully unfortunate in his wife, whose conduct had reached that pitch of scandal that one Thomas Day had been bound in the sum of £100, not to come near her.[168] So

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162 "Which came forth about Palm-Sunday." [*Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 9.] Easter-day that year was 30 March, and Palm Sunday, being the previous Sunday, would be 23 March.

163 "Ha' ye any work for Iohn Cooper," appears to have been one of the street cries of London. See Tempesta's *Cries of London*, fol. 1711.

164 "Out of all estimation," i. e.: excessively. *Halliwell*, sub voce.

165 *Hay any Worke*, etc., iii.

166 *Ibid*, iv. "Out of all scotche and notche," contains reference to keeping the tally of a game by scoring notches upon a stick, and means "beyond all bounds." *Halliwell*, sub voce.

167 *Hay any Worke*, etc., v.

168 Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, i: 610, where see a curious poem, jingling stinging charges against the Bishop's wife, "made by Th. Bulkley."

that such a sentence as the following must have cut like a razor that was all edge: "Now reuerend T. C. I beseech you entreat mistris Cooper, to write to M. D. Day, sometimes of magdalins, that he may procure D. Cooper, to know of him that was the last Thomas of Lincolne, whether the now B. of Winchester be not perswaded, that reuerend Martin hath sufficiently prooued it to be vnlawful, for the ciuill magistrate to abolishe any lawfull church officer out of the church."[169]

More distinctly and earnestly than either previous tract, this pleaded for the new polity of elders in place of the hierarchal, seeking to shew that it exactly accorded with the government of the English State: "Monarchicall, in regarde of our head Christ, Aristocraticall in the Eldership, and Democraticall in the people. Such is the ciuill gouernement of our kingdome: Monarchicall in her Maiesties person: Aristocraticall in the higher house of Parliament, or rather at the Councell table: Democraticall in the bodie of the commons of the lower house of Parliament."[170] Many points are expressly reserved unto *More work for the Cooper*, which is to be issued hereafter. Martin does not forget to remind Bishop T. C. of the loose way in which he had spoken of his tracts: "Good Tom Tubtrimmer, if there have bin 3. or 4. published, why doth bishop Cooper name on [one] only, why doth he not confute all? why doth he inuent obiections of his owne, seeing he had 3. bookes more to confute, or 2. at least then he hath touched; nay, whȳ doth he not confute one of them thoroughly, seeing therein his Bishopdome was reasonably caperclawed. I haue onely published a Pistle, and a Pitomie, wherein also I graunt that I did reasonably Pistle them. Therefore T. C. you begin with a lye, in that you say that I haue published either 3. or 4. bookes."[171] In general it may be said that this tract is fully equal in sharpness and cleverness to its predecessors. "Good sweet boyes, . . . good sweete babes, nowe," he says to the Bishops: "be the destruction of the church no longer."[172] "Ah, you Anti-Christian prelats, when will you make an ende of defending your tyrannie by the blood and rapine of her maiesties subiectes?"[173] "Though I were as

169 *Hay any Worke*, etc., 10.
170 *Ibid*, 26.
171 *Ibid*, 35.
172 *Ibid*, 34. He calls them "sweete Popes now," as well, a few lines further on.
173 *Ibid*, 41.

verye an Assehead as Iohn Catercap is, yet I coulde deale well inough with cleargie men."[174]

The next to enter upon the field of discussion appears to have been a ponderous disputant who had been struck with alarm at seeing how the young men of the two universities were endangered by these terrible tracts. He therefore printed a Latin quarto of two and sixty pages, which he entitled: *Antimartinvs, sive monitio cuiusdam Londinensis ad adoloscentes utriusque academiæ, contra personatum, quendam rabulam, qui se Anglicè Martin Marprelat. Hoc est Martinum Μαστιγάρχον, ἢ μισαρχον, vocat*, etc.[175] Thus particularly addressed to the young men at Cambridge and Oxford, of course it aims at learning, and looks down on Martin. It has no idea "quibus è latebris" he came, with his "mendacijs," "conuicijs," "turpissimisque illecebris."[176] It goes learnedly into antiquity; refreshes the memory of the ingenuous youth to whom it appeals, as to the Jews and Gentiles, Homer, Agamemnon, the Lacedæmonians, Greeks and Romans, Alexander the Great, Aaron, Abraham and Melchisedec, Constantine, the Donatists, the Nicene Council, Ambrose and the Emperor Theodosius, winding all this up with Nicolas Machiævel "qui religionem ad appetitus, & ambitionis normam inconstantissimam semper flectit, & intorquet"[177] — which, of course, Martin was doing. He wants them to think that the question at issue by no means solely touches the prelates, but also, and especially, the very form and being of the State. He wants them to remember, moreover, that Iscariot was one of the twelve, and Ananias and Sapphira members of the earliest church, so that it is nothing very wonderful if now and then an ugly story may be told concerning a bishop. Then retorting the argument, he says: "Quid? *Martinistæ* omnes tam synceri, tam puri, tam innocentes, vt nullum crimen in illâ sectâ liceat reprehendere?" For his own part, *he* hasn't a doubt, that if only two people were associated with Martin in dispersing his libels, it would be found that there would be, in the lot, as many as three confirmed and absolute scoundrels.[178] After more learning, and several pages on the Roman Statutes, and the Pontifical and civil law,[179] imagination fails him

[174] *Ibid*, 36.
[175] 4to, pp. ii, 60.
[176] *Antimartinvs*, 2.
[177] *Ibid*, 13, 14.
[178] *Ibid*, 22, 23.
[179] *Ibid*, 30–36.

to conjecture what punishment would be adequate for such a libeller.[180] Then, administering due reproof to what he conceives to be the unchristian quality of Martin's books, he warns the young men against them, as saturated with the worst qualities of the London theaters and low resorts;[181] and concludes with the pious prayer that his endeavor to aid them, "puris & synceris oculis," to see Martin in his real character, may bear "fructus non solum vobis ipsis, sed & Reip. nostræ & ecclesiæ Christi, incundissimos, vtilissimos, atque sanctissimos, etc., etc. Amen."[182]

About this time a new weapon was resorted to in the endeavor to counteract Martin's influence over the masses of the people. It was sought to turn him into ridicule by means of comedies upon the stage.[183] These comedies are not known to have survived, so that we are remitted to conjecture, aided only by two or three hints, for estimating the quality and value of this flank movement. One author of 1589 says: "Methought *Vetus Comædia* began to pricke him at London in the right vaine, when shee brought foorth *Diuinitie* with a scratcht face, holding of her hart, as if shee were sicke, because *Martin* would have forced her; but myssing of his purpose, he left the print of his nayles upon her cheekes, and poysened her with a vomit, which he ministred unto her to make her caste uppe her dignities and promotions."[184] One is prepared, from this suggestion of their quality, for the fact that Edmund Tylney, master of the Revels, made such representations to Lord Burghley, as led to action by the Lord Mayor, resulting in the appointment by the Archbishop of Canterbury of "a fytte person well learned in divinity," and by the Lord Mayor, of "a sufficient person, learned and of judgment," to act with the Master, "for the reforminge of the plaies daylie exercysed and presented publickly in & about the cittie

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180 *Ibid*, 38.

181 *Ibid*, 59.

182 *Ibid*, 60.

183 Some have fancied that in the following sentence of *Hay any Worke*, etc. [47] lies a reference by Martin to this form of attack upon him, viz.: "Yea & he saw martins picture drawn when he was a yong man. I perceiue then, he was not blind," etc. "It is said that the plays against Martin were performed in St. Paul's Cathedral. In the margin of 'Pappe with an hatchet,' over against the mention of a play, it is written: '*If it be shewed at Paules*, it wul cost you foure pence; at the theatre, two pence; at Sainct Thomas a Watering, nothing.'" J. Hunt. *Religious Thought in England*, etc., i: 107.

184 *The Return of the renowned Caualiero Pasquill of England from the other side the Seas, and his meeting with Marforius*, etc.

of London, wherein the players take upon them without judgment or decorum, to handle matters of Diuinitie and State."[185] A later author makes it clear that this action proved effectual, for he says:

"Would those Comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are pend,[186] and then I am sure he [Martin] would be decyphered, and so perhaps discouraged. He shall not be brought in as whilom he was, and yet verie well, with a cocks combe, an apes face, a wolfs bellie, cats clawes,[187] &c.; but in a cap'de cloake, and all the best apparel he ware the highest day in the yeare, thats neither on Christmas daie, Good fridaie, Easter daie, Ascension nor Trinitie sundaie, (for that were popish) but on some rainie weeke-daie, when the brothers and sisters had appointed a match for particular praiers, a thing as bad at the least as Auricular confession."[188]

It is an interesting fact that there appears to be documentary evidence that Shakespeare, with some twenty of his fellow players, took pains to disclaim responsibility for, or connection with, those objectionable representations, against which this repressive action was taken.[189]

But the Bishops knew a game which they thought worth much more than Latin quartos, or even stage satire, for the disposal of this troublesome pamphleteer. Which was to seize his press, and to hang him. They exerted themselves to the utmost to do both. For more than a year, Martin eluded and baffled them with astonishing skill. Waldegrave, the Puritan printer who had already suffered hard measure for his work, had contrived to save a basket or two of "letters," and they somehow managed what answered as a press. These were for a time concealed, and some work done with them at Kingston-upon-Thames in the summer, autumn and early winter of 1588, where the first Martin (the *Epistle*) had been printed.[190] Thence one Jeffs fetched them in a cart, at an expense of 50s., to Sir Richard Knightley's house in Fawsley, Northamptonshire, where the second Martin (the *Epitome*) was printed.[191] Thence one Stevens took them in another cart to the house of John Hales in Coventry (who appears to have been a tenant of Sir Richard

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185 *Lansdowne MSS.*, lx. J. P. Collier. *Annals of the Stage*, i: 271.

186 Penned.

187 Here, doubtless, we get a glimpse of what was the stage "make-up" of Martin.

188 *Pappe with an Hatchet*, 27.

189 C. Knight. *Shakespeare Biography*, etc., 342.

190 *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 8. 19.

191 *Ibid*, 1, 8, 19.

Knightley), where the third and fourth Martins (the *Minerals* and *Hay any Worke*, etc.,) were printed in February and March.[192] The search now "being very hote,"[193] Waldegrave retired from the business, having something else to do which he thought promised more safety, and the "letters" and press were taken into "the north," that is, into what is now Newton Lane, Manchester, where one John Hodgkins was employed to work them. Here about six quires of the tract called *More Work for the Cooper* had been printed on one side, when (in some way, as was said, by "Henry, that good Earl of Derby") the retreat was traced, the implements and workmen seized, and the sheets destroyed.[194] This was done as they were about preparing further to print a "Latin book" — Martin probably wishing to show his learned university antagonist that he could manage to give him *quid pro quo* — and also a second part of *More Work for the Cooper* "almost as big again" as the first.[195]

This was a terrible blow. Martin himself was still unharmed. But without the implements of printing, he would be like Samson when his hair was short. Moreover, money was the least requisite. For with the lanterns of the bishop's bailiffs flashing into every corner of the land, how was money to be so invested as to produce the materials? And what craftsman would risk his life in their use, could they be found?

The man was equal to the emergency. Hodgkins himself seems to have escaped that arrest in the north, which fell upon his two men. And lo, within a fortnight after midsummer, he is found by an acquaintance working — using a second lot of "letters" which it would seem belonged to Penry — "very privately in a low parlour" in Mr. Weekston's house at Wolston, being "kept there under the name of an Imbroyderer, that the servants might know nothing of the matter."[196] In all probability, work was begun here almost immediately after the break-

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192 *Ibid*, 21.

193 *Ibid*, 23. Henry Sharpe deposed that "asking him [Waldegrave] how it chanced that he looked so palely, he answered that one of Mr. Hales men kept him so closely at work, that for that tyme he had lyved as in a prison, & could not have often tymes warme meate." Dr. Waddington [*John Penry, the Pilgrim martyr*, etc., 224], with his really remarkable facility for mis-stating, represents this as testimony that *Henry Sharpe* looked pale!

194 *Ibid*, 10, 24, 25; R. Halley, *Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, etc., i: 143–5; G. Paule, *Life of John Whitgift*, etc. (Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.), iii: 589; Letter of Arch. Whitgift, *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxi: 3.

195 *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 10.

196 *Ibid*, 25.

ing up of the other press; and hence, it would seem, was issued early in the summer the fifth of these remarkable assaults upon the Church establishment of England, to wit: *The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat wherein not wihstanding the surprizing of the printer, he maketh it known vnto the world that he feareth, neither proud priest, Antichristian pope, tiranous prellate, nor godlesse catercap:*[197] *but defiethe all the race of them by these presents and offereth conditionally, as is farthere expressed hearin by open disputation to apear in the defence of his cause aginst them and theirs Which chaleng if they dare not maintaine aginst him: then doth he alsoe publishe that he never meaneth by the assitaunce of god to leaue the assayling of them and theire generation vntill they be vterly extinguised out of our church Published by the worthie gentleman D martin marprelat, D. in all the faculties primat and metroPolitan.* It is a little 12mo, of 32 pages, the imperfection of whose execution testifies that it had its birth among great tribulations. As may be inferred from its title, it is, however, undaunted in spirit. After a reference to the loss he had sustained: "the presse, leteres, workmen and all, apprehended and caried, as malefactors before the magistrat, whose authoritie I reverence, and whose sword I would fear were I as wicked as our Bb. are," he piously adds: "These events I confes doe strike me, and giue me iuste cause to enter more narrowly into my selfe, to see whethere I bee at peace with god or no: but vtterlye to discouredg me from myne enterpize, a greater matterre then that coms to, I hope shall never be able.[198] . . . It was not vndertaken to be intermitted at euerye blast of euill successe. Naye let them knowe that by the grace of god the last yeare of *martinisme*, that is, of the discrying and displaying of L. Bb. shall not be, till full 2 yeas: after the last year of *Lambethisme*."[199] Touches of the old fun and satire are here. Considerable space is taken in telling what the *Hay any more work for Cooper* was to have been. "I sigh to remember the

[197] This word, which frequently occurs in the Mar-prelate tracts, I suppose to have been a corruption of *quater-cap* (constructed on the same principle with "quater-cousin," meaning a cousin in the fourth degree, and "quater-jacks," meaning the quarters as struck by a clock) a natural name for the four-cornered student cap of those days, which is still worn at Oxford and Cambridge; and one easily used as a nickname for the University men, whom, with the gown, it distinguished from ordinary citizens.

[198] *Protestatyon*, etc., 3.

[199] *Ibid*, 9.

losse of it,' he says, "it was so prettie and so witty."[200] Among the good things was "a preamble to an Eblitaph vpon the death of olde Andrew Turne-coat, to be song antiphonically in his graces Chappell on wednesdayes and Frydayes, to the lamentable tune of Orawhynemeg."[201] He has a word more about Iohn Mar-Elm of London; abates nothing of his caustic severity toward Bishops in general; says Cooper of Winchester, at his age, ought to know that "tubs made of greene timber, must needs leake out of al cry;"[202] thinks even "Mistresse Coopers husband," though long since "to old to blushe," ought to crimson at the abominations of the oath *ex officio* which he defends;[203] and pleads with his readers to "be carefull of the reliefe and deliuerance of the distressed printers."[204] The main intent of the tract, however, as its title implies, is to protest,[205] in his own words:

"That I who do now go vnder the name of Martin Marprelate, do offer personally to apear, and there to make my selfe knowen in open disputation, vpon the danger not onlie of my libertie but also of my life, to maintaine against all our bishops, or any els whosoever, that shal dare in any Scholastical manner, to take their parts: the cause of the church government, which is now in controversie betwixt me and our prelats: so that I may have this condicion following inviolablie kept & obserued, vz: That for apearing, or for anye thinge that I haue eyther published or caused to be published in this cause, I be not delt with or molested, except thei overthrow me by the worde of God, which if they doe, confusion be vpon me if I doe not yeelde. But if in this encounter I overthrowe them (as I make no question of it, if they dare abide the pushe) then they to trusse vp and be packing to ROME, & to trouble our church no longer. Provided also, that if any of the Puritans will ioyn with me & venture their liues in the cause, it maye be lawfull for them to come in freely against these dragons in disputation."[206]

At an early period of the conflict some rhymester entered the arena and aimed his light shaft at Martin. His thin quarto was

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200 *Ibid*, 24.

201 *Ibid*, 26. Mr. Dyce quotes from Laneham's letter about Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenilworth in 1575, this: "What shoold I rehearz heer, what a bunch of Ballets and songs all ancient: As Broom broom on hill; So wo is me begon troly lo; *Over a Whinny Meg*, etc." A. Dyce, *Skelton's Works*, ii: 340.

202 *Protestatyon*, 20.

203 *Ibid*, 23.

204 *Ibid*, 32.

205 The literal and primary meaning of "protest," is "to be a witness before," and hence to state anything in a public and solemn manner. That use of the word which is now most common, "to make a solemn declaration *against*" any course, or opinion, is secondary. Martin had the first sense in view in his title.

206 *Ibid*, 11.

titled: *A Whip for an Ape: or Martin displaied*, etc.[207] Its object was to ridicule Martin as an ape, and lash him as such. The following stanza will suffice to hint its quality, while indicating the twist which it was thought expedient to put upon the Marprelate movement:

"And thinke you not he will pull doune at length,
Aswell the top from tower, as Cocke from steeple?
And when his head hath gotten some more strength,
To play with Prince as now he doth with people?
Yes, he that now saith: Why should Bishops bee?
Will next crie out: Why kings: The Saincts are free!"

Next, in this line, seems to have been the anonymous author of an eight-paged quarto in fragments of various meters, but unvarying dullness, entitled *Mar-martine*. There is no connection between these fragments other than that furnished by a common intent; and from a literary point of view all are beneath contempt, as one may judge from a very few specimens. It thus begins:

"I know not why a trueth in rime set out
Maie not as wel mar Martine and his mates,
As shamelesse lies in prose-books cast about
Mar priests & prelates, and subvert whole states.
For where truth builds, and lying overthroes,
One truth in rime, is worth ten lies in prose."[208]

The force of the pamphlet comes out in the following:

"*Martine* the merry, who now is *Mar-prelate*
Will proue madde *Martine*, and *Martine Mar-the-State*."[209]

The author thought this to be so good that he subsequently repeats the idea in another dialect, thus:

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[207] It was a tract of seven pages, and had this Latin distich for a figure-head:

"Ordo Sacerdotum fatuo turbatur ab omni,
Labitur et passim Religionis honos."

Being without date, it can only generally be assigned to some period after Martin had threatened to "place a young Martin in euerie diocesse" [*Epistle*, etc., 40], to which this refers:

"Now Martin, you that say you will spawne out
Your broyling brattes in euery towne to dwell, etc.,"
p. 6.

and the beginning of replies to him in poetry, of which this perhaps may be assumed to have been first, inasmuch as the author says:

"Since reason (Martin) cannot stay thy pen,
We'il see what rime will doo: haue at thee then."
p. 2.

The following stanza [4] refers to the attempt to establish presbyteries over England:

"What meane they els, in every towne to craue
Their Priest and King like Christ himselfe to be:
And for one Pope ten thousand Popes to haue,
And to controll the highest he or she:
Aske Scotland that, whose king so long they trost
As he was like his kingdome to have lost."

[208] *Mar-Martine*, 1.

[209] *Ibid*, 2.

"Yclipt thou art, as people sayen, *Martin* the *Mar-prelat*,
Better the mought thie selfe benempt, *Mar-queene*, *Mar-potentat*." [210]

It closes with the following proposed epitaph:

"If Martin die by hangmans hands, as he deserves, no lesse,
This Epitaph must be engravde, his manners to expresse:—
Here hangs knaue Martine, a traitrous Libeler he was
Enemie pretended but in hart a friend to the Papa: [211]
Now made meat to the birdes that about his carkas are hagling,
Learne by his example, yee route of Pruritan Asses
Not to resist the doings of our moste gratious Hester [212]
Martin is hang'd, O the Master of al Hypocritical hangbies." [213]

The following couplet is perhaps its most respectable hit:

"The veriest knaues cheefe *Pruritans* and *Martinists* are found;
And why? They saie where sin was great, there grace will most abound." [214]

But that such stuff should have been thought worth printing, is calculated to suggest that even "the golden age of merrie England" was not without its alloy.[215]

This called out a reply in kind, which took from it the more alliterative than impressive name of *Marre Mar-Martin*, etc. Decidedly more respectable in quality than the book which occasioned it, it seems to speak, rather in the interest of peace, and as if scarcely fascinated by either party. It was surely written neither by Martin nor his friends. Its closing stanza pleads:

"If all be true that Lawyers say,
The second blowe doth make the fray:
Mar-Martins fault can be no lesse,
Than *Martins* was which brake the peace;
Martin, *Marre-Martin*, *Barrowe*, *Browne*,
All helpe to pull Religion downe." [216]

Quite to the same purpose is another extract:

"On Whitson euen last at night,
I dreaming sawe a pretie sight,
Three monsters in a halter tide,
And one before, who seemde their guide.

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[210] *Ibid*, 5.

[211] That is: the pope.

[212] "Esther," i. e., Queen Elizabeth.

[213] *Ibid*, 8. "*Hangby*, a hanger-on, a dependant." *Halliwell & Wright*, sub voce.

[214] *Ibid*, 7.

[215] The following reference which it contains to other disputants of the day is perhaps worth noting here [*Ibid*, 2]:

"When *Browne & Barrowe* haue done what they dare
Their hellish Hidraes heads will spring with speede:
Such men as *Martine* caused all these woes:
This poison still encreaseth as it goes."

[216] *Marre-Mar-Martin*, 5.

The formost lookt and lookt againe,
As if he had not all his traine:
With that I askt that gaping man
His name: my name (said he) is Lvcian.[217]
This is a Jesuite, quoth he,
These *Martin* and *Mar-martin* be:
I seeke but now for *Machyvell*[218]
And then we would be gone to hell!"[219]

And here is its exhortation to all concerned:

"Beare gracious Queene, *Europaes* matchles mirror:
Beare noble Lords, renowned counsell giuers:
Beare Clergie-men, for you must spie the error:
Beare common people, common light beleeuers:
Beare joyntlie one anothers weaknesse so,
That though we wither, yet the Church may grow."[220]

Two more of Martin's own phenomenal tracts — making seven, in all, having the same general origin and intent — were sent out from that "low parlor in Mr. Weekston's house at Woolston" before the hounds got the scent; one about the 22d, and the other the 29th July [1589].[221] The first was called *Theses Martinianæ: That is Certain demonstrative Conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowmed Clarke, the reuerend Martin Marprelate the great, etc., etc. Pvblished and set foorth as an after-birth of the noble Gentleman himselfe, by a prety stripling of his, Martin Ivnior, and dedicated by him to his good neame and nuncka, Maister Iohn Kankerbury.*[222] *How the yongman came by them, the Reader shall vnderstande sufficiently in the Epilogue*, etc. The theory of the tract is that Martin senior has disappeared, most likely been imprisoned, possibly murdered, and that one of his sons picks up under a hedge a roll of paper in his father's handwriting, in a weather-

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217 This reference is doubtless to the Greek satirist whom Erasmus loved, and whose *Dialogues of the Dead* have been imitated at least by Fontenelle, Voltaire and Lord Lyttelton.

218 This was, of course, Niccolò Machiavelli, whose most celebrated treatise, *Il Principe*, has excited violent controversy, and earned for its author — justly or unjustly — with multitudes, the reputation of being the apologist, promoter and champion of hypocrisy, perfidy and despotism.

219 *Marre-Mar-Martin*, 3.

220 *Ibid*, 5.

221 *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 25.

222 *Neme* and *nuncle* were both colloquial terms for "uncle." [*Halliwell*, sub vocibus.] The intent is to keep up the easy impudence of the old claim of equality with the bishops, and even with the primate, which Martin had put forth; inasmuch as if Martin junior were a nephew of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it must, of course, have been in virtue of the fact that the primate and Martin senior were brothers.

beaten state, which he prints; being one hundred and ten propositions collected out of his works by the old man[223] — who explains that the Bishops and their friends on the one side, and the Puritans on the other, all complain of his "maner of writinge."[224] He is therefore minded somewhat to change his style and set down the main conclusions which he has reached, "without inueighing against either person or cause,"[225] in the hope that then his positions will be altogether approved of by the latter, and "not so greatly scorned at" by the former.

In the Epilogue young Martin adds a little wit and sarcasm of his own, which hardly, however, has the old-time ring.[226]

The second treatise follows the cue of the first. It is entitled *The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior — Wherein the rash and vndiscreete headines of the foolish youth is sharply mette with, and the boy hath his lesson taught him, I warrant you, by his reuerend and elder brother, Martin Senior, sonne and heire*

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223 Take the following as hinting their quality, viz.:

"7. That the Lorde never placed any officers in the Newe Testament, but the offices of Apostles, Prophets, Euangelists, Pastors, Doctours, Elders and Deacons." *Theses*, 6.

"12. That the church is nowe vnto the worldes end, to have none other offices in it, but of pastors, doctors, elders and deacons." *Ibid*, 7.

"25. That a church gouernment consisting of any other officers but pastors, Doctors, Elders & Deacons is a governement of maimed and mishapen members." *Ibid*, 8.

"93. That all true subiects have better warrant to deny the superioritie of bishoppes, then thē bishoppes to impose themselves upon the church." *Ibid*, 17.

224 "The Bishops and their traine, though they stumble at the cause, yet especially mislike my maner of writing. Those whom foolishly men call Puritanes, like of the matter I have handled, but the forme they cannot brooke." *Theses*, etc., 3.

225 *Ibid.*

226 In the absence of direct evidence, except that which connects this with the same press and parties with the previous Martins, it is to be presumed, doubtless, that this tract was from the same hand, under the name of a son of the old man; partly for the fun of the thing, partly to keep up the verisimilitude of the transaction, now that the press had been broken up, and new arrangements made necessary, and partly, perhaps, to throw the hounds off the scent by the seeming of a new trail. If it were the old pen still at work, perhaps the heavy clouds of danger, unrelieved by any streak of hope, which were settling around him, dulled a little the former exuberance of his rollicking pen. The following passage will sample the style of this epilogue, in which Martin Junior, suggesting the possibility that the Bishops may have gotten him, says: "I pray you, nuncles, never trouble your selues with the keeping of him. I trust he shall do well though he neuer come near any of you all. And I think in reason it were more meete his sonnes, then his brethren should be charged with him; if it so came to passe that he were forced to leaue unto others. This I knowe full wel that my father would be sorry from his heart, to put you to any such cost as you intend to be at with him. A meaner house and of less strength then the Tower, the Fleete, Newgate, or the Gatehouse is, would serve him well enough: he is not of that ambitious vaine that many of his brethren the bishops are, in seeking for more costly houses than ever his father built for him. And, therefore, good sweet neames nowe, if you have him, let him be despatched out of your hands, with honesty and credit," etc. *Ibid*, 22.

vnto the renowmed Martin Mar-prelate the Great. Where also, least the springall shold be vtterly discouraged in his good meaning, you shall finde that hee is not bereaued of his due commendations. It is a little 12mo, of 32 pages, like its fellow. The general drift is suggested by its title. The elder Martin is represented as taking the younger over his knee after this fashion: "Foolish stripling, canst thou tell what thou hast done? I weene not, if my father should be hurt, either at the Groine, or at the suburbs of Lisbon, is this the way either to cure him, or to comforte him, to publishe his scrabled and weather-beaten papers in this sorte? What if hee hadde in purpose to write no more, seeing the daunger and trouble that comes of it? Will this be any meanes to worke the olde mans quietnes for a foolish and a headie springal[227] to go set abroad his papers?"[228] The accustomed banter shows itself in a speech which he represents the Archbishop of Canterbury to make, in which he says:

"Haue you diligently soght mee out Waldegraue the Printer, Newman the Cobler,[229] Sharpe the booke-binder of Northampton,[230] and that seditious Welchman Penry,[231] who you shall see will prooue the Author of all these libelles?[232] . . . . Watch mee Paules churchyard, especially have an eie to Boyles shop at the Rose.[233] . . . . Let three or four more of you, or your substitutes, be every day at the Blacke Friers, Lincolns Inn, White-chappell, Paules chaine, as often as Charke, Gardiner, Egerton, or Cooper do preach.[234] . . . . Especially marke if you see any before the sermon beginnes, setting their heads together, and whispering vnder their cloakes, if you doe, be sure they are reading Martin, and haue them foorthuith to the prison. . . . I would haue ye especially go into Northampton and Warwickeshires, and command the Maior and consta-

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227 *Heady*, "self-willed;" *Springal:* "a youth, a young lad." *Halliwell*, sub vocibus.

228 *Iust Censure*, etc., 3.

229 Humphrey Newman seems, from various depositions, to have been the prominent agent in the dispersion of the Martinist tracts, which appear to have been sometimes forwarded to him concealed in rolls of leather. [*Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 10. 11.] He is called "*alias* Brownebread, cobler." *Ibid.*

230 Henry Sharpe made a long deposition 15 Oct., 1589, to which — and there appears to be no reason to doubt its good faith and essential accuracy — we are entitled for our best knowledge as to the details of the times, places and circumstances of the printing of these Mar-prelate publications. Strype [*Annals*, iii (2): 604] calls him "a bookseller."

231 Penry had escaped into Scotland when the press was taken [*J. Penry, the Pilgrim Martyr*, 49], and being thus out of reach, might safely be spoken of in this manner.

232 *Iust Censure*, etc., 4.

233 *Ibid*, 6.

234 *William Charke*, expelled from his fellowship in Peter-house, Cambridge, and one of the members of Cartwright's Wandsworth presbytery [*Brook*, ii: 113]. *John Gardiner* of Malden, Essex; also a member of this presbytery and a subscriber to the "*Book of Discipline*," deprived and committed to Newgate by Aylmer [*Ibid*, i: 316]. *Stephen Egerton* of the same presbytery and subscriber to the "Discipline," as well; afterwards many years at Blackfriars [*Ibid*, ii: 289]. Cooper I have not identified.

bles of Northampton to keepe watch and warde for Sharpe and Penry.[235] . . . Goe me to Deuonshire & to the North parts, where my Lords grace of Yorke also will direct his warrants by you, to seeke this traitour Martin. For I will haue him, or els I wil no longer be archbishop of Canterburie. He die at the Groine, as they saie? Naie, heele be hanged ere heele die there. He is in some corner of England, lurking and doing mischiefe. I tel you true, I doe thinke him and his brood to be worse then the Iesuits. [*marginal note:* Ile beleeue you o your word.]"[236]

He returns to the serious work in hand by laying down eleven propositions against the Archbishops and the Bishops, calling them "common simoniarkes, such as make merchandize of church livings," etc., "guiltie of the blood of infinite thousands;"[237] and carries the war into Africa, by accusing them of sowing sedition by pretending their intolerable practices to be by the Queen's command; insists that they are legally deprivable by a *premunire*[238] on account of their manifold breaches of law and equity; and, solemnly charging the Archbishop especially with infinite wickedness in the sight of a just God, he exhorts him to repent, and let men and angels be gladdened witnesses of his conversion.

Then, swinging to the lighter side again, he says to Whitgift, if he wants "a foole in his house wearing a wooden dagger and a cockescombe, that none is so fitte for the place as his brother Iohn a Bridges, Deane of Sarum;"[239] recommends Dr. Robert Some for his confessor, who, when there was no other use to which he could be put, might "reade the *starve-us* booke in his Chappell,"[240] and thinks parson Anderson of Stepney, when not busy in robbing poor boxes, dancing morris-dances and doing worse things, would make him a good man to march at the head of his processions.[241] He draws to a close by expressing regret that a great public discussion cannot be gained; declaring that "an hundred thousand hands of knowen men in the land, all her maiesties most loyall and trustie louing sub-

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235 *Iust Censure*, etc., 7.

236 *Ibid*, 8.

237 *Ibid*, 14, 16.

238 The *praemunire* was the offence of introducing a foreign power into the kingdom, the statute being framed to cut off the Romish power in England, and make it impossible for an Englishman to render to any papal process that obedience which he constitutionally owed to the sovereign alone. The penalty involved honor, estate and life.

239 *Ibid*, 19.

240 *Ibid*, 20.

241 *Ibid*.

iects,"[242] might be had praying for one; insists that the Puritans are the most loyal persons in the kingdom; has another slap at Cartwright, whom he thinks "to seek the peace of our Church no otherwise then his platforme may stand,"[243] quoting against him the proverb: "There is no biting to the olde snake;" and charges young Martin not to know his father if he see him, and "if anie offer to talke with thee of Martin, talke thou straite of the voyage into Portugal, or of the happie death of the Duke of Guise, or some such accident; but meddle not with thy father."[244]

Seven Martins in seven months, or thereabouts; printed on two pilgrim presses; by peripatetic printers with two different lots of "small things of lead or iron"[245] which they said were "lettres" lugged about in baskets; from "copy" dropped under a hedge by one man, for another man (not seeing the first) to pick up;[246] in at least five different places — sheltered, sometimes, by good women who asked of their husbands leave to do a piece of work of which they were to take no knowledge —[247] and when done smuggled to the discriminating public by being hidden in personal apparel,[248] or wrapped in the middle of rolls of leather delivered by the common carrier:[249] surely this was no contemptible piece of work for any one man. And although they muzzled him now at last, and his own proper voice is no more heard — I say this, for I regard the *Dialogue wherein is plainly layd open the Tyrannicall dealing of Lord Bishops against Gods children, etc.;* with Penry's *Appellation; M. Some laid open in his coulers*, etc., to be collateral tracts kindred in spirit, sometimes a little resemblant in style, very likely printed on the same press, but from another hand, and lacking the peculiar grit, with grace, of Martin's own treatises — I think you will agree with me that, as matters stood at this date, having published all together but about two hundred and fifty pages, one hundred of which were very small ones, against more than three hundred quarto pages against him already issued by one Archbishop, three Bishops, a learned Latin writer, and a

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242 *Ibid*, 23.
243 *Ibid*, 28.
244 *Ibid*, 32.
245 *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 8.
246 *Ibid*, 1-6.
247 *Ibid*, 25.
248 *Ibid*, 20.
249 *Ibid*, 11.

poet, Martin could have afforded to cry quits and retire, much better than his antagonists. They thought as much. And as soon as they felt themselves perfectly sure that they had silenced him by taking away his voice, they broke out into full cry against him. In less than five months eight quartos had been discharged into the dead lion: within a twelvemonth one can count perhaps a dozen: while a rattling volley of squibs whose names suggest him, had hardly ceased sounding a half-century after.[250]

Due respect to Bancroft, subsequently Bishop of London and Primate, seems to demand that we bestow a glance upon some of the chief of those which, on his suggestion,[251] were designed to answer this fool according to his folly.

The first, apparently, was [6 Aug. 1589][252] *A Countercuffe given to Martin Iunior: by the venturous, hardie, and renowned Pasquill of Englande, Caualiero. . . . Printed between the skye and the grounde, wythin a myle of an Oake*, etc., beginning: "Valiant Martin, if euer the earth carried anie Gyants, as fabulous antiquitie hath auouched, which entred into wars and conspiracies against God, thy father *Mar-prelat* was a whelpe of that race; who to reuiue the memory of his auncestors almost forgotten, hath broken into heauen with his blasphemies."[253] The

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[250] There were at least four quartos published in or about 1645, which were clearly christened in remembrance of Martin, viz.:

The arraignment of Mr. Persecution, etc., by Rev. Young Martin Mar-Priest, son of old Martin, etc. 4to, pp. vi, 47.

A sacred Decretall, or hue and cry from his superlative holinesse Sir Symon Synod, for the apprehension of reverend young Martin Mar-Priest, etc.

Martins Eccho: or a remonstrance from his holinesse reverend young Martin Mar-Priest responsive to the late sacred synoddicall decretall, etc. 4to, pp. 20.

Divine Observations upon the London ministers letter against Toleration: by his Synoddicall, Priest-byter-all, Nationall, Provinciall, Classicall, Congregational, Superlative, Unerring, Clerical, Academical, Holinesse Rev. young Martin Mar-Priest, Sonne and Heire to old Martin the Metropolitane, etc., etc., printed by Martin Claw-Clergy, etc. 4to, pp. 16.

There was also a *Vox Borealis* (1641, 4to, pp. 20), "printed by *Margary Mar-Prelat*, in Thwack-coat Lane," reprinted in the *Har. Mis.*

[251] "He was by his diligent search the first detecter of Martin-Marprelate's press and books: where and by whom they were printed, etc. He was a special man that gave the instructions to her Majesty's learned Council, when Martin's agents were brought into the Star-chamber. By his advice that course was taken, which did principally stop Martin's and his fellows' mouths; vix: to have them answered after their own vain writings." Strype, *Life and Acts of John Whitgift, D. D.* (ed. 1822), ii: 387; compare Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Cant.*, x: 196.

[252] The copy in the Lambeth library says: "From *Graues ende* Barge the sixt of August;" that in the British Museum says: "From *Gravesende* Barge the eight of August." I noticed no other special difference between the two. The copy consulted by Maskell, which seems to have been in the Bodleian, he quotes as giving the date "the eyght of August." [*Hist. Mar-Mar-Prel. Controversy*, 212.]

[253] *Countercuffe*, etc., 3.

only symptom of skill in this effort is the suggestion of a counter attack upon the character of the Presbyterian ministry. Pasquil says he has "vndertaken to write a very famous worke Entituled *The Owles Almanacke:* wherein the night labours and byrth"[254] of the new religion are to be set down; he also proposes to write a "fruitfull Volume of *The Liues of the Saints*,"[255] and intimates a few tidbits of slander which he can insert therein. Two of these are: a reverend Elder who is compelled to keep the poor funds to himself because there are none needing almes in his locality;[256] and a reverend Pastor in Devonshire, who having occasion to crave advice of a neighboring minister, "rapt it out lustilie: Si tu non vis venire mihi, ego volo venire tibi: and so by the leakes that remaine in his Latin, made more worke for the Tinker, than ever your father made for the Cooper."[257]

During the same month, I think, came out another volume in which this new method of replication was carried neither to its height, nor quite to its depth. It had really four titles, thus: *Pappe with an hatchet.*[258] *Alias, A figge for my God sonne. Or, Cracke me this nut. Or, A Countrie cuffe, that is, a sound boxe of the eare, for the idiot Martin to hold his peace, seeing the patch will take no warning. Written by one that dares call a dog, a dog, and made to preuent Martins dog daies.* This is dedicated "to the Father, and the two Sonnes, Huffe, Ruffe and Snuffe, the three tame ruffians of the Church, which take pepper in the nose, because they can not marre Prelates. . . . Roome for a royster; so thats well sayd, itch a little further for a good fellowe. Now haue at you all my gaffers of the rayling religion, tis I that must take you a peg lower.[259] . . . If a Martin can play at chestes, as well as his nephewe the ape, he shall knowe what it is for a scaddle pawne to crosse a Bishop in his owne walke. Such dydoppers[260] must be taken vp els theile not stick to

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254 *Ibid*, 4.

255 *Ibid.*

256 *Ibid*, 5.

257 *Ibid.* The pamphlet concludes with these lines [8]:

"To come to the close,
In Rime or in Prose,
In spight of thy nose,
Thine for these seauen yeeres;
Pasquill of *Englande*."

258 To give pap [infant's food] with a hatchet, seems to have been a proverbial phrase for the doing of a kind thing in a rough and unkind way. The following illustrates it: "They give us pap with a spoone before we can speake, and when we speake for that we love, *pap with a hatchet*." Lyly, *Court Comed.*, sig. z. 12. reverse.

259 I cite Petheram's reprint (1844), not having the original by me.

260 Probably for "didapper," which is the name of a little diving bird — the "dab-chick," or *podiceps minor*.

check the king."[261] "To the Indifferent Reader," this writer proceeds to explain, that:

"It is high time to search in what corner of the Church the fire is kindled, being crept so far, as that with the verie smoke the consciences of diuers are smothered. It is found that certaine Martins . . . . haue throwen fire, not into the Church porch, but into the Chauncell, and though not able by learning and iudgement to displace a Sexton, yet seeke to remooue Bishops. They haue scattered diuers libels, all so taunting and slaunderous, as it is hard to iudge, whether their lyes exceed their bitternesse, or their bitternesse their fables. If they be answered by the grauitie of learned Prelates, they presentlie reply with railings.[262] . . . I thought it more conuenient to giue them a whisk with their oune wand, than to haue them spurd with deeper learning."[263]

Here is a specimen of its wit:

"There is small difference between Swallowes & *Martins*, either in shape or nature, saue onely, that the *Martins* haue a more beetle head; they both breed in Churches, and hauing fledged their young ones, leaue nothing behind them but durt. Vnworthie to come into the Church porch, or to be nourished vnder anie good mans eues, that gnawe the bowels in which they were bred, and defile the place in which they were ingendred."[264]

A few stories are told to slur the Puritans: "There is a good Ladie that lent one of these Martinists fortie pounds, and when at the daie shee required her money, Martin began to storme, and said, he thought her not the child of God, for they must lend, looking for nothing againe, and so to acquite himselfe of the blot of vsurie, he kepte the principall"[265]—and so on.

One does not wonder that it seemed to be necessary to go on still—for surely in the length and breadth of England somebody must be able to think of something less stupid than all this. So, on the 20th October,[266] came out *The Returne of the renowned Caualiero Pasquill of England from the other side the Seas, and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon the Royall Exchange. Where they encounter with a little houshold talke of Martin and Martinisme, discouering the scabbe that is bredde in England: and conferring together about the speedie dispersing of the golden Legende of the liues of the Saints. If my breath be so hote that I burne my mouth, suppose I was Printed by Pepper Allie.*

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261 *Ibid*, 9.
262 *Ibid*, 10.
263 *Ibid*, 11.
264 *Ibid*, 22.
265 *Ibid*, 31.

266 The following, near the close of the pamphlet, seems to settle this date: "Dated 20 Octobris. Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo, per me venturous Pasquill the Cavaliero." *Returne*, etc., 30.

We need not dwell upon this, which seems to have been by the author of the *Countercuffe*. It is less rattle-brained in style, and perhaps, on the whole, less feeble in substance of thought, than that last considered; yet its most effective point is in its proposed "Golden Legend" of Martinist saints.[267]

Next, perhaps, was issued *An Almond for a Parrat, or, Cutbert Curry-knaues Almes. Fit for the knaue Martin, and the rest of those impudent Beggers, that can not be content to stay their stomakes with a Benefice, but they will needes breake their fastes with our Bishops*, etc.[268] Beginning with a lying tale about being lately at Bergamo on his way home from Venice, finding the church bells all ringing, bonfires burning, and every sign of the most extravagant popular joy, and on inquiring the cause, being told that "there was a famous Schismaticke, one Martin, newe sprung vp in England, who by his bookes, libels and writings had brought that to passe which neither the Pope by his Seminaries, Philip by his power, nor all the holy League by their vnderhand practises and policies, could at any time effect;"[269] he goes on largely to fill up his pages by scurrilous intimations, or stories in a very small way designed to damage the Puritans. Cartwright "hath undone more printers with his pybald pamphlets, then his dish-clout discipline will sette vp agayne this seauen yeeres."[270] "Bro. Pag."[et] is over shrewd in predicting "by a cowes water how many pintes of milke she will give in a yeere,"[271] and in clearing "three pounds a yeere," over all costs and charges, from a laying hen.[272] And so he goes on from bad to worse, until it becomes quite impossible in the presence of decency even to hint his indecency and blasphemy; winding up by threatening to disgorge another assortment of the same quality, if Martin presume (the cowardly rascal knows very well that poor Martin is safely gagged) to speak again![273]

We have now reached that which was by much the cleverest of all the attempts made to pay off Martin in his own coin; which, nevertheless, often reminds one that it is by no means his.

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[267] *Ibid*, 3.

[268] "Imprinted at a Place, not farre from a Place, by the Ass-ignes of Signior Somebody; and are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble-knaue street, at the signe of the Standish." This is not very loud thunder, to be sure, but, such as it is, it was all stolen from Martin.

[269] *An Almond*, etc., 6.

[270] *Ibid*, 29.

[271] *Ibid*, 30.

[272] *Ibid*.

[273] *Ibid*, 46.

Its title is: *Martins Months minde,*[274] *that is, A certaine report, and true description of the Death, and Funeralls, of olde Martin Marre-prelate, the great makebate*[275] *of England, and father of the Factious. Contayning the cause of his death, the manner of his buriall, and the right copies both of his Will, and of such Epitaphs, as by sundrie his dearest friends, and other of his well willers, were framed for him,*[276] etc. After an elaborate epistle of dedication and address to the reader together of thirty pages, it gives a circumstantial account of the old gentleman's last days and ailments; of the post-mortem, when were found a "wonderfull corrupt carcasse," a "hollowe heart," lungs "huge and made to prate," a tongue "wonderfullie swolne in his mouth; I thinke by reason of his blasphemie;" and a head with "no crumme of braine within it;"[277] and of his last will and testament. He desired to be buried from no church and in no churchyard,[278] and by no parson, but by his sons, and to lie north and south, with only "M. M. M." as his epitaph — opinions differing whether the letters stood for *Memoriæ Martini Magni*, or *Monstrum Mundi Martinus.*[279] Seventeen epitaphs, purporting to be contributed by various condoling friends, are appended; all of which except the last, "by the author," are exceedingly stupid.[280] That is worth quoting in full:

"Hic iacet, ut pinus,
Nec Caesar, nec Ninus,
Nec magnus Godwinus,
Nec Petrus, nec Linus,
Nec plus, nec minus,
Quam clandestinus,
Miser ille Martinus,
Videte singuli.

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274 In the phrase of the time a "Months-mind" was a celebration in remembrance of the dead a month after their decease, when often what is now called the funeral sermon was preached. See citation of authorities, and illustrations, in *Halliwell & Wright's Nares*, etc., s. v.

275 "A disturber of peace, a causer of quarrels; from *to make*, and *bate*, a quarrel." *Ibid*, s. v.

276 The following fills out the title of this quarto of 64 pages, viz.:

"*Martin the Ape, the dronke, and the madde,*
The three Martins are, whose workes we haue had.
If Martin the fourth come, after Martins so euill,
Nor man, nor beast comes, but Martin the deuill."

277 *Martin's Months Minde*, etc., 54.

278 *Ibid*, 48.

279 *Ibid*, 49.

280 Witness these two:—

By R. L.

"HA, he, tse, tse, py, hy, see fortunes wheeles,
So how, *Mad Martin*, hath turnde up his heeles."

By "Cliffe the godlie Cobler."

"ADIEU both naule amd bristles, now for euer;
The shoe and soale (ah wòe is me) must seuer.
Bewaile mine Aule, thy sharpest point is gone.
My bristle's broke, and I am left alone.
Farewell old shoes, thombe stall, and clouting lether,
Martin is done, and we vndone together."

"O vos Martinistæ,
Et vos Brownistæ,
Et Famililouistæ,
Et Anabaptistæ,
Et omnes sectistæ,
Et Machiuelistæ,
Et Atheistæ,
Quorum dux fuit iste
Lugete singuli.[281]

"At gens Anglorum
Præsertim verorum,
Nec non, qui morum,
Estis bonorum,
Inimici horum,
Ut est decorum,
Per omne forum,
In sæcula sæculorum
Guadete singuli." [282]

Not content to rest here, the tract goes on with a four page conclusion to the young Martins, which deals in low abuse, threatens them with the hangman, and contributes epitaphs for them also, one of which I cite:

"Here swingeth he,
one of the three,
Well known to be,
rebellious mates:
But this leud swad,[283]
His match nere had,
No not his dad,
for foe to States." [284]

I have cited this last rather to make excuse for going back to Martin; that I may give you from his last tract (*The iust censure*,

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[281] J. Weever in his *Ancient Fvnerall Monvments*, etc. (1631), gives a version of this epitaph differing somewhat from that in the text. The third, fourth and fifth lines of the first stanza are these:

"Nec Petrus nec Linus,
Nec Cœlestinus,
Nec magnus Godwinus."

and the second stanza is thus given:

"O vos Martinistæ,
Et vos Brownistæ,
Et vos Barowistæ,
Et vos Atheistæ,
Et Anabaptistæ,
Et vos Haketistæ,
Et Wiggintonistæ,
Et omnes Sectistæ,
Quorum dux fuit iste,
Lugete singuli." [56.]

The *Athenæ Oxonienses* (Bliss's ed. 1813) [i: 596], reprints these "whimsical rhymes" from *Weever*.

[282] *Martins Months Minde*, etc., 59.

[283] A rude clown, a rustic; a term of contempt. *Halliwell & Wright's Nares*, etc., s.v.

[284] *Months Minde*, 63.

etc.) an illustration of how much better, after all, he could do even this kind of thing than Bancroft's attornies. It is in a few lines from an epitaph he had proposed for one who had assaulted him:

"If that Mar-Martine die the death that to the dog is due,
Vpon his tomb engraue this verse & you shal find it true:
He lies endiched here that from the ladder toppe,
Did once beblesse the people thus — but first he kist the rope:
Come neere quoth he, take heed by me,
I loued to lie by ryming,
Tis just you see, and doth agree,
that now I die by climing:
What wretch but I, that vowed to lie,
al falshoode still defending?
Who may say fie? No beast but I,
loe here you see my ending.
I lived a wretch, I die the stretch,
my daies and death agree:
Whose life is blamefull, his death is shamefull,
be warnd, ye rogues, by mee.
The justest I hated, the godliest I rated,
and thus I railed my fill:
The good I detested, the best things I wrested,
to serue mine own beastlie will.
Religion I lothed, my selfe I betrothed
to all the lewd snares of sinne.
. . . . . .
Aske you the cause? I spurnd at God's laws,
and hence comes all my wracke;
Where should he dwel, that feares not hel,
but with the furies blacke?
A beast that braues, a tongue that raues,
will God revenge in ire.
Then vengeance must (for God is iust)
fall to Mar-Martins hire,"[285] etc.

I think but one more Anti-Martinist pamphlet of this special and extraordinary character was published, viz.: *Plaine Percevall the Peace-maker of England. Sweetly indevoring with his blunt persuasions to botch vp a Reconciliation between Mar-ton and Mar-tother*, etc., a black-letter quarto of thirty-four pages, which appears to have come out early in the winter of 1589–90. Mr. Maskell, who seems to have devoted more labor to the study of this

[285] *The iust censure and reproofe of Martin | Iunior*, etc., 29.

controversy than any other Englishman, thought he had made the discovery that this was "a last gasp" on the Martinist side.[286] There is clear contemporaneous evidence, however, that it was written by a Church of England man, afterward Vicar of Saffron Walden, and was understood to be — as we have seen to have been true of *Marre Mar-Martin* — rather in the interest of peace. It was certainly complained of, two years after, as playing "the Iacke of both sides twixt Martin and vs;"[287] and Mr. Maskell's opinion, I must think, has no ground whatever to stand upon.

Percevall fears he will be dull: "Sith Martin and his brood hath furnished the first course, with sundry dishes, and sawced them throughly: and againe his heauie frinds *Pasquill*, *Marforius*, and the fresh Cater of late, haue counter coursd him, with messes somewhat hoat of the spice: (for the *Pap* had corns of long Pepper as big as a hatchet:) I follow like a plaine dunstable Groome, with salt and spoones on a trencher."[288] There is ground for his fear, and all which need be quoted from him is a single sentence that might stand motto for the whole tract: "Well then *Martin*, and you professed *Mar-Martins*, in presence of me *Perceuall* shake hands and be friendes, meet halfe way, and I standing iump in the middle will crie aime to you both: so as you come not running with force and maine, and crush me betwixt you for my good will."[289]

There was indeed another tract entitled: *The First parte of Pasquils Apologie. Wherin he renders a reason to his friendes of his long silence:* — a silence, I suppose, since the same pen issued the *Return of Pasquil*, which we have noted in the previous October. Its imprint, which is: *Printed where I was, and where I will bee readie by the helpe of God and my Muse, to send you the Maygame of Martinisme for an intermedium, betweene the first and seconde part of the Apologie;* has given an impression that it has a

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[286] *History Mar. Mar-Prelate Controversy* (1845), 199.

[287] Thomas Nash [*Strange Newes* (1592) sig. 2.] says, addressing Gabriel Harvey: "thy hot-spirited brother Richard (a notable ruffian with his pen) hauing first tooke vpon him in his blundring *Persiual* to play the Iacke of both sides twixt Martin and vs, and snarled privily at Pap-hatchet, Pasquil, and others, that opposde themselues against the open slaunder of that mightie platformer of Atheisme, presently after dribbed forth another fooles bolt, a booke I should say, which he christened *The Lambe of God*." Gabriel and Richard were sons of a rope-maker at Saffron Walden; the latter after entering the church was presented to the vicarage of his native parish.

[288] *Plaine Percevall*, etc., 2.

[289] *Ibid*, 20.

place directly in this controversy. Such is not the fact. It is, as its sub-title indicates, a reply to "the *Treatise of Reformation*, lately written by a fugitive, Iohn Penrie."[290] This Treatise was one of six little volumes, on which I cannot here specifically dwell, which, sandwiched between the Martinist issues, appear to have been printed upon the Mar-prelate press, by Puritan authors, in general plea for reform and a change of church government. But as they do not appear to have been from Martin's pen, are not in his peculiar style, and had little, if any, vital connection with his special struggle, they rather belong to the general controversial literature of the time; and take with themselves out of our special range this bitter quarto in reply to one of their number; which, indeed, has this one passage in which it seeks to connect Penry with the Martinist pamphlets: "Who had the ouersight of the Libell at Fawslie? *Iohn* of Wales: Who was corrector to the Presse at Couentrie? *Iohn* of Wales: Who wrote the last treatise of Reformation so full of slaunders, but *Iohn* of Wales? Is it so brother *Iohn*, can you byte and whine? then heare thyselfe indited againe by *Pasquill*."[291]

During 1590 three more serious attempts were made to heal the wounds inflicted by Martin upon the church: by Richard Harvey, in *A Theological discourse of the Lamb of God and his enemies: containing a brief Commentary of Christian Faith, together with a detection of old and new Barbarisme now called Martinisme*, etc.; by Leonard Wright, in *A Friendly Admonition to Martin Mar-prelate and his mates*, etc.; and by Thomas Turswell, in *A Mirror for Martinists: And all other Schismatiques, which in these dangerous daies doe breake the godlie vnitie, and disturb the Christian peace of the Church.* Of these, Wright inclines to violent epithet and insinuation; calls Martin, "vile, base and churlish,"[292] and says he and his fellows lead people up and down

[290] Mr. Maskell [*History Mar. Mar-Prel. Con.* etc., 21] catalogues both of these tracts as belonging to the Mar-prelate series. But I find no evidence to warrant such a classification (and he refers to none), other than the general fact — true as well in the case of others in regard to which no such claim has ever been made — of some community of origin and purpose.

[291] This is quite like the following in *An Almond for a Parrat*, etc. [34]: "Pen.; I. Pen.; Welch Pen.; Pen. the Protestationer, Demonstrationer, Supplicationer, Appellationer; Pen. the father; Pen. the sonne; Pen. Martin Iunior, Martin Martinus; Pen. the scholler of Oxford to his friend at Cambridge; Pen. *totum in toto, et totum in qualibet parte*," etc.

[292] *Friendly Admonition*, etc., 2.

by the ears "to heare their vaine conceits, as it were a foole to the storkes, till they were as wise in the end as Waltams calfe."[293]

Turswell, on the other hand, is plaintive, pious and harangueful: "I beseech you, brethren, by the bleeding wounds of our saviour and redeemer Jesus Christ, that none doe increase olde faultes by new offences, but rather that every man in sinceritie and holy obedience reforme his owne waies. . . . Let us beautifie the chambers of our hearts with the florishing branches of a godly life, mortifying and killing all those euill and peruerse affections which may blemish and darken those bright beames of Christian profession. Let us beare the sailes of our conuersations euen with the wind of Gods word: and beseech we the holy Ghost to rule the stearne, and guide the rudder of our thoughts, least at anie time we cracke the barke of our religion against the rockes of euill tongues."[294]

There are two or three misapprehensions which ought to be removed, before we leave a subject remarkable alike in its relation to English literature, and to the history of the progress of human thought.

One is that of Mr. Maskell, who maintains that the Martin Mar-prelate tracts were the result of a concerted move on the part of the chief Puritans;[295] that the programme was carried out by them as long as it seemed politic, and that, in their extremity of failure, *Plaine Percevall* was their exhausted cry for peace.[296] But I hold nothing easier to prove by evidence abundant, from within, and from without, than that the Puritans, as such, had nothing to do with Martin; but, in their great majority, from the first, repudiated him. Such certainly was Martin's own view. It is in evidence that Waldegrave gave as a prominent reason for retiring from further printing of these tracts after he had issued the first four, that: "all the Preachers that I have conferred withall do mislike it."[297] The feeling which

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293 *Ibid*, 4. Explained in the margin thus: "that ran ix. mile to sucke a bull."

294 *Myrror for Martinists*, etc., 34.

295 "All this was not a disunited effort by individuals, but the plan of a clever, earnest party, working in concert, under most able guidance, and careless what were the instruments they used. They had an object before them, sufficient to justify any means, however bad. At last they ventured upon *Martin*, ventured . . . beyond the sympathy of lookers on," etc. *Hist. Mar-Prel. Contr.*, 222.

296 *Ibid*, 199.

297 *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 23.

the devoutest Puritan preachers most likely had — and we can easily see how natural it was to those of a certain turn of mind — would be that expressed by Browne's tutor, Richard Greenham, who, we are told, "when Martin Mar Prelate came first out . . . being to preach at St. Maries in Cambridge, spake freely against that Book, manifesting his dislike of the same: For (said he) the tendency of this Book is to make sin ridiculous, whereas it ought to be made odious."[298] Neither in those perilous times, does it seem possible for more than a *very few* persons, at the outside, to have been intimately connected with so dangerous an undertaking. The theory which, to my mind, carries the vast preponderance of probability, is, that mainly one man alone did the writing, and mainly another managed the printing; each being careful publicly to know the other, in it, as little as possible. It is very likely that three or four Puritans may have counseled the undertaking, and furnished suggestions to it, but of these poor Udall, whom all the evidence would more directly than any other involve in the transactions, proves himself, in his examinations and various letters, to have lacked most of those qualities which Martin had, and which it was indispensable that he should possess. I believe the day which revealeth all things will make it clear, that, aside from Waldegrave, and Hodgkins, and other workmen employed, on the one hand; and from Sir Richard Knightley, the Weekstons of Wolston, and others who aided with money and shelter, on the other; and from Udall, Field, Throgmorton, Wiggington, and possibly others, who added good wishes and moral support; *Martin* was essentially the work of two men — one of whom, to put the thing in modern phrase, was author, and the other publisher.

A second misapprehension is one which is inherently so absurd that there could be no excuse for naming it, but that two or three authors who might easily have known better, have confidently affirmed its truth. It is, that Martin Mar-prelate was the work of the Jesuits! Perhaps the most confident of these writers,[299] alleges only these three flimsy reasons in support of

298 S. Clark, *Lives of Thirty-two English Divines famous in their Generations for Learning and Piety*, etc. (ed. 1677), 13.

299 W. Osburn, *Hidden Works of Darkness, or the doings of the Jesuits*, etc., London, 1846. 82–84.

his hypothesis, that: (1) "the expense" of such publications must have been "very formidable;" (2) the time of their issue —just as the nation was recovering from its alarm about the Spanish Armada, was "untoward;" and (3) that "numbers of Popish books flew abroad the same year over all England." "We shall"—he goes on—"most satisfactorily solve the difficulty [in these reasons suggested] by assuming that the authors, or rather secret instigators, of Martin Mar-prelate, were not Protestants at all, but concealed Papists; and that it was, in reality, one portion of that concerted movement against English Protestantism, which all the forces under the command of the Papacy were directed to make in that year." Such a theory I deem to be sufficiently refuted in being named.

A third misapprehension as to the quality of the writings themselves, has been strangely—one might almost say, unaccountably—fallen into by nearly all writers, Dissenters as well as others, who have referred to the subject. I know that these tracts have not been specially abundant in our time, and therefore few even of those who have criticised them, can have read them all; while the old Church of England authors naturally broke out into full cry after them. One is, of course, prepared to hear Fuller brand them as "foul-mouthed papers" and "bastardly libels," "altogether unbeseeming a pious spirit;"[300] and Isaac Walton condemn them as "venomous," "absurd and scurrilous," "malicious" and "senseless;"[301] and Josias Nichols mourn over Martin as a "foolish jester;"[302] and Lord Bacon stigmatize the style of these productions as "an immodest and deformed manner of writing;"[303] and Sir George Paule declare them to be "shameless," and "fraughted only with odious and scurrilous calumniations;"[304] and Strype abuse them as "foul-mouthed and lying;"[305] and even the judicious Hooker deprecate "the scurrilous and more than satirical immodesty of Martinism."[306] Nor perhaps can one be surprised

[300] *Chh. Hist. Eng.*, v: 128, 130, 131.

[301] *Life of R. Hooker*, prefixed to Hanbury's *Hooker's Works* (1830), i: lxxxvi.

[302] *Plea of the Innocent*, 31.

[303] *Works* (Montagu's ed.), vii: 32.

[304] *Life of Archb. Whitgift*, in Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog., iii: 589.

[305] *Life and Acts of J. Whitgift*, etc., i: 13.

[306] Epistle Dedicatory of Eccl. Polity. *Hooker's Works* (as above), i: 6. Hooker introduces here the following anecdote, no name being given: "The first published schedules whereof [i. e. Martinism] being brought to the hands of a grave and very honorable Knight, with signification, that the book would refresh his spirits, he took it, saw what the title was, read over an unsavory sentence or two, and delivered back the libel with this answer, 'I

to find authors of the same stand-point of a later date so generally intelligent as Dean Hook, Maskell, Soame, Dr. Wordsworth, and Prebendary Curteis, the first denouncing them as "most coarse, scurrilous and indecent pasquinades;"[307] the second charging them with "ribaldry and plain lying," and intimating that their vulgarity cannot be quoted;[308] the third protesting against them as characterized by "low buffoonery," the "coarsest invectives, and foulest imputations;"[309] the fourth affirming that they "perhaps were never surpassed in scurrility and malignity;"[310] and the fifth deliberately incorporating in a Bampton Lecture for 1871, the declaration: "It is impossible to give any extracts from these abominable and filthy lampoons."[311] Nor could a mere *littérateur*, like Benjamin Disraeli, be expected to do much better than to say of these tracts: "their slanders were not only coarse buffooneries, but the hottest effusions of hatred, with an unparalleled invective of nicknames."[312] But one thinks that such a man as Neal ought at least to have read them carefully before speaking contemptuously of them as running "dregs;"[313] and wonders to find Price, with great show of candor, admitting that they "were written in a coarse and abusive style, abounded in reproaches and calumny, and were as unworthy of the cause they advocated, as their spirit was foreign from the meekness of Christianity;"[314] and wishes that Mr. Hanbury had seen his way clear to refute, rather than to quote with silent endorsement, old slanders against them;[315] and regrets to find Prof. Masson turning away from them with a sneer as "scurrilities against the Bishops that had been vented anonymously by some particular nest of Brownists, or their allies," which "had disgusted and enraged many who would have tolerated moderate Nonconformity;"[316] and Mr. Marsden talking of the "insolent and seditious spirit" of "these anonymous li-

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am sorry you are of the mind to be solaced with these sports, and sorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your own.'"

[307] *Lives of the Archbishops of Cant.*, x: 147.

[308] *Hist. M. M. P. Controversy*, 24, 99, 186, etc.

[309] H. Soames, *Elizabethan Religious History* (1839), 372, 373.

[310] *Eccles. Biography*, iii: 589 (note).

[311] *Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England. Eight Lectures at Oxford*, etc., 76.

[312] *Calamities and Quarrels of Authors* (ed. 1869), 512.

[313] *Hist. Puritans* (ed. 1837), i: 328.

[314] T. Price, *Hist. Prot. Nonconformity in Eng.* (1836), i: 369.

[315] *Hist. Mem. Independents*, etc., i: 5, 80. Hanbury himself calls them "bitter and satirical." *Life of Cartwright*, etc., ccii.

[316] *Life of Milton*, etc., ii: 538.

bels" of the "most atrocious character;"[317] and even Dr. Bacon implying condemnation of their "characteristic spirit;"[318] and Mr. Punchard, while he has the discrimination to characterize the Anti-Martinist members of the series as "downright blackguardism, and often very vulgar blackguardism, too," "often even very unclean," still admitting the genuine Martins to be "saucy libels."[319] Surely Dr. Waddington, with these tracts all within reach of his daily walks and open to his habitual studies, should not again and again have written about them with so little knowledge at first hand, that he could concede them to be "vulgar" as well as "objectionable," and take the greatest pains — as if to save the Welshman's character — to dissociate John Penry from all responsibility for their authorship.[320] The Rev. Charles Stovel has come perhaps nearer than any other modern writer to a due understanding of the merits of the case, in declaring that these tracts, "with a sarcasm which was burning because so just, dealt so unsparingly in actual statistics of Episcopal criminality, that however abused, they never could be answered."[321] With him[322] may be classed Prof. Morley, whose judgment is: "The Martinists were earnest men, who affected light speech to win light minds of the many to their side."[323]

I could not go so far as the good Dr. Halley when he says: "With much vigor and ability," they are "coarse, personal and abusive."[324] Doubtless it is "coarse, personal and abusive" to knock a man down; but there are occasions, if one be fighting

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317 J. B. Marsden, *Hist. Early Puritans* [204, 206]. One knows not what this writer can mean by talking of "Martin's forty pamphlets" answered "by at least an equal number, scarcely less truculent, or less contemptuous." 206.

318 *Genesis of New. Eng. Churches*, 163, 164.

319 *History of Congregationalism*, etc. (1867), iii: 142, 150, 151. Mr. S. Hopkins, while generally very fair in the view he takes of Martin, yet winds up with the remark: [*The Puritans*, etc. (1861), iii: 299]. "When, as here, sarcasm descends to sauciness, satire to railing, and buffoonery to ribaldry — especially in religious affairs, — we make no apology for these things, however great the provocation."

320 *John Penry, the Pilgrim Martyr*, etc., 45, 217–230.

321 Introduction to Canne's *Necessity of Separation*, etc. [Han. Knol. Soc. Ed. 1849], lxv.

322 Rev. John Hunt, in his extremely valuable and interesting *Religious Thought in England*, etc. (1870) [i: 71–86, and 100–107], deals with the Mar-prelate discussion at some length, and Churchman as he is, with a candor and breadth of knowledge which would certainly grace Nonconformist writers when treating their own side of the great, and protracted church controversy.

323 *A First Sketch of English Literature*, 431.

324 R. Halley, *Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, i: 144.

for his life, or for something dearer and holier, when other epithets become more fit to describe an act which may clear the beleaguered way of truth, and vindicate the imperiled sway of righteousness. In my judgment, there is absolutely nothing in the seven tracts for which Martin is properly responsible, of which anybody — Churchman, or Dissenter — need be ashamed, or for which apology need be made. Surely there is no word in anything of Martin's own that is blasphemous or obscene; nothing which indicates either a brutal head or a beastly heart. Of course they run — that kind of writing in that day must always have done so — often very near to the perilous edge of that precipice whose feet are washed by the sea of words that cannot be spoken; they often employ terms which would now seem extreme in violence, and sometimes lay hold of an epithet from which the taste of our age would shrink. But Martin was writing in and for the sixteenth, and not the nineteenth century; and was, of set purpose, launching out into a style of rough and rollicking satire new to his time, with the intent to seize and hold the convictions of the more intelligent masses of the English people as he knew them to be. Dr. Halley pleads apologetically: "A man beaten when his hands are bound, may be excused for making the most of his tongue. The prelates fined and imprisoned, and the martyrs retaliated with angry words, biting sarcasm, and rough abuse."[325] But, to my mind, this kindly suggestion is a little aside from the true equity of the case. I cannot see in the Martin Mar-prelate Tracts any such flavor of merely, or mainly, personal conflict. Martin was not defending himself, or storming at *his* oppressors. He was attacking what he firmly believed to be grievous error, and monstrous wrong, in Church and State, and was doing his earnest utmost, not to worst the Prelacy in a hand-to-hand conflict, but to persuade his countrymen that it was an abomination in the sight of the Lord which ought to be swept clean away, and which no man could be guiltless and still cherish and defend. That — especially toward the last, as the coils of oppression more and more tightened around this solitary combatant — a tinge of bitterness crept sometimes into his utterance, need not be denied. But a high,

[325] *Ibid.* Dissenters have been all too willing to take their tone from the Church.

unselfish, noble purpose animated, and I must think justified, all; and a clean and wholesome savor, as of bitter herbs, flavors even his rudest and coarsest speech.[326]

I wish as much could be said of several of the small quartos, which by some of the wits of the time, prompted, counseled and endorsed by the Bishops,[327] were issued against him.

Our discussion should hardly end without a few words as to the authorship of these tracts which made such a stir in England. As to several of the least important, there can be no special doubt. *Antimartinus* is signed "Totus vester, A. L." but the world has managed to get along quietly thus far, without being able to fill out the letters.[328] The *Countercuffe*, the *Almond for a Parrat*, the *Return*, and *Pasquil's Apology* are attributed to Thomas Nash; *Pappe with an Hatchet* to John Lyly, and *Plain Perceual* to Richard Harvey.[329]

But who was Martin Mar-prelate? His secret was well kept, his name never revealed; a fact the more strange when not merely, as in the case of Junius, an eager literary curiosity has been stimulated to lift the veil, but the whole detective force of a kingdom was set in motion at the time to seize the man whom all could hear snapping his fingers in their faces in the dark, but on whom they could never lay their hands in the light. Great folio pages of contemporary depositions[330] lie open still to the curious inquirer, to indicate how diligent were the efforts of the law officers of the crown to find Martin — and how vain.

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326 Very much of this was due to the fashion of the times. Mr. Hopkins [*Puritans*, iii: 300] has accumulated illustrations of the coarse way of speech then thought becoming on the part of cultured and good men; and shows, among many similar instances, how Aylmer called the Popish clergy "spiritual spiders," and Bonner (who was fat) "My Lord Lubber of London," and a brother clergyman "an ass, an idiot and a fool;" and how one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners stormed at the Rev. Mr. Wilson, thus: "thou art an ass; thou art a dolt; thou art a beardless boy," etc., etc.

327 "It is recorded in Strype's *Life of Whitgift* [ii: 387], that the answers [to the Martinist tracts] were written by the advice of Bancroft, and there is reason to believe that he had to do with the writing of some of them." J. Hunt, *Relig. Thought in Eng.*, i: 107.

328 Could this have been *Arthur Lake*, who died in 1626, Bishop of Bath and Wells; or *Augustin Lindsell*, who died in 1634, Bishop of Peterborough?

329 See *Maskell*, 215, and Petherham's introductions to his reprints of *Pappe with an Hatchet*, *An Almond for a Parrat*, and *Plaine Perceuall*.

330 I refer particularly to *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: [pp. 1–15, 19–32, 96–104, etc.,] and *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxi: 22. The latter is a "Secret report to Lord Burghley of the Authors of the Martin Mar-prelate Tracts." Mr. Arber has printed it, *Stat. Reg.*, ii: 816, 817.

The conviction has more and more grown upon me with my study of the subject, that, as already intimated, two persons only had special responsible connection with this business; one as author,[331] and one as publisher. Who the latter was admits of small question. The depositions to which I have referred — and I can see no reason to doubt their essential trustworthiness[332] — make it clear that one man sought of Sir Richard Knightley the privilege of a room in his house at Fawsley for storing the press and types, and took the key of the said room, and carried people to that room;[333] in fact that, sometimes in one disguise, and sometimes in another, he constantly frequented the houses to which the two presses and two lots of "letters" were successively taken;[334] that he owned one of the presses, and one of the fonts of type;[335] that he contrived that manuscript dropped by somebody under the hedge should be found by the printer;[336] that he gave out the "copy" to the various workmen;[337] that he corrected the proofs,[338] sometimes rewriting sentences, and even modifying arguments into what he thought better sense;[339] that he used to pay the printers,[340] and would sometimes carry away the printed books;[341] and in general, that he talked about the tracts as one having responsibility for them, and "appeared to be a principall dealer in all the action everywhere."[342] Moreover, when, in the summer of 1589, the second press with its type had been discovered, and before the hot pursuit of the officers this man fled into Scotland, the issue of the Martin Mar-prelate tracts came to a sudden and perpetual end. This man, then, was the publisher. And he was John Penry,

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331 "I am alone. No man vnder heauen is priuy, or hath bin priuie vnto my writings against you. I used the aduise of non therein. You haue and do suspect diuers, as master Paggett, master Wiggington, master Udall, and master Penri, &c., to make Martin. If they cannot cleare their selues their sillinesse is pitifull, and they are worthy to bear Martins punishment." *Hay any Worke*, etc., 21.

332 Mr. Edward Arber — who is now doing scholars the very great service of superintending a careful reprint of these Martinist tracts; whose general eminence as an accurate student of the earlier English literature is not unknown upon our side of the Atlantic; and who I imagine may have devoted more attention than any other person to the minute facts of this controversy; assures me that he is thoroughly convinced of the substantial credibility of these papers in evidence.

333 *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 1, 2, 5.

334 *Ibid*, 7, 20; *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxi: 22.

335 *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 7, 26.

336 *Ibid*, 4, 6.

337 *Ibid*, 6, 21.

338 *Ibid*, 6, 19, 25

339 *Ibid*, 6.

340 *Ibid*, 7.

341 *Ibid*, 20.

342 *Ibid*, 3, 26.

or Ap. Henry — the "poor young man, born and bred in the mountains of Wales,"[343] of whom we are to hear more hereafter.

But was John Penry author as well as publisher; was he *Martin?* This, on the whole, was the belief of the time, and was openly charged;[344] probably it has been the prevalent judgment down to our day.

On the other hand, it is of great significance that the by no means scrupulous Bishops could not muster evidence enough that Penry was Martin, to venture to hang him upon it. While it is noticeable also that some of his contemporaries whose opinion was surely entitled to great respect, did not believe that he wrote the tracts whose printing he procured. Wiggington when asked before the Commission: "Is Mr. Penry, then, the author of Martin Mar-prelate?" replied: "I think he is not. And I think you are greatly deceived in charging him with it."[345] Udall testified to the same effect, and said that he had seen a letter of Penry, "wherein he denied it in such terms as declare him to be ignorant and clear in it."[346] And so again he testified: "I am fully persuaded that those books were not done by any minister."[347] There is a bit of testimony to the same effect from our side of the sea. John Cotton says, in his *Reply to Mr. Williams*,[348] etc., that "he received it from Mr. Hildersom[349] (a man of a thousand) that Mr. Penry did ingenuously acknowledge before his death" that he "had not deserved death for any dishonour put upon the Queene, by that Booke (which was found in his study, and intended by himselfe to be presented to her own hand:) nor by the compiling of Martin Mar-prelate (of both of which he was falsly charged)." While Penry's acknowledged works, of which nine or ten remain, scarcely suggest much probability that he was the author also of these others. They are able — with a different ability.

Must we, then, relinquish this search, and leave Martin, with Junius, forever to stand *magni nominis umbra?*

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343 *Lansdowne MSS.*, cix: 35.

344 *Almond for a Parrat*, sign. E. 2, reverse.

345 Brook, *Lives of Puritans*, i: 425 [citing *MS. Register* in Dr. Williams's library — now in Grafton Street, Gower Street, London, but a few steps from the Gower Street station of the Underground Railway].

346 *Ibid*, ii: 11.

347 *Ibid*, and *Life of Penry*, 228.

348 *A Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination, and Answer of the Letters sent to him by John Cotton*, etc., 117.

349 Arthur Hildersham, of Ashby de la Zouch.

There are two internal clews which have led me to a conjecture on the subject, which, so far as I know, is new to its literature. And it is in the line indicated by Udall's doubt whether "any minister" wrote the tracts in controversy. To my mind there are some signs that a lawyer wrote them. I find plenty of phrases more natural, as I conceive, to the working of the mind of a barrister than of a minister; such as: "you would *mende your answere;*"[350] "lest a *Scandalum magnatum* should be had against me;"[351] "the parties were neuer calde *in Coram* for it;"[352] "a pore *freeholder* in Fulham;"[353] "a gentleman of Fulham, that belongeth to the *Court of Requests;*"[354] "my masters of the *Requests;*"[355] "may it please you to yeeld vnto a *suite* that I haue to your worships;"[356] "and leave *the cause*, as he like a coward hath done;"[357] "he bringeth in nothing *without testimonie;*"[358] "I speak not of things *by heresay* as of reports, but I bring my witnesses to prooue my matters;"[359] "plain *theft*,"[360] etc. Then there are turns of argument which look in the same direction, as where Martin insists that his booke cannot be indicted as a libel, showing how he has "prevented them of that advantage in lawe;"[361] his discussion of the subject of treason;[362] where he treats of the Star-chamber decree;[363] where he again and again threatens the Bishops with the penalties of a *premunire;*[364] and where he repeatedly considers the case of subscription contrary to the statute of 13 Elizabeth,[365] what subscription the statute required,[366] and whether a layman could lawfully be imprisoned for refusing to subscribe.[367]

These instances all occur in the first Martin, the *Epistle;* but I think they fairly sample the six others which appear to have been from the same hand.[368] So that I maintain there is, to say the least, some colorable evidence that a lawyer wrote them.

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350 *Epistle*, etc., 14.
351 *Ibid*, 23.
352 *Ibid*, 24.
353 *Ibid*, 21.
354 *Ibid*, 20.
355 *Ibid.*
356 *Ibid*, 27.
357 *Ibid*, 17.
358 *Ibid*, 9.
359 *Ibid*, 27.
360 *Ibid*, 10.
361 *Ibid*, 40.
362 *Ibid*, 13, 14.
363 *Ibid*, 24.
364 *Ibid*, 21 (bis), 22, 26, 32.
365 *Ibid*, 38.
366 *Ibid*, 31.
367 *Ibid*, 32.
368 In the brief compass of the *Protestatyon* I have noted the following kindred examples [I cite from Mr. Arber's reprint]: "by these presents" [*title*]; "nor lawe of the land doth

Then, in *The Protestatyon*, where, all badinage aside, the author seems to be speaking with a seriousness almost saddened into solemnity, he says: "Wil you beleeue me then if I tel you the truth? To put you therefore out of all doubt, I may safely protest vnto you with a good conscience, that howsoeuer the speech may sound strange vnto many, yet the very truth is, that hitherto I neuer had wife nor childe in all my life."[369] So he returns to the subject on the last page to say again; "As I protested vnto thee without all fraud and ambiguitie, I was neuer as yet married in my life."[370] Admit this test, and it at once cuts off Penry, and all the old candidates.

Was there, then, any bachelor barrister at that time so endowed, situated and persuaded, as to have been naturally capable of this authorship?

The minds of all close students of the men and the literature of those times, must turn at once to *Henry Barrowe* — fast prisoner since the autumn of 1586 in the Fleet, whose better acquaintance we hope soon to make — as, in most respects of natural gift, training and conviction, remarkably the sort of person of whom we are in search. It is moreover clear that an intimacy between him and Penry soon afterwards existed, with

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Permitt" [3]; "prooving the lawfullnes of their places" [5]; "a thousand warants, a thousad pursevants" [5]; vnlawfull callings" [5]; vnlawefull tyranny" [5]; "lawfull meanes of triall" [6]; "lawfully proclaime" [7]; "no lawfull way of tryall" [8]; "were it not more for feare of law" [10]; "what remedie shoulde the partie haue" [11]; "ile haue the *scandalum magnatum* against him" [11]; "flatt contrarye to the expresse lawes of the land" [11]; "the law is so far from compelling anye to appeache himselfe in a cause wherein eyther life, goods or good name is called in question" [11]; "as may more at large appeare in a plaine Statute of the 25. of Hen. 8. in the tytle of heresie" [12]; "there was noe other waye of tryall, nor no State could stand and continue without it" [12]; "eyther perpetuall imprisonment, losse of eares or some other lim" [12]; "suborned against me" [13]; etc., etc.

Weigh also expressions like this from the *Epitome:* "may you put men to their othe against law? Is there any law to force men to accuse themselves? No. Therefore looke what this dealing will procure at the length: Euen a plain *premunire* upon your backs, for vrging an oth contrary to statute, which is a piece of the forraine power banished by statute." [iv.] And like this from *Hay any Worke*, etc.: "It is treson by Statute, for any subiect in this land to proceed doctor of the canō law, and dare you professe your church government to be ruled by that law," etc. [25]; "The lawes of England haue beene made when there was neuer a bishop in the Parliament, as in the first yere of her Maiestie," etc. [26]; "I hope he wil see both the *quare impedit*, and the *premunire* to, brought vppon the bones of father Edmond of Worcester" etc. [43].

The extent of my suggestion is, that, in connection with other proofs, such phrases and turns of expression add weight to the hypothesis which would make some lawyer to have been Martin.

[369] *Protestatyon*, etc., 15.

[370] *Ibid*, 32.

no evidence that it did not date back far enough to cover all the needs of the case.

Following this suggestion, I find considerable similarity of style between Barrowe's acknowledged books, and the Mar-prelate tracts — in general, and in particular. The same remark is true of one book signed "I. G." and ascribed to Greenwood, in writing which — so decidedly does it differ in style, in parts, from other books bearing his name — I am persuaded Barrowe had a considerable hand. Incarcerated together, and paired in nearly all their experiences, even to the halter which at last pulled open heaven's gate for them, and avowedly joint authors of several volumes, I imagine both pens worked indiscriminately upon this.[371]

Many epithets not in common use are common to Barrowe's *Brief Discoverie*, and to Martin. For example: "this geare"[372] repeatedly occurs;[373] "masse [for master, or masters] vice chancellor"[374] "masse commissarie,"[375] etc.; "archbeast" (as a synonym for archbishop);[376] "trumperie to be brought into the church,"[377] etc., etc. There is the same freedom of assault, sometimes almost amounting to violence of invective, in Barrowe that there is in Martin. Barrowe calls some man an "old Sadducee that thus sophisticallie hath propounded these questions;"[378] and another "an old captious Sadducee;"[379] he says of the Bishops and priests: "These cormorants are never satisfied, these horse-leaches still suck, though blood in abundance runne oute of their wide mouths."[380] He says again: "Here would not be forgotten also the sweete psalmodical harmonie of the Vultures, Crowes, Gleades, Owles, Geese; of the Leopards, Beares, Wolues, Dogs, Foxes, Swine, Goates (pardon me, for thus the Holy Ghost termeth & likeneth the prophane confuse multitudes assembled in the false church),"[381] etc. So he describes an English clergyman as occupying "a prescript place like a tubbe called their pulpyt," where he "for the most part disputes to the howerglasse, which being runne his sermocina-

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371 *M. Some laid open in his coulers*, etc.

372 "*Gear:* matter, subject, or business in general." *Halliwell & Wright*, s. v.

373 *Brief Discoverie*, etc., 52, 83, etc.

374 *Ibid*, 52.

375 *Ibid.*

376 *Ibid*, 144.

377 *Ibid*, 93.

378 *Ibid*, 202.

379 *Ibid*, 221.

380 *Ibid*, 60.

381 *Ibid*, 180.

tion must be at an end;"[382] and still again he describes the way in which the Bishops ordain, thus: "They must now kneel downe at their holy father the Bishop his feete, who solemnly sitting in a chaire layeth his simoniacal hands upon him, delivereth him the bible into his hands, breatheth upon him, & giveth, or rather selleth him his *un*-holy Ghost, as he shall know by the price of his boxe and writinges ere he goe,"[383] etc.; and further he says of Dr. Some: "This is but a reproch of his own absurd brayne, to bring the truth into slaunder;"[384] and still further: "By following this bird over-far, I had almost beene trained [lured] from the nest;" and once more he thunders at the monks: "These idle bellies, these caterpillers, these sodomites, these locusts."[385] I cannot help thinking that the man who could write these sentences, and plenty more like them,[386] could have written Martin. Take two more examples, which might almost have come out of the *Epistle* or the *Epitome*. This in the milder vein: "These sycophants, these trencher-priests, will most cunningly insinuate into some great or noble mans house, where they are sure to be wel fed, and safe from all stormes: euen the meanest of them will neuer be without their good hosts & dames where they may lay their knife aboard, & fill their belly of the best."[387] And this in a severer mood: "Is this old rotten Leitourgis their new songs they sing unto the Lord, with and for his graces? May such old written rotten stuffe be called prayer, the odours of the Saintes?"[388]

It seems to me in this connection significant that contemporaries criticised the acknowledged writings of Barrowe and Greenwood in almost the same terms as those used about Martin. Thus Bernard of Batcombe characterized those works as: "possessed with a fearefull spirit of rayling and scoffing . . . . into which cursed speaking they fell aboue all that euer we heard or can reade of, pretending such holinesse. There cannot any instrument of God be nominated, who euer filling [ed?] their mouthes with bitternes of rayling, and cursed speaking, as

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[382] *Ibid.*
[383] *Ibid*, 52.
[384] *Ibid*, 173.
[385] *Ibid*, 137.
[386] See whole of the discussions upon pp. 54, 65, 148, etc.
[387] *Ibid*, 145.
[388] *Ibid*, 65.

these haue done against all the people of God & holie things of God practised amongst vs."[389] Henry Ainsworth (1608) in replying to Bernard, while speaking apologetically for Barrowe, argues: "I suppose you can hardly shew any hard speech that Mr. Barrowe ther writeth, which the Prophets and Apostles haue not vsed before. But if he were overcaried with some seuere speeches in a good cause neyther we nor himself euer iustified that infirmitie; we know that we are frayl men, let the sharpnesse therefore be his, but the trueth (which he sharply teacheth) God's."[390] John Smyth said (1609): "That Mr. Barrowe ironically vpbraydeth the preaching and Worship of the assemblies, following therein Elias his example, I dare not censure that as an ungodly act. I wil not vndertake the defence of Mr. Barrowes tartnes, neither dare I absolutely condemne it, seeing the prophet Esay is as sharpe against the true Church as ever was Mr. Barrowe against the false."[391] Rathband (1644) cites several passages from Barrowe's acknowledged writings in order to justify his accusation of "their scurrilous and ruffianlike profanesse, wherein they seem to us to haue excelled all that in a show of zeale and sinceritie, have written or dealt in the holy things of God," concluding what he has to say about them with these words: "Sure we are that by this which is alreadie set downe, it will well appeare to the wise and Christian Reader, that Gods Spirit never taught men to write as those men (who are knowne to have beene the chiefe perswaders and seducers of these our deceased brethren) have done."[392] Pagitt (1645) said much the same; while Bancroft cites an "intercepted" letter of Greenwood, in which he speaks of Martin's tracts in a singularly favorable way.[393]

Consider further: (1) Martin was always pleading to be allowed a public conference or disputation with the Bishops upon the matters in debate between them, and again and again offered — so sure was he of the goodness of his cause before the tribunal of Inspiration — to abide by the result of one, fairly

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389 *Separatists Schisme*, etc., 34.
390 *Counterpoyson*, etc. (ed. 1642), 29.
391 *Paralleles, Censures, Observations*, 134.
392 *Grave and Modest Confutation*, etc., 69–71.
393 *Heresiography*, etc. (ed. 1654), 55. *Survay of Pretended Dis.*, etc., 430. He wants "new minors, or conclûsions" put to them, and so "in one little nosegay," as "bigg as an almanac," to present them "for an answere" to Cartwright, etc.

conducted, with his life.[394] Barrowe strenuously and repeatedly urged the same thing.[395] (2) Martin talks about the principal Puritans, and especially about Cartwright,[396] exactly as Barrowe did again and again.[397] (3) Barrowe refers incidentally to Martin several times in his *Brief Discouerie of the false Church*, but never in such a manner as to imply hostility, or to damage my hypothesis; while once he says: "It is pitty Martin his presse was gone before this reason had an answer."[398] More to the point is the fact that in a *Petition directed to her Majesty*, etc. [1590], attributed to Barrowe's authorship, we find, at the length of several pages, an elaborate defence of Martin on two points as to which he had been accused of stirring up sedition, in which it is asserted that his real intent was far otherwise.[399] How did Barrowe know what was Martin's real intent? (4) In the *Protestatyon* Martin makes use of this language: "As for my self, my life and whateuer els I possesse, I haue long agone set vp my rest, making that account of it, as in standing against the enemies of God, and for the libertie of his church, it is of no value in my sight. My life in this cause shalbe a gayne to the church, and no losse to my selfe, I knowe right wel."[400] We shall have occasion to notice hereafter that this was the spirit, and these almost the words, with which Barrowe accepted martyrdom. (5) In the *Protestatyon*, again, where Martin is rebutting the charge of his adversaries that he, and those whom he represented, were seeking to pull down the Established Church for their own pecuniary advantage, he makes these two points: (*a*) that the charge is absurd in his case, who is not a minister: "I can no more abide Church-robberie *in a temporall man*, then I can brooke sacriledge in a presumptuous priest;"[401] and (*b*) that his own private circumstances were such that he was in no pecuniary need: "*I haue, I thanke God, of mine own*, wherwith I am better content then they are, with all their spoile and robberie."[402] Both of these would be exactly true of Barrowe, who,

394 *Epitome*, etc., iv; *Protestatyon*, 6; *Hay any Worke*, etc., 13, etc.

395 See, for example, his letter asking such a conference in *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 380.

396 *Iust Censure*, etc., 28.

397 *Collection of Certain Letters*, etc., 67–70.

398 *Brief Discouerie*, etc., 228.

399 That is, as to the famous threat about "20 fists, etc.," of the *Epistle* [2], and Martin Senior's "spectacle of 100,000 hands," etc. *Petition*, etc., 44, 45.

400 *Protestatyon*, 14; Arber's repr., 8.

401 *Ibid*, 10.

402 *Ibid*, 9.

probably by inheritance, was above the reach of want. (6) It does not seem unworthy of notice, in this connection, that there was special security in the whole difficult arrangement, if a man already in prison were writing these Martins, since nobody would ever think of looking for him there.

And this leads me to say that if Barrowe were Martin, and Penry the only man then outside the Fleet who was master of the secret; we may well think that, in the midst of the sharpness of all their troubles, the two men must sometimes have broken out into a noisy and almost uproarious glee, at the inherent queerness of the thought of the Bishops and their bailiffs scurrying up and down the land, and of Bancroft's listening miscellaneously at English key-holes, in the frantic endeavor to identify and arrest a man, whom they had already had for more than two long years behind the bars of one of their safest dungeons! While, finally, if Barrowe were Martin, and Penry his only ally, as the two men took the close secret to heaven with them within sixty days of each other in 1593, it is small wonder that it has been so well-kept since![403]

Mr. Maskell judges this Martin-Mar-prelate pamphlet war to have been "*the* controversy of the Elizabethan age."[404] With-

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[403] This lecture was first read before the students at Andover in June, 1877. Some report thereof found its way into the columns of the New York *Independent*, from which, copied into the London journal of the same name, it met the eye of Dr. Waddington, who lost no time in communicating to that paper a criticism in reply, closing with the words: "Is it possible to imagine that, under such circumstances, Barrowe could have the opportunity, or the inclination, to indulge in the buffoonery of the Mar-prelate Tracts? There is not a line in his writings to justify the supposition." The "circumstances" to which he thus alludes, he has previously explained to be close imprisonment under privation. As Barrowe confessedly somehow managed under these "circumstances" to write four or five volumes,—one of which was a dense quarto of more than 250 pages,—and which seem quite to equal in "buffoonery" the Martinist publications, it is not altogether clear what stood in the way of his writing also those little tracts. While as to the question of resemblance of style, I think I have shown not merely frequent likeness, but occasional identity, both of phrase and spirit, to a degree to relieve my argument from any danger of being altogether crushed even by so courteous and learned an *ipse dixit*.

[404] *History of the Mar. Mar-prel. Controversy*, 221. Dean Hook says: "The libelous productions of Martin Mar-prelate had a more powerful effect than is sometimes supposed." But he goes on to specify, in a manner which illustrates the excessive carelessness with which some writers of repute have allowed themselves to treat the subject. He says: "A spirit of insubordination and an encouragement of heretical notions reached the University of Cambridge itself [i. e., in consequence of these "productions"], and about the year 1576 involved Whitgift in a controversy which caused him much trouble. The dissentients found a leader in Thomas Cartwright." As the first Martin was not printed until twelve years after the date here named, it is clear that something must have been wrong in these calculations of this venerable and veteran author. [*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, x: 194.] The quotation with which this lecture concludes is from Horace, *Odes*, i: 34.

out going into any comparisons which such a judgment might provoke, it is enough to see in it the strong hand of God acting through novel instruments to break fetters which for ages had shackled all free motion of the common mind of England; disenchanting it of that fictitious and exaggerated reverence for a hierarchy which had hindered its presuming to think for itself; demonstrating that an unknown man might not only differ intrepidly if not victoriously with a Doctor in Divinity, even when clad in the lawn sleeves of a magnate of the church, but might cite the Bishops as a class before the highest court — the great star-chamber of the common sense and common conscience of the world — and triumph, though he died; so heartening every plain believer to study his Bible for himself, and for himself conclude (meekly and in the fear of Him whose Word it is) what that Bible was designed to teach men, whether the great prelates hear or forbear! Even a heathen poet could sing:

> — "Valet ima summis
> Mutare, et insignem attenuat Deus,
> Obscura promens."

LECTURE IV.

The Martyrs of Congregationalism.

Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise or blame; nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

Milton, Samson Agonistes, 1721–4.

Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis: semen est sanguis Christianorum. *Tertulliani Apologeticus adv. Gentes, &c., 50.*

Et quis non videat quantum adjuverit Ecclesiam sanguis Ecclesiæ? Quanta ex illa semente seges toto orbe surrexerit. *S. Augustini Episcopi. In Psalmum cxviii, Enar. Ser. xxxii, 6.*

Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, et multiplicabantur. *S. Augustini Episcopi. De Civitate Dei, Lib. xxii, 6.*

Καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῶν μαρτύρων ἀρδον τὰς ἐκκλησίας, πόλυπλασίονας τοὺς ἀγωνισιὰς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐξέτρεφε, τῷ ζήλω τῶν προλαβόντων ἐπαποδυομένων τῶν ἐφεξῆς. S. Basilii Caes. Cap. Archiep. Epistola clxiv: 1.

At inter Christianos mortem ob suum dogma perpessos fuere homines de plebe plurimi, vix vicinis suis cogniti, mulieres, virgines, adolescentes, quibus nec appetitus inerat nec spes probabilis duraturi nominis. *Hugo Grotius, de Veritate Relig. Chris., ii: 22.*

Our God (wee trust) will one day rayse vp an other Iohn Fox, to gather and compile the Actes and Monuments of his later Martyrs, for the vew of posteritie; tho yet they seem to bee burped in oblivion, and sleep in the dust. *Preface to a True Confession, etc. (1596), v.*

The Martyrs of Congregationalism.

THE author of the Epistle to the Hebrews said to those whom he addressed: "Ye did not yet resist unto blood, striving against sin;" and whatever nice shade of special meaning its true critical explanation may put upon the phrase, allusion seems clear to the fact that only through painfullest passages can humanity climb to its highest heights. Especially has the history of the world continually been furnishing illustrations of the fact that in men's collective life, and in the case of most individuals, as well, there is a genuine sense in which, with reverence, it may be declared of all successful emergence from long and great calamity: "without shedding of blood is no remission."

In the Providential development of the English Reformation the time had now come when Robert Browne had substantially outlined before a well nigh faithless generation the simple, original church polity, so that eyes which were not holden could see it; and something of the spell and stupor which, during dark centuries, had bound the people in unquestioning, if not unmurmuring, submission to the hierarchy, had been shattered and dispelled by Martin Mar-prelate's rough handling of the

Bishops; and by the pregnant fact that almost equally by what he had said in attack, and what they and their attorneys had replied in defence, it was beginning to dawn upon the common sense of many Englishmen that although they had always been esteeming these prelates, if not as gods, yet as children of the Most High, they were, in reality, like men, and quite able to "fall like one of the princes."

In the disorganization of former beliefs, a few turned to the new-old creed. But they were almost wholly among the common people, and had had small advantage of the universities. Who were they that, as exegetes and ecclesiastical experts, they should assume to instruct their betters? Pursued unsparingly with fine and imprisonment, and exposed perpetually to that most effectual, because most cutting, of all forms of hostility, intellectual contempt; only by being molten in the furnace of affliction could they come forth as gold. And so God ordered it that Congregationalism should again have its martyrs — as it had had in the beginning.

Governor Bradford, in his *Dialogue, or the Sum of a Conference between some Young Men born in New England, and Sundry Ancient men that came out of Holland and Old England* (1648), says:[1] "We know certainly of six that were publicly executed, besides such as died in prisons: Mr. Henry Barrow, Mr. Greenwood (these suffered at Tyburn); Mr. Penry at St. Thomas Waterings, by London; Mr. William Dennis, at Thetford, in Norfolk; two others at St. Edmund's in Suffolk, whose names were Copping and Elias."

This list appears to be accurate and full. There was, to be sure, a real and touching sense, in which the much larger number of men and women who were dragged from their humble homes, and shut up to wear their lives out slowly in damp, vermin-haunted and fever-smitten dungeons, were martyrs to their faith. But such death for Christ and his Church, however heroic, must usually have lacked in its subjective aspect that element

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[1] A few leaves only of the original MS. of this Dialogue, or Conference, remain in the Library of the Mass. Historical Society. Secretary Morton, the Governor's nephew, however, copied the whole into the Plymouth Church Records, whence it was transcribed, and printed by Dr. Young in 1841, in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth*, etc., pp. 414–458. This citation is from p. 427.

of quick, conscious and even jubilant choice, as really as on its objective side it lacked that component of public testimony which made the halter and the stake over the rude mind of those days so impressive as arguments for the truth. These poor prisoners lingered always for months, and often for years, perhaps themselves never thinking, nor ever intending, actually to die thus and there; and when their sufferings were over — except now and then, as in the exceptional case of Roger Rippon, whose coffin was carried from Newgate to its last resting-place with much care that it should conspicuously pass the house of the Justice at whose hands he had been incarcerated, bearing an inscription[2] openly accusing the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the said Justice, of his murder — they were obscurely buried, and the tides of life ebbed and flowed on, without so much as any momentary ripple that could rightly be said to be due to their fate. Still their names deserve, and should receive, faithful mention, and grateful remembrance.[3]

We know scarcely more, indeed, of three of the six who faced and vanquished death before the public eye, than of their

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[2] The inscription was this: "This is ye Corps of Roger Rippon a servant of Christ, and her maits faithfull subiect, who is the last of 16 or 17 wh. yt great ennemye of god the Archb. of Canterbury, wth. the high Commisshuners have murderd in Newgat wthin theiss 5 yeares for the testimony of Jesus Chryst. His soule is now wth. the Ld. and his bloud cryeth for spedy vengeance agaynst yt great ennemy of ye saintes and agaynst Mr Richd Younge who in this & many the like poyntes hath abused his power for ye upholding of ye Romyshe Antechrist, prelacy & priesthoode." [*Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxiii: 27.] Labelled on the back, "Feb. 1592, Roger Rippon dyed in Newgat."

[3] The following list seems approximately accurate. It is made up mainly from the Preface to the *True Confession*, etc., *of those falsely called Brownists*, etc., 1596, and numbers twenty-five persons — twenty males and five females, as follows:

Robert Aweburne, died in Newgate.
John Barnes, discharged from Newgate sick unto death, dying shortly after.
Scipio Bellot, died in Newgate.
Robert Bowle, died in Newgate.
John Chandler, discharged from the Counter Poultry, sick unto death.
Nicolas Crane, died in Newgate.
"*Father*" *Debnham*, died in the White Lyon.
Mr. Denford, died in the Gate-house.
Thomas Drewet, died in Newgate.
Geo. Dwightree [*Bryty?*], died in the Counter, Wood Street.
Margaret Farrar, discharged from Newgate sick unto death, dying in a day or two.
Thomas Hewet, died in the Counter, Wood Street.
William Howton, died in Newgate.
Richard Jackson, died in Newgate.
Walter Lane, died in the Fleet.
Widow Maynard, died in Newgate.
Judith Myller, died in Newgate.
John Purdy, died in Bridewell.
Roger Rippon, died in Newgate.
Widow Rowe, died in Newgate.
Thomas Stevens, died in Newgate.
Jerome Studley, died "in prison."
John Swaltee, died in Newgate.
Anna Tailour, died in Newgate.
Henry Thomson, died in the Clink.
[*True Confession*, v.]

obscurer brethren who were extinguished in prison; and the works which "do follow them" are not of those which line the shelves of libraries.

It is a little remarkable that we must come over the sea from the marshes and moors of Norfolk to the pine woods of Plymouth, and the patient and conscientious pen of the second Governor of the Old Colony, to gain the single, yet sufficient, sentence by which, so far as I have observed, in all history in the English tongue, William Dennis is commended to our grateful remembrance. Bradford says, in the paragraph following that which I have already quoted: "For Mr. Dennis, he was a godly man, and faithful in his place."[4] Beyond this, and that he was of Thetford, and was publicly executed as a Separatist,[5] we have no particulars.[6]

At some time in 1576, John Coppin [Copyn, or Copping] apparently a layman of Bury Saint Edmunds, (although Brook calls him a minister in the diocese of Norwich[7]), was committed at Bury, by the commissary of his Bishop, for disobedience to the Ecclesiastical laws.[8] Two years of confinement — not, there is some evidence, of the most rigorous character[9] — wrought in him no change of conviction or of purpose, although he "had been sundrye tymes exhorted therto by many godly and learned preachers, repairinge publicly to hym to brynge hym to conformitie."[10] In August, 1578, his wife being delivered of a child at Bury, he refused to have it baptized by "an unpreaching minister." Even then, it should seem, the dearth of a properly cultured clergy was so great in England, that a town of the considerable size and importance of this, had to be put in charge of "a dumme dogge," who only knew enough to be able to read the lessons of the prayer-book, and now and then a printed homily, but could not "make a sermon." He also declined to have god-fathers and god-mothers. The child

4 Young, *Chronicles*, etc., 427.

5 Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, etc., i: 58.

6 Bradford says: "What occasion was taken against him, we know not, more than the common cause." [ut supra.] Even the omnivorous Strype does not mention him, nor could I find his name in the Calendars of State, the Harleian or Lansdowne MSS., or the histories of Thetford and Norfolk.

7 *Lives of the Puritans*, etc., i: 262.

8 Articles of Bishop of Norwich against the Iustices. B. M. *Egerton Papers*, 1693: 89.

9 His wife was clearly allowed to be more or less with him, and it looks a little as if he may have been, now and then, out for a day or two by favor.

10 Burghley Papers, *Lansdowne MSS.*, xxvii: 28.

remained therefore four months without the ordinance. On the 1st December, Copping was had before Justice Andrews, and depositions were taken which were sent to London, to the effect that he had rebuked a fellow-prisoner as an idolater for using the Book of Common Prayer on All Saints day, and had declared that the Queen's Majesty "is puregid to God, & so she will confesse,"[11] referring, no doubt, to her asserted headship of the Church. His imprisonment appears to have continued five years longer, early in which he was joined in confinement by another man of like mind, who is sometimes called simply Elias, sometimes Elias Ffawker,[12] but whose name seems to have been Elias Thacker. So zealous did the two together prove in laboring with their fellow prisoners in behalf of what they conceived to be the truth, that Sir Robert Jermyn, and others of the magistrates, finding them incorrigible, besought both the Bishop and the Judges of Assize that they might, at the least, be removed elsewhere, "for fear of infecting others" should they longer remain.[13] It suited the purpose of government better, however, to keep them there "for stales to catch and endanger men with."[14] Bury was well infected with the growing dissent. In 1582 there appeared in the church there, on either side of the Queen's Arms, placards containing the minatory words addressed in the Apocalypse to the Church of Ephesus.[15]

The news was soon carried to Court, and the offence was traced to one Thomas Gybson, a book-binder of Bury, who, it was charged, had had to do with some book, or books, of Robert Browne, who had been preaching in the neighborhood.[16] It was moreover alleged, and I find no attempt at denial, that both Copping and Thacker had been "great dispersers" of these same books of Browne; though how this could have been managed by them while in prison, does not clearly appear.[17] Alto-

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[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid*, and *True Confession*, etc., *of falsely called Brownists*, etc. (1596), v.

[13] Strype, *Annals*, etc., iii(2): 172.

[14] *Ibid*, 173. "Stale:" a decoy. *Halliwell & Wright*, sub voce.

[15] "I know thy works," etc. Burghley Papers, *Lansdowne MSS.*, xxxvi: 65.

[16] Strype [*Annals*, etc., iii(1): 177] says he had printed them; but as his trade was that of a binder and not a printer, it seems more likely that they had been sent over from Middelberg in sheets, and that he had bound them, merely.

[17] *Lansdowne MSS.*, xxxviii: 64; Strype, *Annals*, iii(1): 269; *Stowe*, 1174.

gether matters soon reached such a pitch that the authorities came to the judgment that a blow, which might be felt, ought to be struck, at once, at Bury Saint Edmunds. We may possibly infer that the popular sympathy with these accused men ran high in that neighborhood, from the fact that Chief Justice Wray wrote Lord Burghley, that one minister was convicted of having said that "Yf Elias Ffawker had bene executed at y^e^ former assizes, ther would have bene fyve hundrethe good fellowes more then was at his execucon."[18]

Accordingly, at the assizes there held in the summer of 1583, Sir Christopher Wray the Lord Chief Justice of England presiding, Gybson, Thacker and Copping were put on trial for heresy, and for "dispersinge of Brownes bookes, and Harrisons bookes." Gybson showed the white feather, and though convicted was reprieved. The Chief Justice wrote the Lord Treasurer on the 6th July, that the other two "acknowledged her Majesty chieffe ruler civilie, for so ys ther terms, and no further," but, although Dr. Still and others labored much to bring them round, persisted to the end, and "comended all thinges in the saide books [of Browne and Harrison] to be good and godlye."[19] Speed was made, in order that the salutary impression of severity with them might not be impaired by allowing time for popular sympathy to develop on their behalf, or nulled by any overruling from the higher powers; and so Thacker was hanged immediately upon condemnation, and while the court was still sitting — without time for petition to the Lords of Council, or to the Queen — upon Thursday, 4th June, and Coppin upon the succeeding day; the moral effect being heightened, as the Chief Justice wrote, by the fact that "ther were burnte to the number of fortie bookes [of Browne and Harrison], some part at the execucon of Elias and the rest at Coppings."[20] Governor Bradford, in that *Dialogue* which I have already cited, after reference to the cruelty with which these men were treated, adds — I suppose on the authority of some old tradition picked up in his youth: "God gave them courage to bear it, and to make this answer: 'My Lord, your face we fear not, and for your threats we care not, and to come to your read service, we dare not.'"[21]

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[18] *Lansdowne MSS.*, xxxviii: 64.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Young*, etc., 427.

A few months before this time,[22] John Greenwood, who had been matriculated as a sizar of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, 18 March, 1577–8, had proceeded to his Bachelor's degree in 1580–1, and had been ordained deacon by the Bishop of London, and priest by the Bishop of Lincoln;[23] appears, pursuing a course not at that time peculiar to himself,[24] to have taken refuge for his growing sensitiveness of conscience under his Episcopal orders, by accepting a domestic chaplaincy to Lord Robert Rich of Rockford, Essex, who was one of the leaders of the Puritan party, and who had service in his house, and catechizing of his servants not according to the forms of the Book of Common Prayer.[25] Making it a matter of study and conscience, Greenwood ultimately separated himself altogether from the Establishment, and some time in the early autumn of 1586[26] was arrested at the house of one Henry Martin at St. Andrews in the Wardrobe in London, in the process of holding a private conventicle, and lodged in the Clink prison.

There had preceded Greenwood at Cambridge by a little more than ten years, a man of marked ability, and for a long period of a totally different character, but whose history was subsequently to be identified with his own: Henry Barrowe, third son of Thomas Barrowe, Esq., of Shipdam, Norfolk, by his wife Mary, daughter and one of the co-heiresses of Henry Bures, Esq., of Acton in Suffolk.[27] Matriculated as a fellow-commoner of Clare Hall, 22 November, 1566, he had proceeded Bachelor of Arts in 1569–70,[28] and, turning his attention to the law, had become a member of Gray's Inn in 1576,[29] and frequented Her Majesty's Court.[30] Unless the testimony of Lord Bacon and others belies him, he led in those days a wild and ungodly life.[31]

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22 Strype, *Annals*, etc., iii(1): 179.

23 *Ath. Cant.*, ii: 153.

24 Bancroft, *Survay*, etc., 98.

25 Strype, *Life of Aylmer*, 54.

26 I give this on the statement of Dr. Waddington [*Congl. History*, 1567–1700, 29; *Congl. Martyrs*, 67], but I have been unable to discover his authority in the State Papers. The arrest which he seems to cite in *State Papers Dom.* [cciv: 10] was 8 Oct., 1587; nearly a year later.

27 See the family genealogy in the *Visitation of Norfolke*, begun 26 July, 1563, in *Harleian MSS.*, 5189: 31. The children were (1) Thomas, (2) William, (3) *Henry*, (4) Edward, (5) John, (6) Ann, (7) Bridget, (8) Elizabeth, (9) Mary.

28 *Ath. Cant.*, ii: 151.

29 *Gray's Inn Papers*, *Harleian MSS.*, 1912: 10.

30 *H. B.* For my good behaviour, I suppose I could get her [the queen's] word.

Abp. Doth she know you, then?

H. B. I know her.

Examinations of Barrowe, etc., 6.

31 *Bacon's Works* (Montagu's ed.), v: 411.

But walking in London one Lord's day with one of his boon companions, he heard a preacher at his sermon very loud as they were passing his church, upon which he proposed to his companion that they go in, and see what it was all about. "Tush!" said the other, "what, shall we go to hear a man talk!" In, however, they went, and God so blessed what they heard to the fast young barrister that it wrought in him reformation of life,[32] and, to use Lord Bacon's way of putting it, "He made a leap from a vain and libertine youth to a preciseness in the highest degree, the strangeness of which alteration made him very much spoken of."[33] Turning, of choice, to theological subjects, he seems to have been attracted to Greenwood, and to have had his attention by him directed to the great subject of church reform, and, with him, to have reached the conclusion that such reform was only hopeful, if indeed it were possible, through the radical reorganization of church affairs. How much these two men owed to Robert Browne, in reaching upon one vital point the same conclusion, must be reserved for the decisions of that day which shall assign to every man that which is his own. We only know that now for nearly or quite four years Browne's books had been circulated in England, while we cannot help inferring that minds especially directed to such studies could hardly have failed to examine them.

Hearing of the arrest of Greenwood, on Sunday, 19 November, 1586, between nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon, Barrowe went to see him at the Clink. There, without any other pretence of legal warrant than a general wish which had been expressed by the Primate to have him apprehended whenever and wherever he might be found, he too was arrested by Mr. Shepherd, keeper of the prison, put into a boat and carried the same afternoon to Lambeth, where he was arraigned before the Archbishop, the Archdeacon, and Doctor Cosins. He protested stoutly[34] — he was professionally at home as to that — against the illegality of his arrest without a warrant, and they tried in vain to make him criminate himself under oath, or come under bonds to frequent the parish churches for the future — which was

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32 Bradford, in Young, *Chronicles*, etc., 434.

33 Bacon, *Works* (as above).

34 *The Examinations of Henry Barrowe, John Grenewood and John Penrie, before the high commissioners, and Lordes of the Counsel, Penned by the Prisoners themselves before their deaths.* [1593.] Black Letter, 4to, [n. p.] pp. 32, p. 3.

their interpretation of "good behaviour;" so he was remanded to the Gatehouse.

Eight days after (27 November), he was again taken to Lambeth, before "a goodlie synode of Bishops, Deanes, Civilians, etc., beside such an appearance of wel-fedde Preistes, as might wel haue beseemed the Vaticane,"[35] when a long sheet of accusations of opinions judged erroneous, was presented against him. He frankly acknowledged: "Much of the matter of this bil is true, but the forme is false;" yet refused himself to take any oath, demanding that witnesses against him should rather be sworn. Whereupon Whitgift, losing his temper, burst out: "Where is his keeper: You shal not prattle here. Away with him: Clap him up close, close: Let no man come at him: I wil make him tel an other tale, yer I have done with him."[36]

Four months later (24 March, 1587), he was again summoned, apparently from the Fleet prison, in which he seems to have been lodged with Greenwood for the rest of his earthly life, and once more examined before Commissioners specially appointed, viz.: the two Lord Chief Justices, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Baron, and another Baron of the Exchequer, being joined with Whitgift and several of the Bishops, to that end. They began once more to insist upon his taking an oath of self-crimination upon the Bible, but, on his refusal on the ground that he would neither swear by any creature of God's but only by God himself, nor swear to anything until he first knew what it was — yet pledging himself by God's grace to answer nothing but the truth — the Archbishop proceeded without the oath. He was then asked whether the *Pater Noster* may rightly be used as a prayer; whether prescript forms of prayer are lawful; whether the Common Prayers be idolatrous, superstitious and Popish; whether the sacraments of the Church of England be true sacraments, or no; whether the laws and government of the Church of England be unlawful and anti-Christian; whether her baptism should be repeated; whether she be the true Church of God, and the people therein God's true people; whether the Queen be supreme governor of the Church, and may make laws for it not contrary to the law of God; whether it be lawful for

35 *Ibid*, 7. | 36 *Ibid*, 8.

her to alter the judicial law of Moses to suit her own country and policy; whether any private person may take it upon him to reform, if the Queen will not, or delay; and whether every parish, or parish church, ought to have a presbytery? To these he made rapid, clear, firm, and, on the whole, discreet answer. He acknowledged the Lord's Prayer as a model, yet saw not how it could be used as a prayer, "seeing that our particuler wantes, and present occasions and necessities, are not therin expressed." He held it "high presumtion to impose any one devised Apocrypha praier upon the church." He thought the "Book of common prayer publickly inioyned and receiued in y^e^ assemblies of y^s^ lande is wel nigh altogither idolatrous, superstitious and popish." He doubted the sacraments as administered in their assemblies, to be true ordinances. He would not rashly condemn all the laws, decrees and canons of the Church of England, because he knew them not all, but was sure "many of them, as also their Ecclesiastical courtes and gouernoures, are unlawful and anti Christian." He scrupled the thorough rightness of the baptism of the Established Church, yet was persuaded that those who had received it "need not, neither ought, to be baptised againe." He counted not the parish assemblies the true Established churches of Christ, nor the people as they now stand in disorder and confusion in them the true and faithful people of Christ; yet he felt assurance that the Lord had many "pretious and elect vessels among them, whom He wil in His good time cal forth, whom it became not him absolutely to iudge, least he should enter into Gods seat." As to the Queen he said — and we had better look at his own words, in full, as reported by himself, for he was eventually hanged on pretence of sedition: — "I thinke the Queenes maiestie supreme gouernour of the whole land, and ouer the church also, bodies and goods: but I thinke that no Prince, neither the whole world, neither the church, it self, may make any lawes for the church other then Christ hath already left in his worde. Yet I thinke it the dutie of euery Christian, and principally of the Prince, to enquire out and renue the lawes of God, and stir vp al their subiectes to more diligent and careful keepinge of the same."

It will give us a more vivid conception of these scenes if I quote a few lines more. He goes on to say:

"As we had much adoe to come to the state of this question [he had explained this before] so the Bbs. shewed themselves euil satisfied with my answer, and said that the Papistes dealt more simply then I did: and surely they very greevouslie interrupted me with slanders and evil speeches and blasphemies, during the time of my writing these answers especially the B. of Lond. [Aylmer], so that I was euen inforced sometime to turne vnto him and shew him of his shamelesse vntruthes and slanders. The cheif justice of Engl. here saide that he thought I answered very directly and compendiously."

As to the Mosaic law, he thought all that was ceremonial and Jewish alterable, but that "the iudgmentes due and set downe by God for the transgression of the moral law, cannot be changed or altered, without iniurie to the moral law and to God himselfe;" yet protested that: "If any man can better instruct me therin by the word of God, I am alwayes ready to change my minde." As to the duty of a private man in the matter of any reform neglected by a prince, he said: "I thinke that no man may intermedle with the Princes office, without lawful calling therunto: and therfore it is vtterly vnlawful for any priuate man to reforme the State, without his good liking and license, because the Prince shal account for the defaultes of his publick gouerment, and not priuate men, so they be not guiltie with the Prince in his offences, but abstaine and keep them selues pure from doing or consenting to any vnlawful thing commaunded by the Prince which they must doe as they tender their owne salvation." And, finally, he judged that "ouer euery particular congregation of Christ ther ought to be an eldership, and every such congregation ought to their vttermost power to endeuour thervnto."

He was then sent out while others were examined, and afterward recalled, when Whitgift read to him the oath of supremacy, and demanded whether he would take the same. Barrowe replied that, in that form, he never could take it, but acknowledged the authority of the Queen, adding his readiness "to give and performe as much unto his prince as any true subiect ought to doe." The primate again asked him whether he believed the church, should the Prince deny, or delay, to correct abuses, might itself proceed to reform them; to which he says he answered: "I said, that it might and ought, though al the Princes of the world should prohibit the same vpon paine of death." He was then questioned as to whether the church might go so far as to excommunicate the Prince, and if so, who

should pronounce the sentence of excommunication? To which he responded:

"That sin obstinately stood in, did excommunicate, and that the church ought to have iudgmente ready against euery transgression without respect of persons, and that the Pastor of the church ought to pronounce it, and alleaged that excommunication was giuen vnto the church as the onely and last remedie for the saluation of the partie in such cases, and that the neglect thereof was both the neglect of Gods iudgementes, their dutie, and the Princes salvation: and that they might as wel take away al admonitions and reprehensions from Princes, and so Princes were in a most miserable case."[37]

Barrowe has left us from his own pen a graphic account of still another examination which he suffered — this time at Whitehall[38] — before Whitgift and Aylmer, assisted by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer Burghley, and Lord Buckhurst. On this occasion he was required to kneel down at the end of the table.[39] Let us hear a little, in the quaint and honest style of the original record.

"The L. Treasurer began and asked me my name: which when I had told him, he asked me if I had not bene sometime of the court: I answered, that I had sometime frequented the court: he said he remembred me not.[40]

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37 *Ibid*, 9–13.

38 In the Black Letter first printed edition (of 1593, as I suppose, although the *Harleian Miscellany* reprint sets down its date as 1586, without noticing the incongruity of comprehending within a volume of that date papers dated 1593), this examination is set down as occurring on "the 18. day of the 3. moneth," which, as is seen by Barrowe's practice elsewhere of beginning the year with January, would be "18 March." But there is a copy of this examination in a handwriting of the period (though it does not resemble Barrowe's hand, and can hardly be his original draught) in the *Harleian MSS.* [6848: 13], which puts the date "*Julij 18.*" Possibly Barrowe wrote "7," and his distant and unwatched Dort printer bungled it into a "3."

39 Such a posture would be very remarkable now, and looking back to those days with our notions, it seems a strange and preposterous procedure. But probably that would be too harsh a judgment, inasmuch as at that period signs of outward respect were carried to what we should deem a ridiculous excess. Just ten years later than the date of this examination, the German Paul Hentzner visited England, and wrote a minute description of what he saw. Among other things, being at the royal palace at Greenwich, he saw the Queen and her court, and he declares that wherever she turned her face as she was going along, every body fell on their knees before her; that no one spoke to her except from a kneeling posture, and that even the servants who laid her table (in the empty room where she was not), kneeled three times before spreading the table-cloth, and again as they retired, and kneeled perpetually as they laid the table. His words are: "In transitu, quocunque faciem vertit, omnes in genua procidunt; . . . . omnes illam alloquentes, pedibus flexis id faciunt; . . . . qui ambo cum ter summa cum veneratione genua flexissent, alter ad mensam propius accedens, eam mappa insternabat; quo facto, rursus poplite flexo discedebant; . . . . veniebant posthos alii duo, etc., qui cum uti priores, ter genua incurvassent, etc., etc." [*Hentzneri Itinerarium* (Walpole's ed. 1757), 50–52.] Probably, then, the posture assumed by Barrowe on this occasion was one frequently, if not habitually, at that time judged fit for the just decorum of a high tribunal.

40 This is by no means the only touch of severe candor in these memoranda.

L. Treas. Why are yow in prison, Barrowe?

B. I am in prison, my Lo. vpon the Statute made for recusantes.

L. Treas. Why wil you not goe to church?

B. My whole desire is to come to the church of God.

L. Tre. Thou art a fantastical fellow, I see, but why not to our churches?

B. My Lo. the causes are great and many, it were too long to shew them in particular: but breifly my Lo. I can not come to your church, because al the profane and wicked of the lande are received into the body of your church: (2) You have a false and Antichristian ministery set ouer your church: (3) Neither worship you God aright, but after an idolatrous and superstitious maner: (4) And your church is not gouerned by Christes Testament, but by the Romish courtes and canons, etc.

L. Tr. Here is matter ynough indeed: I perceive thow takest delight to be an author of this new religion.

The *L. Chanc.* said he never heard such stuffe before in all his life.

B. As I was about to shew that neither I was an author of this religion, and that it was not new as they supposed: the *B. of Lo.* interrupted me, and asked me wherin their worship was idolatrous? The *L. Treas.* also demaunded the same question.

B. Ther is nothing els in that book of your common prayer: being demaunded some particulars, I shewed that their saintes daies, eues, fastes, idol feastes, etc.

Lond. Stay there: why is it not lawful to keep a memorial of the Saintes in the church?

B. Not after your manner: it is idolatrie.

Lond. How proue you that?

B. By the 1. commaundement.

Lond. Why, that is, thow shalt haue no other Gods, but me. What of that?

B. ' The word is, Thow shalt haue no other Gods before my face. We are therfore forbidden to giue any part of Gods worship to any creature.

Lond. Why, neither doe we.

B. Yes: yow celebrate a day, and sanctifie an eaue, and cal them by their names, yow make a feast, and deuise a worship vnto them.

L. Tr. Why, may we not cal the day after their names? Is not that in our libertie?

B. No, my Lord.

L. Tr. How proue yow that?

B. In the beginning of the booke it is written that God himselfe named al the dayes, the first, the second, etc.

L. Tr. Why then we may not cal them Sunday, Monday, etc.

B. We are otherwise taught to cal them in the booke of God.

L. Tr. Why thow thy selfe callest it the Lordes day.

B. And so the holy Ghost calleth it in the 1. of the Revelation.

Lond. We haue nothing in our Saintes dayes, but that which is taken forth of the Scriptures.

B. In that yow say true, for yow finde no Saintes dayes in the Scriptures.

Lond. We finde their Histories and deedes in the Scripture.

B. But not their dayes and festiuals in the Scripture.

The *Lo. Buckh.* then said I was a proud spirit.

The *L. Treas.* said I had a hotte braine: and taking into his hande a book of common prayer, which lay on the boord, read certaine of the collectes for the Saintes, and shewed that the Epistles and Gospels were part of the Scripture: and asked me what I could mislike therin?

B. I mislike al, for we ought not so to vse Scriptures or prayers.

Lond. May we not make commemoration of the saintes liues in the church?

B. Not after your manner, to giue peculier dayes, eues, fastes, worship, feastes unto them.

L. Tr. But what is there idolatrous?

B. Al, for we ought not so to vse the Scriptures.

Lond. What, not in commemoration of the Saintes?

B. As I have said, not after your manner.

L. Tr. But what is euil here?

B. All, my Lo. for by abusing the Scripture we may make it an idol. The circumstances make euil thinges of themselues good, as in the masse book from whence this stuffe is fetched, there are sundry good collectes and places of Scripture, which their superstitious abuse make abhominable and euil. Likewise coniurers make many good prayers which the circumstances also make euil.

Here the *Lo. Buckh.* said I was out of my wittes.

B. No, my Lo. I speak the wordes of sobernes and truth, as I could make plaine if I might be suffered.

L. Tr. Here we pray, that our liues may be such as theirs was, void of couetousnes.

B. So ought we to doe, and not to reade or haue any parte of the Scripture withoute fruite, and to follow and flee that which we finde praised and discommended in them: yet ought we not to vse the Scriptures in this manner to dayes and times, neither to be thus restrained or stinted in our prayers, as to be tied to this forme of wordes, place, time, manner, kneele, stand, etc.

L. Buckh. This fellow delighteth to heare himselfe speake.

(The *L. Chanc.* also spake some what at that time, which I cannot cal to remembrance as yet.)

Then the *Arch B.* also spake many thinges against me, of smal effect, which I haue also forgotten, onely this I remember he said, I was a strower of errors, and that therfore he committed me.

B. In deed yow committed me halfe a yeare close prisoner in the Gatehouse, and I neuer vntil now understood the cause why, neither as yet know I what errors they be: shew them, therefore, I pray yow.

The *Lo. Buckh.* againe said I was a presumtous spirit.

B. My Lo. al spirits must be tried and iudged by the word of God: but if I erre, my Lo. it is meete I should be shewed wherin.

L. Chanc. Ther must be streighter lawes made for such fellowes.

B. Would to God ther were, my Lo. our iourny should be the shorter.

L. Tr. You complained to vs of iniustice, wherin haue you wrong?

B. My Lo. in that we are thus imprisoned without due trial.

L. Tr. Why, yow said yow were condemned vpon the statute.

B. Uniustly, my Lo. that statute was not made for vs.

L. Tr. Ther must be streighter lawes made for yow.

B. O my Lo. speak more comfortablie, we haue sorrowes ynough.

L. Tr. In deed thow lookest as if thow hadst a troubled conscience.

B. No, I praise God for it: but it is a woeful thing that our Princes sworde should thus be drawen against her faithful subiectes.

The *L. Tr.* answered that the Queenes sword was not as yet drawen against vs.[41]

Some talk followed as to private conferences had with Dr. Some, and others, when Barrowe went on:

Then I beseeched the Lls. to graunt a publicke conference, that it might appeare to al men, what we held, and where we erred. The ArchB. in great choller said we should haue no publicke conference: we had published to much al ready, and therfore he now committed vs close prisoners.

B. But contrary to law.

The *L. Tr.* said it might be vpon such occasions done by law: and asked whither I had any learninge?

Cant. and *Lond.* with one consent answered togither that I had no learning.

B. The Lord knoweth I am ignorant. I haue no learning to boast of: but this I know, that yow are voide of al true learning and godlines

L. Buckh. See the Spirit of this man.

Then requested I conference againe, and that in writinge: which was againe by *Cant.* very peremtorilie denyed. He said that he had matter to cal me before him for an hereticke.

B. That shal yow never doe: yow know my former answer to that matter: wel erre I may, but hereticke, by the grace of God, wil I neuer be.

L. Buckh. That is wel said.[42]

The examination then took a turn in the direction of tithes, which Barrowe denounced as unlawful, insisting that ministers ought to live upon the free gifts of those who heard them. To this the Lord Treasurer queried: "But how if the people wil not giue?" to which the ready answer was: "Such are not the people of God."

Lond. then asked: What makest thow a priest?

B. Him that doth offer sacrifices, for so it is written euery where in the law.

As we were thus reasoning, the *L. Chanc.* asked me, if I knew not those two men (pointing to *Cant.* and *Lond.*)

B. Yes, my Lo. I haue cause to know them.

L. Chanc. But what, is not this the Bp. of London?

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[41] *Examinations*, etc., 13–16.

[42] *Ibid*, 16.

B. I know him for no Bishop, my Lo.

L. Ch. What is he then?

B. His name is Elmar, my Lo. (The Lord pardon my fault, that I laid him not open for a wolfe, a bloody persecutor, and Apostata. But by this time, the Wardens man plucked me up.)

L. Chanc. What is that man? (pointing to *Cant.*)

B. The Lord gaue me the spirit of boldnes, so that I answered: He is a monster, a miserable compound, I know not what to make him: he is neither Ecclesiastical nor ciuil, euen that second Beast spoken of in the Reuelation.

L. Treas. Wher is that place, shew it.

B. So I turned to the 13. Chap. and began at the 11. verse, and read a litle, Then I turned to 2 Thes. 2. But the Beast arose for anger, gnashing his teeth, and said, wil yow suffer him my Lords? So I was pluckt vp by the Wardens man from my knees, and caried away. As I was de parting, I desired the *L. Treas.* that I might haue the libertie of the aire, but had no answer: and I prayed the Lord to blesse their honours. So I was led forth by an other way then I came in, that I might not see the brethren nor they me.[43]

Greenwood underwent much the same sort of examination at the palace of the Bishop of London, before much the same tribunal. Among other questions put to him, were these:[44]

Q. Doe yow hold it lawful to baptise children?

A. Yea, I am no Anabaptist, I thanke God.

Q. How far differ yow?

A. So far as truth from errors.

Q. Yow haue a boy vnbaptised, how old is he?

A. A yeare and a halfe.

Q. What is his name?

A. Abel.

Q. Who gaue him that name?

A. Myself, being father.

Q. Why hath he not bene baptised?

A. Because that I haue bene in prison, and cannot tel where to goe to a reformed church, wher I might haue him baptised according to Gods ordinance.

Q. Wil yow goe to church to St. Brides?

A. I know no such church.

Q. Wil yow goe to Pauls?

A. No.

Q. Doe yow not hold a parish the church?

A. If al the people were faithful, hauing Gods law and ordinances practised amongst them, I doe.

Q. Then yow hold that the parish, doe not make it a church?

A. No, but the profession which the people make.

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43 *Ibid*, 17–18.

44 *Ibid*, 20–21.

Q. Doe yow holde that the church ought to be gouerned by a Presbyterie?

A. Yea, euery congregation of Christ ought to be gouerned by that Presbyterie which Christ hath appointed.

Q. What are those officers?

A. Pastor, Teacher, Elder, etc.

Q. And by no other?

A. No, by no other then Christ hath appointed.

Q. May this people and presbyterie reforme such thinges as be amisse, without the Prince?

A. They ought to practise Gods lawes, and correct vice by the censure of the word.

Q. What if the Prince forbid them?

A. They must doe that which God commaundeth neuerthelesse.

Q. If the Prince doe offende, whither may the presbyterie excommunicate the Prince or no?

A. The whole church may excommunicate any member of that congregation, if the partie continue obstinate in open transgression.

Q. Whither may the Prince be excommunicate?

A. Ther is no exception of person: and I doubt not but her maiestie would be ruled by the word, for it is not the men, but the word of God which bindeth and looseth sinne.

Q. Whither may the Prince make lawes in the gouernment of the church, or no?

A. The Scripture hath set downe sufficient lawes for the worship of God, and government of the church, to which no man may adde or diminish.

Q. What say yow to the Princes supremacie; is her maiestie supreme head of the church: ouer al causes, as wel ecclesiastical as temporal?

A. A supreme magistrate ouer all persons to punish the euil and defend the good.

Q. Over al causes, etc?

A. No: Christ is onely head of his church, and his lawes may no man alter. . . . .

Q. What say yow to the oath of the Queenes supremacie, wil yow answer to it?

A. If these ecclesiastical orders be meant, such as be agreable vnto the Scriptures, I wil, for I deny al foreigne power.

Q. It is meant, the order and government with al the lawes in the church as it is now established.

A. Then I wil not answer to approue therof.

Apparently about this time, Barrowe and Greenwood sent a careful paper to Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Travers, and two others, Puritans, to whose arguments they had been indebted, but who, in their judgment, had failed to carry out their own fundamental principles to any practical issue.

Your minds, I think, must already have been drifting toward

the suspicion that Barrowe and Greenwood were laboring to found a Congregationalism that should stand midway between Brownism and Puritanism, and differ as decidedly from the sim ple democracy of the short, and it is to be confessed not brilliant, experiment at Norwich and Middelberg, on the one hand, as from the pure aristocracy of John Calvin at Geneva, on the other. They quite agreed with Robert Browne in feeling that there was not the slightest ground of any reasonable expectation of effectual reformation, and the establishment of real purity of spiritual life, from parish churches connected with the State; and so they were clear that the New Testament idea of a church is that of a local body of believers affiliated, to the end that they may come out from all wickedness, and endeavor all holiness. As decidedly — most likely repelled in part by the sight of the sad chaos in which the first new light of popular rule applied to church government had extinguished itself, and in part by the distaste in which the very thought of democratic control in the State was then held — they put together Browne's idea of a separate organization and Cartwright's Calvinistic notion of the eldership; thus resorting to the expedient of running a Congregational church by means of a Presbyterian session. This, they fancied, would adjust all difficulties. The pastor, teacher, and elders, would manage all things well, and the company of covenanted saints would heartily endorse their action, and be grateful to them for kindly taking the entire trouble and responsibility; and — the glory of the Lord would appear in the earth. Their dingy old den in Farringdon Street, doubtless, sometimes lighted itself up in the eyes of these two good men as gorgeously as if festooned with rainbows, while they were thinking, and talking, and praying, and dreaming all this over, together! Naturally they were anxious to convince Cartwright and the other prominent Presbyterian Puritans that the way for which the world waited could be seen on application to them — in the Fleet prison.

Their paper, which is both able and adroit, begins by defining the true Church as:

"A companie of Faithfull people: separated from the vnbeleuers and heathen of the land: gathered in the name of CHRIST, whome they truelie worship, and redily obey as thier only King Priest and Prophet: ioyned together as mem-

bers of one bodie: ordered and gouerned by such officers and lawes as CHRIST in his last will and Testament hath therevnto ordeyned," etc.

They then go on to give, of the "infinite" reasons that might be adduced, eleven to establish the point that "who so shall measure thies parish assemblies as they generally stand in England, by this rule: shall euidently finde them in euerie point so transgressing and defectiue: as he that hath eyes to see, or but a will to search cannot be deceaued or mistake these parish Churches for the true churches of Christ."[45]

I must think that they established their position triumphantly. What Cartwright and the others thought, we shall probably never know, except by inference from the fact that they appear to have treated them, and their reasons, with silent contempt.

Early in 1589, apparently with the intention, if possible, of bringing matters to some final issue, so that "these Sectories vvhiche do forsake owr Church, and be for the same commytted prysoners," if they might not be reduced to conformity and obedience, "shalbe proceeded vvith all according to the course of the common lawe," the Bishop of London, on order of the Archbishop, with the advice of both Chief Justices, parcelled out fifty-two prisoners of this general quality who had accumulated on their hands — of whom there were in Newgate five, in the Fleet eight, the Gate house ten, the Clink ten, the Counter, Wood St., fourteen, and the Counter, Poultry, five — among forty-three clergymen in and around London, headed by Dr. Bancroft; instructing these gentlemen "tvvise euery vveeke (at the least)" to "repayre to those persons & prysoners," and "seeke by all learned & discrete demeanure you may to reduce them from their errors: And for that eyther their conformitye, or disobedyence, may be more manifest, vvhen they shall com vnto theire trial; Therfore vve requyre you to set dovvne in vvryting the perticuler dayes, of your going to confer vvith them, & lykevvise your censure vvhat it is of them, as that if occasion doe serue to vse it, you vvilbe svvorne vnto."[46]

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[45] *A Collection of certaine Letters and Conferences: lately Passed Betwixt Certaine Preachers & Two Prisoners in the Fleet.* 1590, 4to, iv, 70. Pp. 67–70.

[46] *A Collection of Certaine sclaunderous Articles gyven out by the Bishops against such faithful Christians as they now uniustlie deteyne in their prisons, togeather with the aunsweare of the said Prisoners therunto,* etc. [Dort.] 4to, pp. 50 [p. 6].

As a guide in these conferences — shall I say also as a wise precaution that no astute prisoner prove too much for any innocent clerical member of this novel inquest — the following "Briefe of the positions holden by the newe secterie of recusants," was supplied to each Inquisitor:

"1. That it is not lawfull to vse the Lords prayer publiquely in the Church, for a set forme of prayer.

"2. Secondly, that all set & stinted prayers are meere babling in the sight of the Lord, not to be vsed in publique Christian assemblies.

"3. Thirdly, that the publique prayers & worship of God in England, as it is by lavve in the Church of England established, is false, superstitious, popish, and not to be vsed in anye Christian congregation.

"4. That the Church of England as it is now established is no entier member of the Church of Christ.

"5. That the gouernment of the Church of England, as it is now established, is no lawfull gouernment, nor christian, but antichristian & popish.

"6. That the Sacraments of Babtisme & the Lords supper, as they are administred in the Church of England, be not true Sacraments.

"7. That infants ought not to be baptised, according to the forme of baptisme ministred now in the Church of Englad, but are rather to be kept vnbaptized.

"8. Manie of them make scruple to affirme, that the Queenes Maiestie hath supreame aucthoritie to gouern the Church of England in cases ecclesiasticall, and to make lawes ecclesiasticall, not contrary to Christs lawes.

"9. That the lawes ecclesiasticall already established, by the auctoritie of the Queene & Realme, be not lawfull.

"10. That if the prince, or maiestrate vnder her, doe refuse or defer to reforme such faults as are aimsse in the Church, the people may take the reforminge of them into theire owne hands, before or without her auctoritie.

"11. That the presbiterie, or eldership, may for som causes after admonition, if there ensue not reformation, excommunicat the Queene.

"12. That the Church of England, as it novv standeth by lavve established, professeth not a true Christ, nor true religion, that it hath no ministers in deed, nor Sacraments in deed."[47]

The prisoners poorly relished this arrangement. They denounced some of this great committee as "new reconciled Reformists" — that is, renegades who would be hard on their old friends — and they insisted that the real purpose of the movement was "to fish farther cause of accusation vppon theis poincts; vvhose testimonie & verdict of suborned vvitnesses,

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47 *Ibid*, 7. See "for substance of doctrine" these twelve positions with slight verbal changes, set down as the opinion of "the second sorte of Puritans now called Barrowists," etc., in a document filed in *Harleian MSS.*, 6828: 23.

they think to frame to their bloudthirstie appetites; vve in the meane tyme not suffred, eyther to set downe owre ovvne positions, neyther before equall vvytnesses to ansvver or discouer their false allegations." In simple self-defence — as the only method open to them — they determined to appeal to their generation, and to posterity, through the press. This, indeed, could hardly be said to be a method "open" to them; since it would be a matter of life or death to print, or even to circulate, such documents in England. By the dim light of dirty and grated windows clandestinely inscribed upon contraband paper with surreptitious ink; passed out on the sly through the hands of friends occasionally allowed to visit them in their dungeons, and slipped over to the Low Countries by Robert Bull through the aid of Robert Stokes; printed at Dort by "one Hanse" under the supervision of Arthur Byllet; smuggled back into England by Stokes in his "clock-bag," and deposited with "one Mychens" for judicious distribution;[48] I look upon these simple homely, straight-forward, pathetic tracts — having thus their birth in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by their own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, — I look upon them with an admiration that deepens toward reverence.

Thus they gave us *A Brief Answeare to such Articles as the Bishopps haue giuen out in our name, vpon which Articles their Priests were sent and injoined to confer with vs in the seuerall prisons wherin we are by them Detayned.*[49]

They begin by objecting to be called "nevv sectories," when they hold simply and only the ancient doctrine of Christ and his Apostles.[50] As to the Lord's Prayer, they say that Christ never did, nor could, use it as his own, "for there is petition made for remission of synnes, he neuer trespassing;" but they grant it to be in spirit "the absolute, perfect, & only forme of all true prayers."[51] As to forms of prayer, they do not believe

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48 Depositions in the *Egerton Papers*, published by the *Camden Society* (1840), [171–175] — printed from MSS. preserved at Bridgewater House in possession of Lord F. Egerton.

49 *Collection of Cert. Sclaunderous Articles*, etc., 10–16.

50 *Ibid*, 10.

51 *Ibid*, 11.

it right "to set & stint the holy ghost, vvhat vvhen and hovv manie vvords to vtter in prayer; So that your annuall, monthly, dayly, morning and euening prayers, wherin you bynde mens consciences to the prescript repetition of your ovvne vvords as an offring to God, vve hold them by the euidence of Gods booke not only a babling, but apochriphall & Idolatrous, contrary to the second commaundmet, bringing the vvrath of God vppon the imposers & receauers: For by theis Idolls you take avvay the vvhole lyberty, fredome, & true vse of spirituall prayer; yea you stop the springs of the lyuing fountaine vvhich Christ hath sealed in his Church."[52] The public worship of England, as by law established, they denounce as "a bondle of infinite grosse & blasphemous errors," a "counterfeit gospell," unto which "Idoll and huge Chaos of long gathered & patched errors all your ministery is sworne, vvherby they renounce Christs Testament & must administer by this liturgye, babling ouer the seuerall parcells therof as thei are lymited, prescribed, & stinted from yeare to yeare, & day to day; By which liturgye or new gospell the priests of that order are approued sufficient without preaching or the gyft of teaching, and the repeating of that booke accompted sufficient for all mens salvation;" while if any man do preach, he must conform his doctrine to a book, "the errours in which conteyned would not be easely repeated in half a day."[53] As to the parish assemblies of the Church of England, "subiect vnto the aforesaide vvorship & ministery consisting of all sorts of vncleane spirits, Atheists, papists, hereticks, &c.," they do not hold them to be "the true apparant established Churches of Christ, or communion of saincts." Neither being "gathered from the vvorlde to the obedyence of Christ, neither hauing power or freedom to practise Christs Testament, as the truth is reuealed," they are "no entire member of the body of Christe."[54]

The government of England they conceive is not such as Christ appointed, but its officers, courts and canons were rather "hatched from Rome," which "were neuer heard of in the scriptures."[55]

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[52] *Ibid*, 12.
[53] *Ibid*, 12, 13.
[54] *Ibid*, 13.
[55] *Ibid.*

For lack of "lawfull ministery to administer," and of "a faithfull holye free people orderly gathered" by a "true outward profession of Christ," they lack the "Couenant of grace," and so "the Sacraments in these assemblies of Baptisme and the Lords supper, gyuen vnto Atheists, papists, vvhoremasters, drunkerds & theire seede, delyuered also after a superstitious maner according to theire liturgye, and not according to the institution & rules of Christs Testament, are no true Sacraments, nor seales vvith promise."[56]

They therefore hold that godly Christians ought not to carry their infants to the parish assemblies for baptism, but "in the true Church to seeke the Seale of the Couenant so sone as it may be had by the true ministerye in the Congregation according to Christs institution."

They acknowledge heartily the Queen's supremacy over all persons and "ouer all causes ecclesiasticall & ciuill," but carefully guard their language: "yet allwayes vvith this Caueat, that no flesh may presume to add anie thing to his word, or diminish anie thing from it:"[57] while they say: "for her Maiestie we praye both publiquely & pryuatly, day & night, at all tymes & places according to oure duties as becommeth vs, and godwilling wyll not cease so to do whilst oure lyues shall last."[58]

The Ecclesiastical laws, canons, etc., not being derived from the Scriptures, nor warranted thereby, they denounce as "the execrable wares of Antichrist, Statuts of Omry, and not to be receaued or obeyed of anie, that love the Lord Jesus Christ."[59]

As to reformation without tarrying for the Prince, they would not intermeddle with the magistrates' sword, but keep themselves:

"In all dutifull obedyence, to owre prince & superiours, for conscience towards God, and teach men both by vvord & example so to vvalke; But that all that vvylbe saued must forsake the false Church, & by repentance come vnder Christs obedience to serue & worship God aright in his true Church vve hold it so true a doctrine as that there is no other meanes or promise of saluation; Neither may vve eyther neglect the true seruice of god nor practise of anie part thereof, or haue fellowship vvith the works of darknes, though the prince should inhibit the one & commaund the other; no, herein vve shew no disobedience

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56 *Ibid*, 13, 14.
57 *Ibid*, 14.
58 *Ibid*, 11.
59 *Ibid*, 14.

to magistrats, vvhose displeasure vve must rather vndergoe then fall into the hands of the euerlyuing god vvho vvill abide no halting." "If," they explain still further, "the magistrate punish vs for vvel doing we are far from resistance, vvillingly vndergoing vnto death theire displeasure."[60]

As to the presbytery and the possible excommunication of the Queen, they explain:

"The true officers of Christ vsurp no tyrannicall iurisdiction ouer the leaste member, neither do anie publique thing vvithout the consent of the vvhole Congregation, much lesse may the presbiterie excommunicat anie person by their sole povver, seing Christ hath gyuen this povver to the vvhole Church, and not solye to the presbiterie. The Prince also if he vvilbe held a member of Christ or of the church, must be subiect to Christs censure in the Church. That Congregation then, whereof the prince is a member, may excommunicat the obstinat offenders therin, vvithout exception of person read of in the whole Booke of God; yea great iniurye to Christ his Church, and to the prince it were, to exempt them from the meanes of their owne saluation, for which end this power is only gyuen, & ought to be so exercised; Neither doth it derogate, diminish, or take away anie part of the magistrats power or aucthoritie, except you vvould haue no lawefull magistracye that is not of the Church, or that the spirituall power of Christ in his Church should disanull the magistracy, which were diuelish doctrine."[61]

And, finally, as to the Christ, the religion, the ministers and the sacraments of the Church of England, they hold that Christ is "in all places & the same for euer, hovv soeuer the false Church may challenge interest in the lyuing Child." But:

"That these parish assemblies denie him to reigne ouer them, yea to be anie true Christ vnto them, by theire deeds it is manifest; For doe they not put the reede of the Popes Canons in his hand, in steade of the Scepter of his ovvne holy vvord? Do they not make him a minister of an other Testamēt, by bynding him to this theire popishe Apochripha liturgye, and all theire other deuises made, or to be made? Do they not make him a priest, a sacrifice, to all the prophane & vngodly? To conclude, do they not hereby denye and abrogate all his offices in his Church, of kingdome, priesthoode, & prophecye, and his vvhole anointing in the flesh?"[62]

"Mr. Mollins, Mr. Androvves and Mr. Hutchinsō" had been assigned to the duty of conference with Barrowe and Greenwood, and, some twelve days after the order was given — on "the 9. day of the 3. Moneth" — Archdeacon Hutchinson waited upon the latter in the Fleet. He said he came "by vertue of

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[60] *Ibid*, 15.
[61] *Ibid*, 15, 16.
[62] *Ibid*, 16. See also *Harleian MSS.*, 6848: 13, 9.

Commission in her Ma^ts^ name, to confer," etc. Greenwood declined to have anything to say, until he could have pen and ink, and a fellow-prisoner as a witness of the conversation — on the ground that he had "bene vvickedly sclaūdered, & our cause falsly reported by Do. Some & others."[63]

These granted, the Archdeacon read the Bishop's articles, and referred also to the positions of a book lately written by Dr. Some. Greenwood made answer that the bishops were responsible for the articles, and not he; and as for Somes's book, "it was full of lyes & sclaunders," but "willed him, if he vvould confer, to set dovvne some position vnder his hand, which he would assent vnto, or els disproue." They accordingly proceeded thus to "confer," the main topic of this interview being whether a church made up of members who were "all by the blovving of her Maiesties trumpet at her coronation in one day receaued vvithout conuersion of life by faith & repentance, & they & theyr seede euer since generallie receaued to your sacraments vvithout anie separation from the vvorld," and so consisting of "all sorts of profane;" could be considered a true church of Christ, or not. Very little progress was made in the interview, and when the Archdeacon went away he insisted on carrying with him all the notes which had been taken of what had passed. With much ado he was at last prevailed upon to leave them in the hands of Mr. Calthop, the witness, but Greenwood says: "So soone as I vvas gon & lockt vp, M^r^ Wardens man vvas sent to the gentleman for them, vvhoe, denijng to deliuer them without our consents," the Archbishop's pursuivant came and took them by force; and Greenwood sat down, and rewrote them, as nearly as he could, from memory.[64]

Eight days after [17 March, 1589] the Archdeacon came to see Greenwood again, bringing a witness of his own, and having the door locked upon them, with no other person present except the two turnkeys of the jail, one of whom acted as scribe. On this occasion the time was mainly spent upon the question whether John the Baptist received to his baptism those Pharisees and Sadducees, whom in the third of Matthew he calleth "generations of vipers;" the Archdeacon insisting that he did,

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63 *Ibid*, 17.

64 *Ibid*, 18, 21.

because "the text saith 'they came to his baptisme;'" and Greenwood replying that "'*ad baptismum*' is not *ad baptizandos*," and that "baptism" here is to be taken as referring to "Ihons whole ministration," and that it is expressly stated that some came "to cauill, & not to be either instructed or baptised."

The next day, the Archdeacon, with Mr. Andrews, had a long talk with Barrowe. As set down by him "so neere as his frayle memorie could cary awaye,"[65] it was an exceedingly interesting discussion, devoted mainly to the old question as to the trueness of the Church of England; in which the ex-lawyer appears to have worked as many, and as heavy, guns as his two interlocutors, and, as most of us would think, mastered the field. But it will be impossible for us to dwell upon it.

In the course of the debate Andrews had the insufferable meanness to reply to the prisoner's touching reference to his long, close, causeless and illegal incarceration: "For close emprisonment you are most happie: The solitarie & contemplatiue life I hold the most blessed life; *It is the life I would chuse.*" To which Barrowe meekly replied: "You speake philosophically but not Christianly. So sweete is the harmonie of Gods graces vnto me in the congregation, and the conuersation of the Saints at all tymes, as I think my self as a sparrow on the howse toppe when I am exiled from them. But could you be content also Mr. Androes to be kept from exercise & ayre so long together? These are also necessarie to a naturall bodye?" "I say not," was the answer, "that I would want ayre. But"—here crops out his meanness again; he thinks himself on the verge of the possible discovery of more victims, if he can only be cunning enough to trap them—but "who be those Saincts you speake of, where are they?" Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird—as long-fledged as this one: "They are euen those poore Christiãs whom you so blaspheme & persequute, and now most vniustly hold in your prysons." "*And.* But where is theire Congregation?" "*Bar.* Though I knew, I purposed not to tell you."[66]

In a little more than three weeks [13 April, 1589] the same clergymen had further converse with Barrowe and Greenwood

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[65] *Ibid*, 22, 27.

[66] *Ibid*, 28.

together, which gave small satisfaction to either party. Things were very "disorderly handled," and the prisoners complained of "manifold cauills & shifts, shamles denyall of manifest truthes, & most vnchristian contumelies, scoffes, & reproches against owre persons."[67] It ended with Barrowes being "requyred" to set down, in brief, the reasons why he persisted in refusing to return to the Church of England; which he did, in these words:

"1. The people as they stand are not called orderly to the faith, but stand mingled togeather in confusion.

"2. The ministerie set ouer them is not the true ministerie of the gospell which Christ hath appointed to his Church in his testament.

"3. The administration & worship of this Church is not according to the word of God.

"4. The ecclesiasticall gouernment, Courts, officers, & Cannons are not according to the testament of Christ, but new & antichristian.

"Vntill all these points be eyther approoued by the word of God, or reformed I cannot consent to ioyne vnto this Church in this estate.

"These things I witnesse & subscribe.

"H. Barrow."[68]

During the early part of the next year [1590] these conferences went on, and we have the prisoners' own account of those occurring on 14 and 20 March, and 3 April; with various letters growing out of the same, and passing between the inquisitors and their two victims, of which the latter felt constrained to secure the publication by the long and tedious process I have mentioned; partly to counteract reports spread by their persecutors, which were false, and justify themselves and their doctrine to the world and the future; and partly to make manifest the strong feeling of disgust with which they regarded what seemed to them the inconsistent conduct of certain "Reformist Preachers"[69] — the illogical halting and cowardly semi-conformity of Cartwright and the rest.[70]

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[67] *Ibid*, 40.

[68] *Ibid*, 44.

[69] Barrowe spoke out very plainly his opinion of these men in his *Brief Discouerie*, etc. "Yet, now, before I proceed further, let me in a word or two giue you warning of the other sort of enemies of Christs kingdome, ye Phariseis of these times, I meane these your great learned Preachers, your *Good men*, that sigh & grone for reformation, but their handes with the sluggard denie to worke. These counterfaites would raise vp a second error euen as a second Beast, by so much more dangerous by how much yt hath more shew of the truth. These men instead of this grosse antichristian gouernment which is now manifest & odious vnto all men, would bring in a new adulterate forged gouernment," etc., etc., 189.

[70] The Introduction "To the Reader" begins with a tinge of bitterness: "Considering

In the autumn of 1592[71] there seems, for some reason, to have been a little mitigation in the severity of the treatment of these men, and Greenwood was now and then allowed to be out on bail. The opportunity was seized to renew interrupted Christian intercourse with men and women of kindred spirit and faith. For several years a little company had been accustomed to assemble, as they had opportunity, in private houses, for worship, who had been trained in the first principles of Separation by the labors and treatises of Barrowe and Greenwood. Three or four years before this date the members of this company appear to have associated themselves together in a church estate.[72] Francis Johnson and John Penry — of whom more hereafter — had been for some time meeting with them. And now, in the happy opportunity afforded by this relaxation of official vigilance, the little church was officered by the choice of Johnson as pastor, and Greenwood as teacher.[73]

The thing soon came to the knowledge of the authorities, and on the 5th December [1592] Greenwood was rearrested, at the house of Edward Boyes on Ludgate Hill, and lodged in his old quarters; and Johnson, who was taken with him, was

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the reformist Preachers are now become the BBs [bishops] trustie acters in their most conning & cruell enterprises, who erewhile would make the world belieue that they neither pleaded for the BBs tooke their ministrie from them, submitted it vnto them, or subscribed vnto their proceedings, nor would euer oppose against the truth or anie part therof, much-lesse be at the commaundment of their LLs the BBs to persequute Christs afflicted, or be partakers in their innocent bloud-shedding; againe, that they pitied the ignorance of those that went so far, & charitablie sought to reduce them: I thought it therfore my dutie (that the truth of these things might appeare) to giue thee to vnderstand how they haue behaued themselues in this busines, & what was the power of their weapens in conference against those men whom they haue so reprochfuly published in their Pulpits & wrytings to be silye men, whot [hot] spirited, ignorant, Brownists, Schismaticks, &c, to the intent thou mightest equallie consider of both sides (by these few things discussed betweene them) the estate of their controuersies, as also how manie of these Prisoners Arguments against thir Church, ministrie & administration lye vppon them vnanswered," etc. *A Collection of Certain Letters & Conferences*, etc. iii.

[71] Barrowe at one time said: "We are & haue ben 4 yeares & 3 moneths without tryal or relaxation, kept by the Prelats in most miserable and streight imprisonment." [*Plaine Refutation*, etc., 237.] As their joint imprisonment commenced 19 Nov., 1586, this would seem to settle it that they could never have been allowed even to have been out on bail for a single day, until the spring of 1591. As to how much time elapsed after that before any relief was granted, I do not know that we have any proof. Christopher Bowman's evidence [*Harl. MSS.*, 7042: 110] shows that the officering of the church took place in September, 1592.

[72] William Clerke testified 8 March, 1592, that he had "bene of the foresayd congregation these four or five yeares." [*Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 110.] This would throw back its existence surely to sometime in 1588, possibly to 1587.

[73] *Ibid*, 114.

put into the Clink.[74] Bancroft lets out that the movement, with others, had alarmed the Bishops. "This latter schisme [Barrowism]" he says, "groweth on very fast. In somuch, that as *Cartwright* and his brethren beganne, eight or nine years since to set vppe and put in practise, theyr Geneuian discipline: so doe these newe vpstartes beginne to erecte in diuerse places their Barrowish Synagogues, and I knowe not what cages of franticke schismatickes. . . . And thus they goe on forward headlong, god knowes whether. I am perswaded, that if there be not good order taken in this behalf, there wil some mischief grow of it. The number of them doth encrease daily more & more. And for the repressing of them; it will not be sufficient (in mine opinion) to vse the ordinarie course by the ecclesiasticall censures or cōmission. For they are entered into a league amongest themselues, of all manner of secrecy for the not detecting one of another in any of their proceedinges, when by great chaunce some two or three are met with all. If you finde any writinges amongest them: you may thereby learne some thinge peraduenture: otherwise they will confesse nothinge."[75]

Before proceeding further, it will be needful to cast a glance over the prison pen-work of these two men, that we may understand what "writings" these were, from which the ecclesiastical authorities thought it not impossible to "learn something;" from which, indeed, in a different sense, they might have learned something which it would have bettered them to know.

It does not seem to be clear whether the accounts written by themselves of their examinations, in 1586 and 1587, were printed at or about that time in sheets which have not come down to us, or whether they were circulated in manuscript until 1593, which is the presumed date of the earliest copy from the press of which there seems to be any knowledge. In the third year of his imprisonment, however, there can be no doubt that Greenwood sent out, through the Martin Mar-prelate press, that review of Dr. Some's attack upon Penry which has often, though I think wrongly, been catalogued among the Martinist tracts. During the same year [1589] all the evidence seems to point to

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74 *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxv: 25.

75 *Survay*, etc., 428, 429.

these two prisoners as, to say the least, the main if not the exclusive, authors of the little eight page tract, entitled *A Trve Description ovt of the word of God, of the Visible Church*, of which I shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter. I have already hinted to you the nature and some of the grounds of my more than suspicion, that during 1588 and 1589 Barrowe's pen was busy in supplying Penry's press with "Martin Mar-prelate" manuscript.[76]

During 1590 the printed fruits of the labor of the two men together were astonishing, when the difficulties under which they wrought are taken into the account. We have the two different volumes from which I have cited, intended to clear them of false reports, viz.: *A Collection of certaine Sclanderovs Articles gyuen out by the Bishops against such faithfull Christians as they now vniustly deteyne in their Prisons, togeather with the answeare of the saide Prisoners therunto: Also the some of certaine conferences had*

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[76] Since the last lecture was in type, my eye has fallen upon several passages in the volume entitled *M. Some Laid Open*, etc., which have a decidedly Martinist flavor, such as these [54]: Speaking of a countryman who, swearing "by my faith," threatened to cudgel somebody, the author says: "by the way, you must not thinke that this Country man was a B. [bishop] for all he began with his *Fayth*, for I would you should knowe it, there be others that can sweare besides Bb. [bishops]." Again [96]: "Will you doe so much for me when you passe that way, as to call at D. Pernes window, to see if he can dissolve you of this doubt?" Again [42]: "M. Some can beg the question as well as his betters," etc. Again [31]: "Why doth the patch doe this?" Again [5]: "Well I hope nowe if my hands doe happen to smell anything vnsavorly, you wil of curtesie beare with me, because you see [he had been making several extracts from Some's book, which he was reviewing] I have bin al this while gathering of weedes." Again [90]: "Woulde your D. [Bridges] there vpon face vs doune that we confesse there is either wit or learning in such a buzzard as he? Naye, he shoulde write 36. volumes more first, and every one shal be as bigge as his other booke [that of which the second 'Martin' was the *Epitome*] and then peradventure he may win our hearts." And once again [iv. 124]: "withal closely and slily to glut doune a pretty prebend or 2. to help his digestion." I am quite sure that all who are familiar with the Martinist tracts, will agree with me that these extracts are so entirely in keeping with them, as to suggest a common authorship. This volume is signed I. G.; and I suppose there can be no reasonable doubt of the truth of the common judgment that John Greenwood was its responsible author. Its style (in these passages and a few which they sample) is however so different from that of other books of his — notably from his replies to Giffard, which involve subjects inviting like treatment — as to awaken in my mind the suspicion [already hinted, p. 197] that Barrowe was a silent partner in this authorship, and that to his slashing pen are due these caustic outbursts. If so, we gain a new presumption that Barrowe was Martin. While, in any event, we trace some of the most marked characteristics of Martin's style to *somebody's* pen in that cell of the Fleet prison whence these men were taken to their martyrdom. A sentence of Bancroft [*Survay*, etc., 249] may be worth quoting in this connection, as showing his notion of the comparative intellectual vigor of the two: "Except they will saie that *Barrowes* God is their God, that *Greenwood* is their Priest, and that they are all of them, deuoted to *Greenwood* and *Barrow*. *Greenwood is but a simple fellow, Barrow is the man.*"

in the Fleete, according to the Bisshops bloudie Mandate, with two Prisoners there; and *A Collection of certaine Letters and conferences: Lately Passed Betvvixt Certaine Preachers & Tvvo Prisoners In The Fleet.* Then we have a black-letter quarto of seventy-four close pages, entitled *An Avnsvver to George Giffords Pretended Defence of Read Prayers and Devised Leitourgies with the vngodly cauils and vvicked sclanders comprised in the first part of his book, entituled, A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England. by Iohn Greenwood, Christs poore afflicted prisoner in the Fleete at London, for the trueth of the Gospel.* Further we have, chiefest of all, Barrowe's *A Brief Discouerie of the False Church*, which is a stately quarto of two hundred and seventy-two pages of dense Roman type, of great vigor of style, cogency of argument, and fidelity of utterance; and which, when it is considered that it was written on scraps of paper taken away piece-meal by Daniel Studley as fast as written, to be sent to the press at Dort, and there printed under alien superintendence; deserves, in more senses than one, to be ranked among the curiosities of literature.[77]

In the following year [1591] the two men jointly sent forth another quarto, of which all the original copies are supposed to have perished from the earth, but which, as reprinted in 1606, contains two hundred and eighty pages; and concerning which I shall hereafter have a curious incident to relate. The title nearly covers the title-page, but the book is another, and extremely effective, refutation of Giffard's arguments against the Separation.[78]

It is quite unnecessary to spend any of our time upon the general positions of these volumes, inasmuch as we are now mainly concerned to see how Barrowism differed from Brownism on the one hand, and from the Puritanism which had come in through Cartwright from Geneva, on the other.

Being themselves Puritans and something more, these men had to cover a large part of the Puritan ground of argument, in common with Cartwright and his companions, as well as

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77 "He [D. Studley] confessyth that he hadd the orygynall of the booke intituled a *Breiff Dyssection* [Discoverie] *of the false Churche*, which he receyued shete by shete at Mr. Henry Barrowes study in the Flette," etc. *Egerton Papers, Camden Soc.* (1840), 175.

78 *A Plaine Refutation of Giffard's Short Treatise Against the Donatists*, etc.

specifically to advocate also those tenets in which, as they thought, they were more faithful to the Puritan spirit than the Puritans themselves, and wherein and whereby they differed from them.

Barrowe's point of departure, and the pressure under which he worked, were identical with those of Browne. In his chief treatise, the *Brief Discouerie of the False Church*, he starts out with the plea: If Josiah had occasion to rend his clothes, and Jeremy to wish "his head a fountaine, and his eies as buckets herevnto," for the defection of Israel from "the antient wayes of the Lord;" what occasion of sorrow and lamentation have not all Christian hearts "in these dangerous (if not desperate) daies, vvhere the vvhole land (that I say not the vvhole vvorld) hath lien so long, and is so deeplie set in defection, sinne & securitie, where they are so vniuersally departed from the strait waies of life and peace, and are so far wandred and straied in their own bywaies which they haue sought out vnto themselues, as they haue now vtterly lost all knowledg of the true vvay, & haue no will to returne: But though they be shewed the vvay, and vvilled to vvalke in yt, yet euen the best of them stop their eares, vvink vvith their eies, & turne away the shoulder, least they should be conuerted & be healed."[79] He willingly acknowledges himself "of all other the most vnmeet, and euerie way vnfit;"[80] asks his readers not to "regard the forme, so much as the truth;" doubts not "the diffuse and disorderly handling" will "be yrksome vnto the Reader," but wishes that to be partly imputed to "the confuse subiect," chiefly to his "want of skill, that knew not how to do yt better," and a little to "the inconuenience of the place, through the iniquitie of the times: where such was the rage of the enimie, as he might not keepe one sheade[81] by him, whiles he was writinge of an other, hauinge also as euill meanes to reuise or retract that he had written." He anticipates that what he has to say will be "most disliked, & held most odious & heinous of all sorts of men, who wil neuer endure to heare the magnificence of the false Church, wherin they haue so long beene nourished in so great delight, reprooued & cast doune."[82] But unto all he fearlessly propounds

79 *Brief Discouerie*, etc., iii.
80 *Ibid*, iv.
81 Sheet.
82 *Ibid*, v.

"that litle Booke of Gods woorde" as the judge: "by this Booke who so is found in error or transgression, let them haue sentence accordinglie."[83]

The first point he makes against the Church of England is that, instead of being builded of goodly stones (of individual believers):

"They be rather of the reffuse, common pibble chalke stones, which cannot be vsed to any sownd and sure building, euen al the profane and wicked of the land: Atheistes, Papistes, Anabaptistes & heretikes of al sortes, gluttons, riotours, blasphemers, periures, couetous extortioners, thieues, whores, witches, connivers, &c, and who not, that dwelleth within this Iland, or is within the Queenes dominion."[84]

Before leaving this branch of the subject he speaks a faithful word in regard to one kind of argument urged against him — the great Presbyterian example; and does not hesitate to condemn "this stuffe," of "Mr. Caluine in his ignorance," brought:

"To defende his owne rash & disorderly proceedinges at Geneua, whiles he at the first dash made no scruple to receaue al the whole state, euen al the profane ignorant people, into the bozome of the Church, to administer the sacramentes vnto them; which confuse rowt, could not fit with Christes heauenly gouerment, neither could yt by any meanes agree vnto them in this estate; but that monstrous disorders, and heinous enormities daily insued thereof: wherby this their Church became a iust reproch to all men, euen to these wicked heretikes, &c., yea, that which is worse, and more to be lamented, yt became a miserable president, and pernitious example, even vnto all Europe, to fall into the like transgression: as the confused estate of all those regions (where the gospel is thus disorderly taught) declareth."[85]

Passing to the topic of the ministry of such a true church as has separated itself from the ungodly by a covenanting together of believers, Barrowe says:

"The ministerie apointed vnto the government & seruice of y^e^ Church of Christ, we find to be of two sortes, Elders & Deacons: the Elders, some of them to giue attendance vnto the publike ministerie of the word & sacramentes, as the Pastor & Teacher: the other Elders together with them, to giue attendance to the publike order & gouernment of the Church: the Deacons to attend the gathering and distributing the goodes of the Church." These are to be "chosen & ordeined by all by publike consent," and are then "diligently & faithfully to execute their office vnto all, not preiudicing the libertie of any, ambitiously assuming any inordinate authoritie, or abusing or neglecting their

[83] *Ibid*, vi. | [84] *Ibid*, 9. | [85] *Ibid*, 33.

office, neither holding or executing yt in regard or in respect of persen: but vprightly and indifferently performing yt vnto all men, as in the eies of God, whose word they purely and sincerely teach, faithfully & precisely obserue to their vttermost knowledg and power. If in any thing they transgresse or offend; they are, as well as any other members, liable to the censure of the Church: which is, to reproue, depose, or excommunicate them according to the qualitie of the sin, & estate of the offenders," &c.[86]

This ministry is to be supported by the free contributions of the church:

"Neither is this shepheard limited, or sheepe constrained to a tenth, or any stinted part or portion; but according to the present want of the one, & estate of the other, this matter is otherwise provided; they together releeving him according to his present need; he together with them bearing the burthen of their present and common pouertie"[87] — they, in love, making him "partaker of that little or much the Lord sendeth, according to his present wantes and necessary vses, who if he haue to food and rayment, ought to be therwith content."[88]

He waxes warm as he touches upon the manner of worship:

"Is this old rotten Leitourgis their new songs they sing vnto the Lord with and for his graces? May such old written rotten stuffe be called praier, the odours of the Saintes, burnt with that heauenly fire of the Altar, the liuly graces of the spirit &c. May reading be said [to be] praying? May such apocrypha trumperie be brought into the church of God?" etc.[89]

But I must hasten to the last distinctive feature of the polity which he advocates, that is the practical working relation between the elders for ruling, and the brotherhood. He is very clear on this point. "Elders," he says, "are appointed to see the gouernment & order of Christ obserued; not to take yt al into their hands."[90] They have "power and authoritie in due time and place," first "publikely to reproue any publike transgression of anie member of the Church, or of the whole Church; as also to discouer and refute any error escaped or deliuered in publike doctrine." If they "neglect or ouerpasse such publike transgression or error, then may any one of the congregation, or any Christian whosoeuer; yea he ought to reproue such transgression and error vnles he wilbe guiltie of betraying the faith of Christ,"[91] etc. To the objection that the mass of the

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[86] *Ibid*, 46.
[87] *Ibid*, 58.
[88] *Ibid*, 59.
[89] *Ibid*, 67.
[90] *Ibid*, 223.
[91] *Ibid*, 167.

people are too blind, seditious and headstrong to make it safe to trust them with this power, he explains: "They are to reproue no more then their assured knowledg leadeth them vnto. If they transgresse the limits either of their knowledg in reprouing that which deserueth no reproofe, or breake the established order of the Church by rashnes, intemperance &c., then are they for so doing subiect to reproofe & censure for abusing their libertie, for breaking order: the Churches of God haue no custome to be contentious."[92] This was his idea of liberty for the people — to be led by the elders, and allowed and encouraged to follow them freely; with freedom to differ so far as the elders might think to be within propriety. The enthusiast thought this would work magnificently. The people, he said, were "all inlightened with that bright morning star, that sonne of righteousnes. The eye of their faith is single, and the whole bodie is light. They are an humble, meek, obedient people, they will heare and follow the true shepheard, but a stranger they will not heare. They reioice & loue ernestly in the truth, & can by no meanes be drawen to do any thing against the truth."[93] Surely they will exercise their liberty to obey their elders! This seems to have been, in his thinking, a perfect safeguard against the dangers of Brownistic theocratic democracy on the one hand, and of the pseudo-liberty of Presbyterian aristocracy on the other. Notice how sarcastically severe he was upon this latter:

"These Reformists, howsoeuer for fashion sake they giue the people a litle libertie to sweeten their mouthes & make them beleeue that they should choose their owne ministers, . . . yet euen in this pretended choice doe they coozen & beguile them also, leauing them nothing but the smoky windy title of election only; inioyning them to choose some vniuersitie clarke, one of these colledg birds of their owne brood, or els comes a Synode in the necke of them, and annihilats the election whatsoeuer yt be."[94]

I have said that on the 5th December, 1592, Greenwood was lodged once more in prison, Barrowe most likely soon rejoining him there, if indeed he were not there before. The excitement against them, as I have intimated, and as what I have quoted from Bancroft proves, was greatly increased by the feeling of the Bishops that this dangerous heresy must, if possible, be stamped effectually out. And so the end drew on.

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92 *Ibid*, 168. | 93 *Ibid*, 167. | 94 *Ibid*, 193.

The law officers of the crown scrutinized Barrowe's writings for matter of charge. On the 3d, 11th and 20th of the following March, he was cited before Chief Justice Sir John Popham, and Attorney General Lord Ellesmere, and examined as to his opinions, and his authorship of certain books. The minutes of these examinations are still extant, mainly in the handwriting of the Chief Justice. Barrowe respectfully, but boldly, avowed his convictions of truth, essentially as I have deduced them from his treatises. Among other things he expressed his judgment that the established government of the Church of England was "unlawfull and Antichristian;" and that "there ought to be a Presbytery over every true assembly of Christ." With regard to the Queen's supremacy, he acknowledged it fully in civil matters, but held that she ought not to make for the church "other lawes then Christ hath made and left in his Testament;" and, as to her possible excommunication, he said: "in a reformed Churche, if the Quene doe synn, the Pastor, in the name of the Churche, is to denounce the excommunication against the Quene, which the word of God doeth laye uppon hir for that sinne." So he said that "the Churche need not to staye for the Prince in the reforminge of any abuse, but may reforme it, though the Prince saye noe." He acknowledged himself the author of his portion of the *Collection of certaine Sclanderous Articles; Certaine Letters and conferences*, his part of the *Answer to Gifford*, and the whole of the *Briefe Discouerie of the False Church*.[95] Greenwood, who was also examined on the 11th and 20th, confessed his authorship of the books laid to his charge.

Robert Bowle and Robert Stokes, examined on the 19th, testified as to the way in which the books had been printed, as also did Daniel Studley and James Forster on the 20th. The latter, who described himself as "physycyane, and Mr. off Artes," confessed "that hym selfe, by the procurement off Henry Barrow, wrote out some parte of the booke intituled *a Breiff Description of the false Churche*, and as one shete was wryten the same was taken away, with the copy therof, and new brought," etc.[96]

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95 Lord Popham calls it, in his minutes, *A Breiff Dyscription of the False Churche;* that is to say, the editor of the *Egerton Papers* judged that, in the Chief Justice's dreadfully illegible handwriting, it looks more like that than any thing else.

96 *Egerton Papers*, Camden Society (1840), 166–179.

They were indicted under a statute of the 23d of Elizabeth,[97] which made it felony, punishable by death without benefit of clergy, or right of sanctuary, to write, print, set forth or circulate, or to cause to be written, set forth or circulated, "any maner of booke, ryme, ballade, letter or writing," which with "a malicious intent," set forth "any false, seditious and sclanderous matter to the defamation of the Queenes Maiestie," or to "the stirring up of insurrection or rebellion."

They were tried at the Old Bailey 23d March, 1592–3. We have extant the best possible evidence as to the general drift of the trial, inasmuch as what appear to be the original brief of the argument of the prosecution, and the minutes of the evidence on which it relied, remain among the *Harleian Manuscripts*;[98] while, in a small quarto printed eleven years after at Amsterdam, we have Barrowe's own summary of his defence, as sent by him a day or two before his death to "an honourable Lady and Countesse of his kindred."[99]

Barrowe understood himself to be on trial for the three alleged specific offences: (1) that he had written and published the Queen's Majesty to be unbaptized; (2) that the State was wholly corrupted, so that none that feared God could live at peace therein; and (3) that all the people in the land were infi-

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97 The clause was as follows: "And be it further enacted by the aucthoritie aforesayde, that if any person or persons, after the ende of the sayde fourtie dayes, either within this Realme, or in any other the Queenes dominions, or in any other place out of the Queens dominions, shall aduisedly and with a malicious intent against our sayd Souereigne Lady, deuise and write, print, or set forth any maner of booke, ryme, ballade, letter or writing, contayning any false, seditious, and sclanderous matter to the defamation of the Queenes Maiestie, (that now is) or to the incouraging, stirring or mouing of any insurrection or rebellion within this Realme, or any the dominions belonging to the same; or if any person or persons after the end of the saide fourtie dayes, eyther within this realme or other the Queenes dominions, or in any other place out of the Queenes dominions, shal aduisedly, and with a malicious intent against our said Soueraigne Lady, procure or cause any such booke, ryme, ballade, letter, or wryting, to be written, printed, published or set forth, and the sayde offence not beyng punishable by the statute made in the fiue and twentieth yeere of the reigne of King Edwarde the thirde concerning treason, or declaration of treason, or by any other statute whereby any offence is made or declared treason: That then euery such offence shall be deemed and adiudged felonie, and the offendours therein being thereof conuicted and attaynted, shall suffer such paines of death and forfeiture, as in case of felonie is vsed, without any benefite of Cleargie or Sanctuarie to be allowed vnto the offendour in that behalf. *Statutes of the Realm*, xxiii Eliz. Chap. 2, Sec. 4.

98 *Harleian MSS.*, 6848. The brief of the argument is No. 14; the summary of points against Barrowe, Nos. 7 and 9; against Greenwood, No. 11.

99 *Apologie, or Defence of such trve Christians as are commonly (but vniustly) called Brovvnists*, etc. (1604), pp. 89–95.

dels. He answered by a general denial, insisting that he had been misunderstood and misrepresented; and by a particular answer: (1) that he had, in fact, always defended her Majesty's baptism, having always argued that Popish baptism was valid, although it did not carry with it God's covenant to the Papal church; (2) that his accusations of corruption had reference to the falsity of the estate of the Established Church, and contained no "evil mynd towards the state, lawes, or Iudges;" and (3) that by the term "infidels" he intended ἄπιστοι, or men destitute of the true faith, and that, so far from making any such sweeping denunciation, he "had reverend estimation of sundrie, & good hope of many hundred thousands in the land," though he utterly disliked the present government of the Church.[100]

The prosecution began by an artful allusion to the fact that sedition was no new thing in the land, enumerating eight odious names of Papists who at different times had tried to stir up insurrection, and whom all agreed to be "most notorious and horrible traitors." And now, these schismatic libellers "come not one inche behind them, nay truely they goe farre before them." Their libellous books prove that they intend the overthrow of the Church, the abolishing of her Majesty's supremacy, the suppression of the Bishops, the decay of the crown by taking all the tithes and impropriations, and generally "the abrogatinge of all good laws and ordinances, even at one clapp, which had been in making for the good government of this church above a thousand and fower hundred years." They intend this in order that they may sit at the helm, every one be a Bishop and a Pope, suit themselves and their humors as to prayers and laws, support their new-fangled synods by the cathedral funds, bring every man's neck to their yoke, and excommunicate, and even curse, Princes themselves in their own dominions. They have tried in vain to bring the learned and influential to their opinion, and now they cast out their slanderous libels to the common people. They tell them that none ought to intermeddle in church government but the presbytery whom they have chosen; they assume to set up ministers; they blame everybody who will not rush with them to this "reforma-

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[100] *Apologie, or Defence of such Trve Christians*, etc., 91, 92.

tion — as they tearme it;" they denounce them as atheists; they brag of their increase; and, lastly, "as if all these courses would not serve their turnes, and that therfore they had combined themselues with the Spanyard, they indeauour to terrify her Maiesties subiects with a new inuasion, giuing a peremptory sentence, that if theyr platforme may not be receeued, the Spanyards swordes shall be drunke in our blood, and that we all, our wiues, our children, even the whole Realm it selfe, shall be destroyed."[101]

The issue was what was to have been expected from such a court. Attorney General Sir Thomas Egerton wrote on the evening of that day to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, saying:

"This daye by virtue of her Maiesties last commission of *Oyer & Terminer* in London the court hath proceeded agajnst Barrowe & Greenwood for deuysing, and against Scipio Bellotte, Robert Bowle & Daniel Studley, for publishinge and dispersinge sedycyous books; & they are all atteynted by verdicte & judgment, and direceon gyuen for execucon to-morrowe as in cases of lyke qualyty. None showed any tokens of Recognicon of theyr offence and prayer of mercye for the same, sauing Bellott alone, who desyreth conference, & to be informed of his erro^{s} & w.th teares affyrmeth hym selfe to be sorye that he hath bene mysled. The others pretende loyaltye & obedience to her Ma^{ty}. & indeauour to drawe all that they haue most malicyouslye wrytten & published agaynst her Ma^{ty}^{s} govnment to the byshops & mynysters of the churche onlye, and as not meant agaynst her Highness, which being most evydent agaynst them, and so founde by the Iurye, yet not one of them made any countenance of submission, but rather persisted in that they be convicted of. Thys I haue thought good to make knowne to y^{r} Lp. to theend that yf her M^{ty}^{s} pleasure shoulde be to have execucon deffered yt myght be knowne this night, and order gyuen accordinglye, otherwyse the direcon gyuen by the Iudge in open court wyll preuaile. And so I comyt your Lp. to the Almyghty. Yr. Lps. most humble at cōmandm^{t}. THO. EGERTON."[102]

Barrowe describes what followed: "Vpon the 24. early in the morning, was preparation made for our execution: we, brought out of the Limbo, our yrons smitten of, & we ready to be bound to the cart; when her Maiesties most gracious pardon came for our reprive."[103]

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[101] *Harleian MSS.*, 6848: 14. This talk about the "Spanyards swordes," etc., was a perversion of the true meaning of the accused, as wicked as it was ingenious. What Barrowe and his friends meant was to express the danger that, if the nation did not repent and reform, God would let loose his judgments upon it, by (perhaps) energizing their Spanish enemies. With infamous unfairness, this was represented as being the avowal of a league with those enemies, entered into by these Separatist traitors!

[102] *Harleian MSS.*, 6849: 191.

[103] *Apologie*, etc., 92.

"Certaine Doctors & Deanes" were then sent to "exhort & confer" with them; and, although they said their time was short in this world, and they preferred to spend it more profitably than in controversy, still if the Bishops would permit an open disputation in a Christian and orderly manner by the Scriptures, between them, assisted by two of their brethren whom they would select on the one side, and "such or so many of them as should be thought meet" on the other, they would agree to it.[104] Barrowe wrote to the Attorney General, asking him to favor such a conference, on the ground that the result of it might "apease manie a Christians soule," and pledging himself "utterlye to forsake any errors he might be proued to holde."[105] But the Bishops refused the proposition, for twelve reasons: (1) Because disputation had been denied the Papists; (2) to call in question the Church of England ministry is to call in question all others; (3) the Church had already under Edward, Mary and the reigning Queen, submitted to disputation; (4) these men's errors have been condemned by the learned; (5) it is unreasonable that a religion established by Parliament be examined by an inferior authority; (6) it would be unreasonable to condemn such foreign churches as acknowledge the Established Church; (7) these men's principal errors were confuted by St. Augustine; (8) to call in question the ministry of England would strengthen the Papist's hands; (9) it has been the manner of heretics to clamor for discussion; (10) these men can consult books in which they are already confuted; (11) they ask a disputation from the civil magistrate, yet will not abide the judgment of the civil magistrate; (12) "if the Church should satisfie euerie sect that riseth there were no ende of disputations."[106]

Two letters of the Attorney General disclose two facts: the one that the case of Barrowe and Greenwood had prompted the introduction by the Bishops of a bill into Parliament, then in session, designed to make more stringent the act of the 23d of

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[104] *Ibid.* I have referred in the last lecture to the constant endeavor of Barrowe to obtain such a conference as was here again proposed.

[105] The original letter is preserved in *Harleian MSS.*, 6849: 214. It is without date, but with the exception of that to the Countess before referred to, it would seem to have been nearly the last that he wrote.

[106] Paper endorsed "Reasons against publike disputation with barow." *Harleian MSS.*, 6849: 212.

Elizabetn, under which they had been condemned;[107] the other that he had had conference with Barrowe in regard to the desired disputation.[108] But all proved in vain. Barrowe says again: "Vpon the last day of the third moneth[109] [31 March] my brother Grenewood & I, were very early & secretly conveyed to the place of execution: Where being tyed by the necks to the tree, we were permitted to speak a few wordes." They declared their innocence of all malice or ill intent; exhorted the people to obey and love the Prince and magistrates; to follow their leaders no further than they had followed Scripture; then, craving pardon for all in which they had offended, and freely forgiving all who had offended them, they were in the act of praying for the Queen, when they were again reprieved;[110] this time as the result of a supplication to the Lord Treasurer that "in a land where no Papist was put to death for religion, theirs should not be the first blood shed who concurred about faith with what was professed in the country, and desired conference to be convinced of their errors."[111]

But they gained only six days by this clemency. The bill which was pushed through the Upper House by the Bishops, when it came down to the Commons, was so emasculated that they thought it would "not reach any man deserving favor." This, which took place on the 5th April, appears so to have enraged the Prelates,[112] that they contrived to have them suddenly hanged the next morning — as their friends thought, without the Queen's knowledge — "as early and secretly as well they could in such a case,"[113] two aged widows being permitted to carry their winding-sheets to the gallows.[114]

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[107] *Harleian MSS.*, 6849: 193.

[108] *Harleian MSS.*, 6849: 195.

[109] This was three days after Egerton's last letter, bearing date 28 March.

[110] *Apologie*, etc., 92.

[111] Letter of Thos. Phelippes to Wm. Sterrell. *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, vol. ccxliv: 124.

[112] *Ibid.*

[113] *Apologie*, etc., 95.

[114] *Congregational Martyrs*, 173. There was a story current at the time, that the Queen was kept uninformed of the fate of these two men until it was too late for mercy, and that she was displeased when she learned that they were dead. John Cotton alludes to it [*Way of Ch'h's Cleared*, etc., 5, and *Answer to Master Roger Williams*, 117], and on the testimony of Mr. Phillips it was stated that her Majesty had expressed regret at this putting of "the servants of God" to death. She certainly did not regret their judicial murder sufficiently to save Penry from a fate having even less color of law than theirs; and there is scarcely more than a mere flavor of slight possibility about the rumor.

John Penry, or Ap Henry, was born in Wales just as Elizabeth was ascending the English throne.[115] He was bred a Papist. The only circumstance connected with his childhood which found record, is that he enjoyed the tender care of a good mother. In some way he was led to Cambridge as a student, where he was matriculated as a pensioner of Peterhouse, 3 December, 1580, where he embraced the religious sentiments of the Puritans, and proceeded B. A. in 1583–4. Before taking his Master's degree he was, for some reason, led to remove to Oxford, and becoming a commoner of St. Alban Hall, he was admitted M. A. 11 July, 1586. The annalist of Cambridge says that "about that time he took holy orders, preached both at Oxford and Cambridge, and was esteemed a tolerable scholar, an edifying preacher, and a good man."

He soon became deeply impressed with the spiritual needs of his native principality, and in 1587 he gave to the press at Oxford an earnest plea for the preaching of a more vigorous gospel in Wales. The severity of the criticism in which he indulged upon the condition of things then existent, brought him to censure and temporary imprisonment. We next hear of him as marrying Helen Godly of Northampton, and by midsummer of 1588 he is traceable at Mouldsey in Surrey in some vital connection with that peripatetic press — then in the hands of Waldegrave — on which several tracts of his own in further plea for reformation, treatises from the pen of Udal and others, and the Martin Mar-prelate books, were from time to time printed. As we have already seen, there can be no reasonable doubt that, whoever may have been their author, Penry was the publisher of these latter. Before the consequent pursuit of the officers he fled into Scotland in 1589, where with his pen he still did what he could in the line of reform until September, 1592, when he returned to London. We have not the record of the mental process through which he was led to go beyond Puritanism into Separatism, but there can be little doubt that, as in the case of others, it was the vigor of his desire for reform, joined to the growing conviction of the hopelessness of expect-

[115] My authorities for the glimpse of a few of the chief facts of the life of Penry here given are, in general, Cooper [*Ath. Cant.*, ii: 154-158], and the authors mentioned by him, which it is not needful to take space here particularly to detail.

ing it from those with whom he had been acting. Clearly he had been for some time in familiar intercourse with Barrowe and Greenwood, of the latter of whom indeed he was a contemporary — and most likely a friend — at Cambridge. And one of the first acts of his return to England seems to have been to cast in his lot with the Separatist company of which Greenwood was teacher, which he did at some time previous to its election of officers. He was arrested at Ratcliffe on 22 March [1592–3], on the day before the trial and condemnation of his brethren; and was committed by Justice Young to the Poultry on the 24th.[116] Private conferences were had, or attempted, with him, as with the others. They kept him on "nothing but bread and drinke," although his wife pleaded for permission — as he was "a very weake and sicklie man" — to be allowed to provide him with something better.[117] On the 10th April he was had before Mr. Fanshaw, and Mr. Justice Young, and examined and reasoned with at great length.[118]

It proved to be more difficult for the Bishops to manage this new victim. He had not written any books which would help them since he had become a Separatist, while the popular feeling excited by the case of Barrowe and Greenwood made it needful for them at least to appear to have solid ground under their feet; and he was prepared very clearly to show that the statute of the 23d Elizabeth could not be applied to his case.[119] But among his private papers which had been seized, was found the crude draught of a petition to the Queen, prepared in Scotland, which at some time he had probably intended to finish and present.[120] It contained this passage, and the sentence sufficiently indicates its general tone:

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116 *Yelverton MSS.*, as cited by Dr. Waddington, in *John Penry the Pilgrim Martyr*, etc., 122.

117 See what appears to be her original petition to the Rt. Hon. Sir John Puckering, keeper of the Great Seal, in *Harleian MSS.*, 6849: 207. The same volume (206) contains an autograph note of Penry, evidently requested of him to counteract the force of her statement, in which he acknowledges that he has not wanted "competent" food. Probably he thought it wise, under the circumstances, to consider "bread and drinke" as "competent" food.

118 *Examinations of Barrowe, Greenwood and Penrie*, etc., 21–32.

119 See his autograph argument in full in *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxv: 54.

120 Penry's own testimony [*Lansdowne MSS.*, cix: 35] is conclusive as to the privacy of this paper. Citations made from it for use at the trial [*Harleian MSS.*, 6849: 198–201] are indeed referred to as on "pp. 50–81." And citations were also made from *Another draught of a petition of his unto her Maiestie* (35–43); but I take these references to be to *the manuscripts*,— numbered either by him or them.

"The last dayes of your raigne are turned rather against Christ Jesus and his gospell then to the maintenance of the same. And I haue great cause of complaint, Madame, nay the Lord, and his church hath cause to complaine of your gouernement, not so much for any outward iniurie, as I, or any other of your Subiects haue received, as because wee, your Subiects this day are not permitted to serue our God, under your gouernement according to his worde,"[121] etc.

This was a first rough programme, never finished, never presented, never published in any sense — really it would seem, an extract from his private diary.[122] But it was the best that could be done, and so *two* indictments were prepared, to make up in quantity of law what was wanting in the quality of evidence.[123] Lord Coke gives them both, in full, in his great *Booke of Entries*,[124] etc. It was necessary to go back to an earlier statute than that under which the others had suffered; but there was no practical difficulty in doing so, and a law was found bloody enough, and unjust enough, for the purpose.[125] On the 21st May[126] [1593] the trial took place at Westminster, with the (extremely natural) result that the jury upon their oaths found him guilty under both indictments,[127] and he was sentenced to be hanged without

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[121] As to this sentence I have compared the MS. with the printed indictment.

[122] Penry says of these papers: "Which conteyne a Diarie or dayly obseruation of myne owne sinnes & corruptions, and of the speciall requests whh. I made vnto the Lord." *Lansdowne MSS.*, cix: 35.

[123] The first is mainly drawn to prove, by the allegation of various citations, that Penry had spoken and written against the Queen [*dictam dominam Reginam innuendo*]; the second to show that he had spoken and written against the magistrates, ministers and people [*dictam Magistrat, Ministros et Populum huius Regni Angliæ innuendo*]. Both charge him distinctly with Defamation of the Queen, and with aiming at insurrection and sedition [*in defamationem dicte Domine Regine nunc, et ad instigationem, suscitationem, et motionem rebellionis, et insurrectionis infra hoc Regnum Anglie*].

[124] *A Booke of Entries: containing Perfect and approued Presidents of Counts, Declarations, Informations, Pleints, Indictments*, etc., etc. (1614), folio, pp. 353a & b & 354a.

[125] Lord Coke expressly founds his *Indictments pur Felonie en publishant Scandalous escripts enconuter les orders del Esglise* in this case, upon the Statute of 1 Eliz. Chap. *ii.* [*Statutes of the Realm.*] That is the "Acte for the vniformitie of Common Prayer, and seruice in the Churche, and the administration of the Sacramentes." This indeed contains provision for the conviction of those who "shal preach, declare, or speake anything in the derogation or deprauing of the said booke, or anything therein contayned, or of any part thereof," which could easily be applied to Penry's case. But the penalty of conviction even for the third offence, was only imprisonment for life. And as the counts of the first indictment are of *dicta Domine Regine innuendo*, I think his citation must be erroneous, and that he intended reference to *Chap. vi*, which is "An Acte for the explanation of the Statute of seditious wordes and rumours," the intent of which was to reënact the law on that subject passed in the 1 and 2 of Philip and Mary; and which would, I should think, give more show of law for covering the indictments in Penry's case, besides offering the death penalty of which they were clearly in search.

[126] *Booke of Entries*, etc., 354a.

[127] *Ibid.* "*Modo et forma per separalia indictamenta prædicta*," etc.

delay.[128] The next day the condemned man enclosed in a letter to Lord Treasurer Burghley a carefully drawn paper, covering three foolscap pages, in a very fine close hand, intended not to plead for pardon, or even respite, but mainly — to use his own words — to manifest his "innocency," that "whether I lyve or dye, my uprightnes towarde my Prince & hir State may suruiue." He explains that the "private intercepted wrytings" of his, on which he had been condemned, were "not only most unperfect, but were so privat as no creature under heauen was privie unto them (myself excepted) until now they were seazed upon." He not only repudiates in the strongest terms all thought of disloyalty or sedition, but declares that they will find among the papers of his which they have in their hands, a writing done in Scotland, on some false rumor of her Majesty's death, whose terms will show how horror-stricken he was at such a thought, and what a calamity he regarded it to the kingdom. He refers also to his published writings in proof of the same thing. Very touching are some of his words, and as one reads them, one can appreciate the source of that power over the people which, no doubt, lay at the bottom of the determination of the prelates to get rid of him, if it were possible.

"I am," he says, "a poore young man, borne & bredd in the mountaynes of Wales. I am the first since the last springing vpp of the gospell in this latter age, that publickly laboured to have the blessed seed therof, sowen in those barruyne mountaines. . . . And now beeing to end my dayes before I am come unto the one half of my yeeres in the lykely course of nature,[129] I leaue the successe of these my labours unto such of my countreymen, as the Lord is to rayse up after mee for the accomplishing of that worke wh. in the calling of my countrey vnto the knowledge of Christs blessed Gospell I beganne."

Referring to the statement of his convictions on religious matters which he had previously delivered to Mr. Justice Young, he goes on:

"If my blood were an Ocean Sea, & euery dropp therof were a lyfe vnto mee, I would gyue them all, by the help of the Lord, for the maintenance of the same my confession. Yet, if any error can bee shewed therin, that will I not mainteyne."

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128 *Ibid.* "*Suspendatur*, etc., *sine dilatione*," etc.

129 He was born in Cefnbrith, Llangamarch, Brecknockshire, in 1559 [Cooper, *Ath. Cant.*, ii: 154], which would make him now not far from thirty-four years of age.

Then, tenderly referring to "the desolate outward estate of a poore friendlesse wydowe & foure poore fatherlesse infants, whereof the eldest is not 4 yeeres old," whom he is to leave behind him; and saying: "If my death can procure any quietnes unto the churche of God, and unto the State of my Prince and hir kingdom wherin I was borne, glad I am that I had a lyfe to bestowe in this seruice," he closes thus:

"My only request, being also as earnest as possibly I can vtter the same, vnto all those both honorable and worshipfull unto whose hands this my last testimony may come is, that hir Matie. may bee acquaynted before my death, if it may bee, or at least after my departure. The Lord bliss hir Highness wth a longe & prosperous reigne to his glory, in this lyfe, and vouchsafe hir that blessed crowne of righteousnes at the peaceable end of hir through comfortable dayes. Amen, yea againe & againe unfaynedly, Amen, Amen. Subscribed with that heart & that hand wh. never devised or wrote any thinge to the discredit or defamation of my sovereigne Queen Elizabeth (I take it of my death, as I hope to have a lyfe after this) by mee. John Penry."[130]

In the letter to the Lord Treasurer in which this was inclosed, he respectfully asked him to procure that the Queen should be made acquainted with the tenor of his communication before he be further proceeded with:

"Lawe," he says, "I know there is none, that can take hold of mee, and yet I referr my self wholly unto hir determination: And wilbee most contented wth. that sentence wh. the Lord shall make hir to gyve of mee." And so he ends: "Preparing my self, not so much for an vniust verdict & an undeserued doome in this lyfe, as vnto that blessed crowne of glory, whh. of the great mercye of my God is redye for mee in heaving, I humbly betake yor Lordship vnto the hand of the iust Lord through Christ. In great haste, from close prison this 22d. of ye 5th. moneth, May, 1593. Yor Lordshps. most humble in the Lord. "John Penry."[131]

It was not likely that a government which could condemn such a man, on such evidence, of such a charge, would be moved to clemency even by such an appeal. On the third day after, sentence of death was formally pronounced; on the 29th the death-warrant was signed, and while Penry was at dinner that day he was informed that at four P. M. he would be executed. It was an unusual hour, chosen in the hope that the people would not be then expecting it, and would not be there to hear

[130] The autograph paper is in *Lansdowne MSS.*, cix: 35, a, b, and 36.

[131] The original is in *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxv: 58.

him speak, or to see him die. At five he was led out to St. Thomas Watering, then the place on the Surrey side appropriated to such scenes, and in the presence of a few who, on the watch, and fearing the event, had assembled, but not allowed by the sheriff, acting under orders of the prelates, to utter so much as a single farewell word to them, his gallant young life was taken.[132]

I shall risk the jar upon the feelings of appending in this immediate connection the brutal epitaph which some "Northerne Rimer" volunteered for him; because I know not how so vividly to flash upon the mind the infinite contrast between his saintliness and the savagery of his murderers. John Weever has made place for it in his *Discourse of Fvnerall Monvments:*[133]

> "The Welchman is hanged,
> Who at our Kirke flanged,
> And at her state banged,
> And brened are his buks.
> And tho he be hanged;
> Yet he is not wranged,
> The de'ul has him fanged
> In his kruked kluks."

And so in the Babylon of England was found the blood of these prophets of the Separation, and of its saints. And while even the unthoughtful multitude were moved on the one hand by the serene submission and holy boldness with which they died to respect their new faith; as they were roused on the other by the ferocious injustice of the prelates to question whether that faith might after all not be found to stand in reason; their brethren were stimulated by their example to a like consecration, and nerved like them to do, and, if it must be, to die.

John Fox, in describing an earlier martyrdom than theirs, says:[134] "Then they brought a fagotte, kindled with fire, and laid the same doune at doctor Ridleys feete. To whom master Latimer spake in this manner: Bee of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man; wee shall this day light such a candle by

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[132] See, besides the common authorities, P. Heylyn, *Hist. Presbyterianism*, 325.

[133] J. Weever, *Ancient Fvnerall Monvments*, etc. (1631), 56.

[134] *Acts and Monuments*, etc. (Townsend's ed. 1847), vii: 550.

[135] Letter of Barrowe to Fisher (Dec. 1590), *Harleian MSS.*, 65: 65.

Gods grace in England, as I trust shall never bee putte out." It was a grand prophetic strain, and has been often quoted with thrilling force.

Not many wise men after the flesh were called to reërect upon its original foundations the obsolete church of the New Testament, but God chose the weak things of the world to confound the things which were mighty. By consequence the martyrs of Congregationalism filled a humbler place in the eye of their generation; and so far as they were allowed to say anything with the halter round their necks, no John Fox was there to embalm it for the ages. But I found in the handwriting of Henry Barrowe, among the *Harleian MSS.*,[135] a letter from which I copied three sentences which seem to me worthy at least to stand on the same page with the words of Latimer: "Euer for our partes our liues are not dear unto us, so we may finish up our testimony wth. ioy. We are alwaies ready through God's grace to be offred up upon that testimony of our faith wh. we have made. We purpose to embrace the chief pillers of their Church, & carry them wth. us to our grave."

LECTURE V.

The Exodus to Amsterdam.

Ne, grex pusille, formides
Dentes leonis perfidos,
Pastor bonus nam pascua
Vobis dabit cœlestia.
Agnum Dei qui candidum
Mundo sequeris tramite,
Manus latronis impias
Ne, grex pusille, formides.

Beda Venerabilis, De Nat. Innocent., 25.

Affligit sanè, sed diverso modo. Flent & rident utrique, sed diverso item modo. Fideles ut Pater; infideles, ut justus Judex affligit. Rident ut fleant infideles; flent ut rideant fideles, & rident liberali gaudio ex divinæ bonitatis sensu. *J. Heidfeldius, Sphinx, etc. (1621), 582.*

Themistocles, after he was banished, and had wrought himself into great favor afterwards, so that he was honored and sumptuously served; seeing his present glory, said unto one of his friends: If I had not been undone, I had been undone. *Lord Bacon's Apothegms, Resuscitatio, 153.*

The Arke had cleane and vncleane beasts; Abraham had Ishmael and Isaac; the Common wealth true and false subiects; an house hath thriftie and vnthriftie seruants; the bodie members and excrements; the Church good and bad. *Richard Greenham, Works, 733.*

The Independant Party had many very godly Ministers and People, but with them many young injudicious Persons, inclined much to Novelties and Separations, and abounding more in Zeal than Knowledge; usually doing more for Subdivisions, than the few sober Persons among them could do for unity and Peace. *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, etc., Part ii: 145.*

And though they suffer paine before men, yet is their hope full of immortalitie.

They are punished but in fewe things, yet in many things shall they bee well rewarded: For God prooueth them, and findeth them meete for himselfe.

He trieth them as the gold in the furnace, and receiueth them as a perfite fruite offering. *Wisdome of Salomon (Genevan version), iii: 4–6.*

The Exodus to Amsterdam.

IT is not easy at this distance of time minutely to trace with exactness the earlier steps of that first Separatist movement which appears to have possessed vitality enough, not merely to transplant itself beyond the German sea, but to gain and maintain, in itself and its affiliations, a permanent place in history.[1] Nor have we the means of estimating how much of the impulse thereto may have been due to the labors of Robert Browne, and how much to those of Barrowe and others at a later date. But at some time, at least as early as 1587 or 1588, we begin to find references to little gatherings of Separatists in and around London.[2] We trace these people in

[1] The churches to which Geo. Johnson referred, in 1603 [*Discourse of Certain Troubles*, etc., 205], as having existence at Norwich and Chatham, we cannot fix either as to their origin or continuance. In 1588, Stephen Bredwell said of the Brownists, "for though their ful swarme and store be (as it is most likely) in London and the partes neare adioyning; yet haue they sparsed of their companies into seuerall partes of the Realme, and namely, into the West, almost to the vttermost borders thereof." [*Rasing Foundations*, iv.] This, however, is extremely vague and unsatisfactory. Penry in one of his letters says: "Comfort the brethren in the West and North Countries." But this was in 1593. [*Life*, 176.] Francis Johnson, in 1606, referred to a "church in the west of England" from which Thomas White and his company came to Amsterdam, and with whom correspondence was had. *Inquirie and Answer*, etc., 53.

[2] A deposition of William Clerke, taken 8

winter to as many as seven or eight different private houses in various parts of the city;[3] and in milder weather to a garden house near Bedlam,[4] and to the woods of Deptford[5] and Ratcliffe,[6] and the secluded gravel-pits of Islington.[7] We have glimpses of as many as twelve or fourteen different expounders who appear to have labored with them.[8] And there is evidence that they were accustomed thus to assemble to the number sometimes of sixty or one hundred; while, when the officers were very diligent in hunting them, so many of them might be put in prison, that their meetings would fall in attendance to a score or less. Sometimes they would be nearly all incarcerated at once, and then manage to have a little service together in prison perhaps, after the midnight manner of Paul and Silas at Philippi.[9] We have the names of twenty-four who — some of them after long and wasting confinement — died in various dungeons — the majority in Newgate.[10] Fifty-nine who were at one time in durance thus for conscience' sake in the Gatehouse, the Fleet, Newgate, Bridewell, the Clink, the White Lion, the Wood Street Counter, and the Poultry Counter, united in signing a petition to the Lord Treasurer; stating that they had endured great hardships, many of them having been shut up for a year and a half, some in irons, some in straits for proper food, and suffering from the miasmas of their confinement; pleading that they might have a fair public hearing, and be made examples of, if they were found worthy of death or of bonds; but if not, that they might be bailed out, so as to be in a condition to provide by honest labor for the support of their families and themselves;

March, 1592, says: "He sayth he hath bene of the forsayd congregation *these foure or fyve years*, and made promise to stand with the sd. congregation so long as they did stand for the truth and glory of God, being then of that congregation at that tyme present about twenty, or thereabouts." *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 110. See also 116, 117, etc.

3 Mention is made of "the constable's house at Islington, Barnes's in Smithfield, Dan. Buck's near Aldgate, Bilson's, Lee's in Smithfield, Rippon's in Southwark, Lewe's in Stepney, Foxe's in St. Nicholas Lane, and Penry's. *Ibid*, 59, 60, 61, 62, 112, 114, 116, 399.

4 *Ibid*, 59.

5 *Ibid*, 59, 60, 66, 114, 116.

6 *Ibid*, 62.

7 *Ibid*, 59, 66, 116.

8 The names are given of Mr. Colshill [*Ibid*, 117]; Mr. Cooper [or Cowper] [62, 65]; Mr. Egerton [65]; Mr. Gardner [65]; George Johnson [114, 399]; Mr. Phillips [59]; James Forester [59]; Mr. Settle [61]; Mr. Smyth [62]; Mr. Sparke [62]; Mr. Stanhope [114]; and Mr. Wygginton [65].

9 *Ibid*, 114. There are one or two references in point, which I have mislaid.

10 See list previously given, page 207 ante.

or, if not that, that they might at least be shut up together, so as to have some comfort and help of each other's society.[11]

Depositions taken about 1588, inform us of the manner of their simple service: "In the sommer tyme they mete together in the fieldes, a mile or more about London; there they sitt doune upon a Banke, and diverse of them expound out of y^e^ Bible so long as they are there assembled.[12] In the winter tyme they assemble themselues by 5 of the clocke in y^e^ morning to that Howse where they make y^r^ Conuenticle for that Saboth day, men & women together; there they continue in y^e^ kind of prayers and exposition of Scriptures all the day. They dyne together, after dynner, make collection to pay for y^e^ dyet, and what money is left, some one of them carieth to the prison, where any of their sort be comited.[13] In y^r^ prayer one speketh, & the rest doe grone, or sob, or sigh, as if they woulde wringe out teares, but say not after him that prayeth. Their prayer is extemporall.[14] . . . They teach that all stinted prayers & red service is but babling in the Lords sight & hath neyther promises of blessing nor edification, for that they are but cushyns for such idell Priests and Atheists as have not the Spirit of God; and therefore to offer up prayers by reading or writing unto God is plain Idolatry. . . . In all y^r^ meetings they teach that there is no Heade or Supreme Governour of the church of God, but Christ & that the: [magistrate?] hath no authoritie to appoint Ministers in the Church, nor to set doun any gouernment for the church wh. is not directly commanded in Gods Worde.[15] . . . They teach that a private man, being a brother, may preach to beget fayth, and now that the office of the Apostles is ceased, there needeth not publique mynisters, but every man in his own calling is to preach the Gospell.[16] . . . They condemn it as utterly unlawfull to come to our churches in England to any publick prayer or preaching of whomsoeuer, . . . and those who do fall from them [and return to the parish churches] they condemn as Apostats. . . . And when one [did so] and they saw they colde not wynne him, they gave him over to the hands of Satan til he

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[11] See the petition in Strype, *Annals of Ref.*, etc., iv: 127.

[12] Deposition of Clement Cambell, *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 15.

[13] *Ibid*, 16.

[14] Deposition of John Dove. *Ibid*, 16.

[15] Deposition of Cambell. *Ibid*, 16.

[16] Confessed by John Dove. *Ibid.*

wolde submit himself to the church again, and they al kneeling, he that gave that sentence made a prayer, to desire God to ratify that censure against h . . . . They hold it unlawfull to baptize children amongst us [i. e. Established Churches], but rather chuse to let y^m g unbaptized. . . . It cannot be lerned where they receyve the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, & one who never missed y^r meetings of a year & a half, confesseth that he never saw any ministration of the sacrament, nor knoweth where it is done. . . . For marriage if any of y^r church marry together, some of y^r own Brotherhood must marry them, as of late a cople were married in the Fleet."[17]

As early as at some time in 1589, there was a little single quarto sheet printed at Dort, containing a Confession of Faith drawn up for these persons, and, as the earliest Congregational creed which, *in ipsissimis verbis*, has come down to our time, it deserves some careful consideration. It is entitled: *A Trve Description out of the Word of God, of the visible Church.* Mr. Hanbury,[18] by a singular oversight of facts, seems to assign its authorship to either Richard Clifton, or John Smyth, on authority of the fact that Bishop Hall speaks of it[19] to John Robinson as the work of "your pastor," and both Clifton and Smyth, Hanbury says, stood "in that capacity in relation to Robinson." But neither Clifton nor Smyth had any connection which we can trace with this Separatist company, until seven or eight years after this document had been printed; while a careful examination of Bishop Hall's *Apologie* from which Hanbury quotes his remark, will make it clear that the person whom Hall had in mind, and intended to designate by the phrase "your pastor," was really Francis Johnson, whom he so styles at least eighteen times therein.[20] If we look more closely into the subject, however, we shall find that Bishop Hall must have been in error in this, which could at most have been nothing more than conjecture on his part. For, as we shall see directly, nothing can be better settled than that Francis Johnson did not become a Separatist until in, or after, 1591; so that it is a moral impossibility that he could have had anything to

[17] Depositions of Rog. Jackson and Clem. Cambell. *Ibid*, 17, 18.

[18] *Historical Memorials*, etc., i: 28 (note).

[19] *Common Apologie of the Chh. of Eng.*, 14.

[20] *Ibid*, 10, 14, 30, 31 (bis), 34, 38, 42, 43, 44, 52 (bis), 67, 72, 74, 100, 113, 128.

do with the preparation of this symbol from two to three years before that date. We are driven back, then, to the internal evidence which, in itself, would connect Barrowe and Greenwood responsibly with this publication, enforced by the external proof furnished by the deposition of Robert Stokes,[21] that such a sheet was printed for them.

The few vital points of this declaration of faith, are these:

"This Church as it is vniversallie vnderstood, conteyneth in it all the Elect of God that have bin, are, or shalbe: But being considered more particularlie, as it is seen in this present world, it consisteth of a companie and fellowship of faithful and holie people gathered in the name of Christ Iesus, their only King, Priest, and Prophet, worshipping him aright, being peaceablie and quietlie governed by his Officers and lawes, keping the vnitie of faith in the bond of peace & love vnfained.[22] . . . She enioyeth most holie and heavenlie lawes, most faithfull and vigilant Pastours, most syncere & pure Teachers, most careful and vpright Governours, most diligent and trustie Deacons, most loving and sober Releevers, and a most humble, meek, obedient, faithfull, and loving people, everie stone living elect and precious, everie stone hath his beautie, his burden, and his order.[23] . . . Here is no intrusion or climing vp an other way into the sheepe-folde, then by the holy & free election of the Lordes holie and free people, and that according to the Lordes ordinance, humbling themselves by fasting and prayer before the Lord, craving the direction of his holy Spirit, for the triall and approving of giftes, etc.[24] . . . Thus hath everie one of the people interest in the election and ordination of their officers, etc.[25] . . . Their Elders must be of wisedome and iudgement, endued with the Spirit of God, able to discerne between cause & cause, between plea & plea, & accordingly to prevent & redres evilles, alwayes vigilant & intending to see the statutes, ordinances, and lawes of God kept in the Church, and that not onelie by the people in obedience, but to see the Officers do their dueties.[26] . . . These Officers muste first be duely proved, then if they be found blameles, administer,[27] etc. . . . . The office of the Auncientes [Elders] is expressed in their description: Their especiall care must bee, to see the ordinaunces of God truely taught and practized, aswel by the officers in dooing their duetie vprightlie, as to see that the people obey willinglie and readily. It is their duetie to see the Congregation holily and quietly ordered, and no way disturbed, by the contentious and disobedient

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21 "He sayeth, also, he caused a litle thyng of one shete of paper to be prynted by their procurement before all thys, called *The Destructyon of the vysyble Church.* [Deposition of Robert Stokes, *Egerton Papers, Camden Soc.* 1840, 175]. There can be no doubt that this refers to the *Description*, because (1) no trace of any such publication as this "Destructyon" exists; (2) it would have been an unnatural title from them; (3) the mistake would be an easy one for Stokes's memory to make; or (4) as Lord Popham's hand is a "most illegible" one, he may have intended in his notes of the trial to write "Description," and his copyist blundered into the other word — which latter I presume to be the true explanation.

22 *Trve Description*, etc., 1.

23 *Ibid*, 2.

24 *Ibid*, 3.

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid*, 4.

27 *Ibid.*

froward and obstinate: not taking away the libertie of the least, but vpholding the right of all, wiselie iudging of times and circumstances. They must bee readie assistauntes to the Pastour and Teachers, helping to beare their burden, but not intruding into their office.[28] . . . These Officers, though they be divers and severall, yet are they not severed, least there should be a division in the body, but they are as members of the bodie, having the same care one of another, ioyntlie doing their severall dueties to the service of the Sainctes, and to the edification of the Bodie of Christ, till wee all meet together in the perfect measure of the fulnes of Christ, etc. . . . Now this power which Christ hath given vnto his Church, and to every member of his Church, to keep it in order, hee hath not left it to their discretions and lustes to be vsed or neglected as they will, but . . . hath sett downe both an order of proceeding, and an end to which it is vsed.[29] . . . If he refuse to heare them, then to declare the matter to the Church, etc.[30] . . . If this prevaile not to draw him to repentance, then are they in the Name aud power of the Lord IESVS with the whole Congregation, reverently in prayer to proceed to excommunication, that is vnto the casting him out of their congregation & fellowship . . . committing him to Sathan for the destructiō of the flesh, that the Spirit may be saved," etc.[31]

It cannot escape you that these extracts, while sufficiently implying the proposition that Christian churches are local bodies of believers separated from the world and affiliated by covenant, do not go so far into the exact internal philosophy of the self-government of these local bodies, as distinctly to emphasize this as a Brownist or a Barrowist document. Very likely Barrowe's own mind had not, as yet, fully worked out the details of his system in the points of its difference from that of Browne. The strong leaning, however, is clearly toward the aristocracy of the Eldership. The Elders are to be "able to discerne between cause & cause, between plea & plea"—of course that they may decide between them; while they are charged with the duty of seeing not only that the people obey, but that the officers perform their duties aright; or, to take the exact phrase: "their especiall care must bee, to see the ordinaunces of God truely taught and practized, aswel by the officers in dooing their dutie vprightlie, as to see that the people obey willinglie and readily." There is, especially, a curious vagueness of expression in that precise clause where one would look to see the difference between the two systems brought out most sharply, that is, in the process of discipline.

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[28] *Ibid*, 5.
[29] *Ibid*, 6.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid*, 7.

To whom — to the Elders, the brotherhood, or the two coöperating and consenting — is committed this solemn duty? It is ordered and agreed that, private labor proving inadequate with an offender, it be told to "the Church," and the "Church" is to admonish him and pray for him, and, if this prevail not, "then are they" to proceed reverently to excommunication. Who are "they?" Grammatically they are "the Church;" but in point of fact it cannot be meant that the entire membership is thus to proceed, because the article goes on immediately to specify "with the whole Congregation," by which is clearly intended the totality of the church membership, because the next sentence speaks of "the whole Congregation, and all other faithfull." So that, unless the document stultifies itself by declaring that the whole congregation is to proceed in presence of the whole congregation; what is really meant is that the *Elders* shall cut off the incorrigible offender, in the presence of the brotherhood. That is, the Elders are the church. So that the fond notion of the oligarchic *imperium* within the democratic *imperio*, would seem essentially to flavor this document, and so to characterize the very beginnings of the creed-literature of modern Congregationalism.

Here, as well as any where, we may turn aside for a moment to notice a volume, a small quarto of 137 pages, published in 1590, in criticism of this creed, which was called *A Plaine Confvtation of a Treatise of Brovvnisme, published by some of that Faction, entituled: A Description of the visible Church*, written by one R. Alison, and intended to confute these men by showing that their Confession of Faith neither described a true government of the church, nor yet proved that outward discipline is the life of the church. There was annexed also some reference to the two pamphlets (the *Collection of certaine sclaunderous Articles*, and the *Collection of certaine Letters and Conferences*) which we have seen were sent from their prison, by Barrowe and Greenwood, to be printed at Dort. Alison cites most of the *Trve Description*, article by article, in order to reply to it; criticising freely its positions, and the proof-texts which it adduces in their support. He seldom rises from a very common-place level, and the only points in which he deserves our attention are those in which the book indicates that its author was shrewd enough to

detect the difficulties which underlay the theory of the Eldership, as these men held it. He says the laws are such "as may seeme to be sufficient for the ordering of the common sort, but if the Elder be disordered, here is no lawe for his reformation, or if the whole seignory do faile either in iudgement or in proceeding . . . there is no manner of proceeding declared in this euill."[32] So, after alluding to the fine character ideally given to these officers, Alison dryly remarks, that there are "no promises that the church shal enioy such men alwayes."[33] Then, further on, he says: "It should seeme that the drawer of this gouernement would haue the ecclesiastical censures onely to proceed from the ancients (or else he would in one place or other haue shewed that they without the rest were not to determine) and also that supreame authority should be in them to controll both teacher and people, being themselues priuiledged from the censures of other."[34] Then, in noticing the subject of discipline, he calls attention to the inconsistency of the fact that, while the Elders are expected to govern and censure, "Christ is said to haue giuen this power aforesaid to euery member of the Church," and "he hath not sett downe how farre the authoritie of the people is extended."[35] So, still further, in the appended discussion of the "Inconstancie of Brownisme," he charges that "from these sweete positions haue sprong this excellent harmonie, that euerie man presumeth among them to excommunicate one another, as hath bin seene, and is dayly manifest, both in the Clink, and other prisons," etc.[36]

We have already seen that Greenwood was said to have been originally arrested and dragged to prison from one of the conventicles of this company of believers,[37] and that when, after years of imprisonment, there came a momentary lull in the storm, with some relaxation of the severity of his treatment, he returned at once to this secret fellowship. And here he seems first[38] — out of prison — to have fallen in with the man whose name came to occupy a foremost place in the Congregational

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32 *Confutation of Brownisme*, etc., 29.
33 *Ibid*, 40.
34 *Ibid*, 82.
35 *Ibid*, 93.
36 *Ibid*, 116.

37 So stated by Dr. Waddington [*Historical Papers* (1st series), 67], but he gives no authority for the statement, and I could find none in the State Papers.

38 *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 114.

records, and to comprehend whom up to this date we must make momentary pause.

Francis Johnson was the son of Jacob Johnson, who was at one time mayor of Richmond in Yorkshire,[39] and was born in, or about, 1562.[40] At a proper age he was sent with his younger brother George to Cambridge, where in due course he became Master of Arts, and a Fellow of Christ's College.[41] On the 6th January, 1588 — when he would be not far from twenty-six years of age — he preached a sermon at St. Mary's, Cambridge, from 1 Peter v: 1–4, "The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder," etc., in which he took ground upon the government of the church which led to the framing of a complaint against him. In his sworn answer to that complaint he avowed his adhesion to the new Presbyterian policy of "one uniform and prescript order by the teaching and ruling Elders, and doubted not in the fear of God to affirm that the want of these is the cause of ignorance, atheism, idolatry, profanation of the Sabbath, disobedience to superiors," etc.[42]

After a long imprisonment he was required to make a public recantation, but did not succeed in satisfying both the authorities and his own conscience, so that he was expelled from the University, late in the autumn of 1589. Not departing at once, he was again imprisoned, when sixty-eight members of the University united in petitioning in his favor.[43] All ended in his retiring to Middelberg in Zeland, where he became pastor of the church of English Merchants of the Staple worshiping in the Gasthuis Kerk,[44] to which Cartwright and Dudley Fenner had successively ministered, where he had the then very comfortable maintenance of £200 per annum.[45] While resident here, thinking to make himself generally useful, he seems to

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39 Waddington, *Hist. Papers*, i: 121.

40 5 April, 1593, he deposed that he was "of the age of 31 yeres, or thereabouts." *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 33.

41 *Brook*, ii: 86.

42 Strype, *Annals*, etc., iii (2): 611–13. The original is in *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxi: 15. In the same volume, [19–35, 40–45, 54–57,] are other original papers concerning Johnson's trouble at Cambridge; including the autograph petition to the Chancellor on his behalf, "by reason of his long troble in imprisonment and other greivances," signed by the 68 members of the University.

43 Among them were William Perkins, Thomas Morton, and Thomas Brightman — whose signatures may be seen, as above.

44 W. Steven, *Hist. Scott. Chh. Rotterdam*, etc., 316.

45 Gov. Bradford, marginal note to his *Dialogue*, etc., in Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, etc., 424.

have prowled about the printing-offices in the vicinity, where Separatist books would be likely to be published, and, in 1591, he discovered Barrowe and Greenwood's *Plaine Refvtation of M. Giffards Booke intituled, Ashort treatise gainst the Donatistes of England*, in process of printing at Dort. Bringing it to the notice of the authorities, he "was made the ambassador's instrument to intercept them at the press, and see them burnt; the which charge he did so well perform, as he let them go on until they were wholly finished, and then surprised the whole impression, not suffering any to escape; and then, by the magistrates' authority, caused them all to be openly burnt, himself standing by, until they were all consumed to ashes."[46] In the very midst, however, of his jubilant consciousness of a duty to truth and righteousness thus effectually done, he was indiscreet enough to make one mistake, which not only cost him, in the end, a good deal of money, but which radically modified the entire remainder of his earthly life. He saved two copies from the flames which marketed the balance of the edition: "One to keep in his own study, that he might see their errors, and the other to bestow on a special friend for the like use." Having concluded his bonfire, and carried his two books home, something — one would not wonder if it might be some spasm of sympathy for authors whom he had so cruelly disappointed and wronged when they were working at such fearful disadvantage — something led him to open one of these two books. Superficially glancing here and there, he met, at last, with a passage that touched his heart, and he sat down to read carefully the whole. He rose up a staggered, and well-nigh a convinced, man. The least he could next do for his own peace of mind was to lay down his comfortable charge, and take ship for London; where he sought out Barrowe in the Fleet prison, and talked with him, until he became thoroughly persuaded that the book was right, and that it was he himself who had been in the wrong. So he "never returned to his place any more at Middelberg, but adjoined himself to their society at London,"[47] where Greenwood found him with the others in the early autumn of 1592, when important action was taken by this company of believers

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *Ibid*, 425.

It has been usual to say that a formal church organization was now first effected.[48] But these people surely had been associated, in some sort, as a secret brotherhood for several years previous to this date;[49] they had been in the habit of admitting members, causing them to promise to "stand with them so long as they did stand for the truth and glory of God;"[50] they had acted together as a church at least sufficiently to excommunicate one Love;[51] the *Trve Description* had been issued, substantially as their Confession of Faith, three years before; they had long been in the habit of regular services and contributions, but do not seem to have taken, as yet, the privilege of communing together at the table of the Lord.[52] That is, as I conceive, they had enjoyed and exercised a practical church fellowship, only in a somewhat inchoate state; and what was now done "at the house of one Fox, in Nicholas Lane" was formally to complete it with officers; Francis Johnson being chosen Pastor, John Greenwood, teacher, Daniel Studley and George Kniston, Elders, and Christopher Bowman and Nicholas Lee, deacons. Seven infants were baptized, and the Lord's Supper was administered.[53]

Another similar assembly seems to have been in existence at the same time in London, which did not, however, perfect its organization until later — if at all.[54]

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48 Dr. Waddington [*Cong. Hist.*, ii: 73] so represents it, and Barclay copies him. *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, etc., 41.

49 See note 2, ante.

50 Deposition of William Clerke, *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 110.

51 *Ibid*, 18.

52 "It cannot be lerned where they receyve the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and one who never missed yr meetings of a year and a half, confesseth that he never saw any ministration of the sacrament, nor knoweth where it is done." *Ibid.*

53 It is interesting to notice how almost exactly they had struck upon the simple forms which have remained characteristic of the Congregational churches to this day. Daniel Buck, scrivener [a writing-master; sometimes one who drew up commercial or legal instruments], deposed 9 March, 1593, that when he joined the company "he made ys protestation that he wold walke with the rest; & yt so longe as they did walke in the way of the Lorde, & as farr as might be warranted by the word of God;" that Johnson "tooke water and washed the faces of them that were baptized . . . . saying onely in ye administration of ye sacrament: 'I do baptize the in ye name of the Father, of the Sonn, & of the Holy Ghost,' without useing any other ceremony therin," and without godfathers and godmothers; and that at the Lord's Supper "five whight loves, or more, were sett upon ye Table, and that the Pastor did breake ye bread, and then delyvered it unto some of them, & the Deacons delyvered to the rest; some of the sd. Congregation sittinge & some standing about the Table; and that the Pastor delivered the Cupp unto one & he to another till they had all dronken, useing the words, at ye delyverye thereof, according as is sett down in the eleventh of the Cor. ye 24 verse." *Ibid*, 399, 400.

54 Bancroft [*Svrvay*, etc., 429] says: "One Collins, a man amongest them, not vnlearned (as it seemeth) doeth write in this sorte hereof.

We may presume that these people took great comfort in their ability thus with some completeness to incarnate their theories; but their enjoyment was destined to be brief, inasmuch as it was next to impossible for men then to assemble themselves together, without the fact becoming apparent to the watchful eyes of the bishops' officers. And on the night of the 5th December following, Johnson and Greenwood were both arrested at the house of Mr. Boyes on Ludgate Hill, and thrown into close prison; while on the 4th of the March next succeeding [1592–3] as many as fifty-six of the members were surprised in the woods at Islington, "in the very place where the persecuted Church and Martyrs were enforced to use the like exercises in Queene Maries dayes,"[55] and lodged in jail under circumstances most atrocious.[56]

Within ninety days after this, as we have seen, Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry had been martyred. But the English Church and State authorities soon after came to their senses sufficiently to perceive that they had carried the matter too far, and that it would be safer policy to banish Barrowists under the act of 35 Elizabeth, than to hang any more under that of 23 Elizabeth.[57] Before his martyrdom Penry had advised the church to emigrate to some country where they could have peace to worship God. He counseled them to go in a body, keeping together, and desired his widow and orphans to be of the company.[58]

'*Ecclesia potenti eius dextra adiuta, etc.* The church assisted with the mightie right hande of God, hath chosen ministers: Maister Johnson for her pastor; Maister Greenwood for her Doctor; Maister Studly and Maister George Knife, for her elders: Nicholas Lee and Christopher Browne for her Deacons. *The other assembly also (wherevnto are added John Nicholas: Thomas Michell: Iohn Barnes, and some others with mee) with Gods assistaunce, will beginne out of hand, to create vnto it selfe ministers.*'"

55 *Mr. H. Barrowes Platform*, etc. (1611), 54.

56 They were "unbaleably cõmitted;" with "neyther meate, drinke, fyre nor lodging;" nor were their friends allowed "to haue any accesse unto them;" husbands and wives were purposely put in different prisons. Some had not a penny about them, so that not only they but their poor families, were in a wretched case. All was "contrary to all law, œquitie and conscience." *Ibid*, 53, 57.

57 Fletcher, *Hist. Independency*, etc., ii: 207. "Causing heavie decrees to come forth against vs, that wee should forsweare our own Contrey, & depart, or els bee slaine therin." *Trve Confession*, etc., iii.

58 "And my good brethren, seeing banishment with loss of goods is likely to betide you all, prepare yourselves for this hard entreaty, and rejoice that you are made worthy for Christ's cause to suffer and bear all these things. And I beseech you, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that none of you in this case look upon his particular estate, but regard the general state of the Church of God; that the same may go and be kept together whithersoever it shall please God to send you. . . . Let not those of you, then, that either have

Barrowe, who, as I have said, most likely by inheritance, had some property, left something as a legacy to the church, to aid it through the straits which he foresaw before it.[59]

While the authorities still kept their hands on Francis Johnson and his brother George, and a few of the prominent members of their company, the majority were soon released; with a tacit understanding, if not the extorted pledge, that they should quit the country. A few left for Holland in the summer, or autumn, of 1593. We hear of them at Campen, a little Dutch town situated on the Yssel near its entrance into the Zuiderzee, and some fifty miles along the curve of the shore of that sea a little north of eastward from Amsterdam; and at Naarden, a small village on the same shore, perhaps thirty-eight miles nearer that city. Whether, being obliged to take ship as they could from London, they landed at Campen first, and so gradually approached their final destination, taking Naarden on the way; or whether, reaching Amsterdam first, they for some reason retreated to these obscure villages for temporary refuge,[60] is

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stocks in your hands, or some likely trades to live by, dispose of yourselves where it may be most commodious for your outward estate, and in the meantime suffer the poor ones that have no such means, either to bear the whole work upon their weak shoulders, or to end their days in sorrow and mourning for want of outward and inward comforts in the land of strangers. . . . But consult with the whole church, yea, with the brethren of other places, how the church may be kept together, and built, whithersoever they go. Let not the poor and the friendless be forced to stay behind here, and to break a good conscience for want of your support and kindness unto them, that they may go with you. And here I humbly beseech you — not in any outward regard, as I shall answer before my God — that you would take my poor and desolate widow, and my mess of fatherless and friendless orphans, with you into exile, whithersoever you go; and you shall find, I doubt not, that the blessed promises of my God, made unto me and mine, will accompany them, and even the whole church, for their sakes." [Dr. Waddington's *John Penry*, etc., 173–175; from the *Yelverton MSS.*, as I suppose.] It may be interesting in this connection to note that while I have found no trace of Mrs. Penry after the death of her martyred husband, or of the smaller children, there is evidence that the daughter Deliverance (born in 1589–90, and presumably the eldest) went to Amsterdam with the church, and appears to have lived for a time in the family of Francis Johnson — at least George more than once complains of the conduct of Mrs. Francis towards her. [*Discourse*, etc., 130, 131, 136, 142.] The Amsterdam records [*Puiboeken*, sub dato] contain the evidence that, 14 May, 1611 (when she declares herself to be "an orphan aged 21") she was married to Samuel Whitaker, from Somersetshire, "aged 23." Both their autograph signatures here appear.

59 G. Johnson, *Discourse of some Troubles*, etc., 60.

60 A note is added to a minute in the Records of the English Reformed Church at Amsterdam, of date 4 February, 1607, mentioning that the Brownists "about this time were banished out of the city for writing libels and scandalous articles against the Reformed Churches of this land and city." [vide *MSS. Rec.*, s. d.] Were this twelve or fourteen years earlier I should fancy that it readily explained the temporary residence at Campen and Naarden; but, unless we suppose an error in the record, it seems difficult to stretch this to cover that residence. Possibly it may suggest a like cause of earlier and accordant date.

not altogether clear, although I regard the latter as the more probable.[61] We have the fact, that they were for a time at Campen, from one witness who was within reach of the best evidence;[62] while seven witnesses concur as to their having been at Naarden — three of whom refer to the fact that while there they received some small benevolence for their poor from the magistrates of the town.[63] By the close of 1595, there seems to be no doubt that this company first emigrating had become domiciled in Amsterdam, and had established themselves as best they could, acting on the theory that they were possessed of all the functions of a complete church — only, that being without the presence of a Pastor and full corps of officers, the sacraments could not be administered. During the nearly four years which elapsed before they were joined by their Pastor and Elders, they appear to have kept up constant correspondence with that portion of the body still in London, and to have submitted important questions to the decisions of the

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[61] Johannes Taffinus and Jacobus Arminius in a letter to Francis Junius, of date 3 March, 1599, speak of advice given by them to these exiles before they went to Naarden, and after their return, which implies that they had landed at Amsterdam, and, for some reason, retreated thence for a time. ["Hoc admonitionis officio erga illos usi sumus, *antequam Nardem se conferrent;* postea *ubi inde ad nos redierunt, repetivimus*, pro quo et tum gratias nobis egerunt." Letter in *Præstant ac Erud. Vir. Epistolæ*, etc., (ed. 1704) 79.] As Taffin was one of the Walloon pastors, and Arminius one of the Reformed pastors, in Amsterdam at the time, their joint testimony is entitled to great weight.

[62] John Payne, who, writing at Harlem, December, 1597, apparently with great familiarity with the affairs of the time, in his *Royall Exchange*, after addressing sundry other parties, and especially "the Anabaptist T. M." etc., goes on: "Lykewyse you my countreymen of another kynd and company, *removing from Campion to Norden, and from thence, to Amsterdam*, and now miserably rent, devided and scattered," etc., proceeding to speak of them as "without Pastor and sacraments for these 3. yeres," and to refer to other facts in their history which fit this Barrowist company so well, as — in the absence of any other known company of English people in Holland which they would fit — to make it nearly certain that he had them in mind.

[63] (1) Thomas White [in his *Discoverie of Brownisme*, etc., 15] says: "Their Deacon Christoph. Bow. for his deceiving of many poor even of their own companye, of halfe that which the magistrates of *Narden* had given them weekelye, was thereupon (when it came to light), through widdowe Colgates meanes, called Judas the purse-bearer in *Narden* for so doing." (2) Francis Johnson [in his *Inquirie and Answer of Thomas White his Discoverie*, etc., 40] says: "Here he excepteth only against one of our deacons, Mr. C. Bow. To whom, about eleven yeares synce [the date of the book is 1606] the magistrates of *Narden* did once (and not weekly, as this man intimates) send a little money to be given to the poor of the church," etc. (3) George Johnson [in his *Discourse of some Troubles*, etc., 15] says: "It debarred M. Mercer from being chosen [elder] *while the church was at Narden.*" (4) Chris. Lawne [in his *Prophane Schisme of the Brownists*, etc., 27] extracts and endorses the above statement of White. (5) John Payne is a witness to the same effect in the passage quoted in the last note. (6) Taffin and (7) Arminius, as cited in the last note but one, make out the seven witnesses which I claim to the same fact.

Elders there;[64] occasional messengers, as well as letters, passing between.[65]

It seems possible to recover but few particulars of the Amsterdam life and experience of this portion of the church during these years. In fact, one may almost say that all which we do know about them may be summed up into these four particulars: (1) that they were very poor, and that aid was afforded them from Barrowe's estate, and by a contribution sent to them from London and Middelberg, and also from a church of English merchants resident in Barbary, then under the pastoral care of Mr. T. Bernhere;[66] (2) that they were "miserably rent, devided and scattered," and, at least, on two separate occasions felt themselves under the painful necessity of excommunicating some of their members;[67] (3) that at some time, apparently during the first half of this period, Henry Ainsworth became

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64 Geo. Johnson says: "The church for 5. or 6. yeares practised as the Pastor, elders and brethren, being in prison at London wrote unto them; and therefore though standing in great neede of officers refused to choose any such, how otherwise well-qualified soever, resting in the SS. and reasons which proved that it was not lawful to choose such, etc. [*Discourse*, etc., 10.] This "5. or 6. yeares" is inaccurate, as Johnson's dates sometimes are. See also a statement by Francis Johnson as to correspondence between himself and the officers in prison, and the body of the church, as to a case of discipline ending in excommunication. *Inquirie and Answer of Thos. White his Discoverie*, etc., 64.

65 Thus Roger Waterer was "to be chose and appointed for a minister or messenger in affaires betweene the church, and the prisoners," etc. G. Johnson, *Discourse*, etc., 119.

66 Geo. Johnson, *Discourse*, etc., 50, 62, 142. Brook [*Lives of Puritans*, etc., iii: 513] has a note upon Bernhere, who, he says, was educated at Cambridge, but, scrupling the ceremonies, "went abroad, where he was ordained in one of the foreign reformed churches." He was probably a friend of Francis Johnson at the University. S. Fairlambe refers to him as pastor at Barbary, and a correspondent of Johnson, and of himself. [*Recantation of a Brownist*, etc., 5, 10, 15, 16, 31, 36.] I am not sure that these poor English did not also receive some assistance from the city of Amsterdam, at this time. At any rate I. I. Pontanus, in his *Rerum et Urbis Amstelodamensium Historia* (1611) [95], while giving some account of the charities of that community, in his chapter "de Pavperibvs domi sedentibus, vulgo *Huyssittene-armen*," says, that on the new side of the city, where the poor largely congregated, there were at one time as many as sixteen hundred and eleven families, of whom scarce two hundred were native Hollanders, the remainder being Frenchmen, Brabanters, Westphalians, etc., "et *Anglos*;" all of whom were assisted without distinction of nation or religion. See also Wagenaar's *Amsterdam*, ii: 262, 271, etc.

67 This seems to be fairly implied in John Payne's testimony before cited [note 62]; and it is conceded fully by Francis Johnson in his *Inquirie*, where he says [63]: "About 13. yeares since this church through persecution in England, was driven to come into these countries. A while after they were come hither, divers of them fell into the heresies of the Anabaptists (which are too common in these countries), and so persisting, were excommunicated by the rest. Then, a while after, again, many others . . . some elder, some younger, even too many, though not the half (as I understand) fell into a schisme from the rest, and so many of them as continewed therein were cast out: divers other of them repenting and returning before excommunication, and diuers of them after."

their teacher;[68] and (4) that, during 1596, which was the last year of Johnson's imprisonment, after considerable conference back and forth between the two portions of the church, with the pastor in the Clink prison in London, and the new teacher in Amsterdam, a little quarto of twenty-two pages was issued from the press, entitled *A Trve Confession of the Faith, and Hvmble acknovvledgment oe the Alegeance, which vvee hir Maiesties*

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[68] I have met with no light upon the exact date of Ainsworth's appearance in Amsterdam. Of all the company the greatest, we know of him nearly the least. Dr. Halley [*Lancashire*, etc., i: 252] says he was the son of Lawrence Ainsworth, Esq., and "was born in 1560, in the mansion of his ancestors at Plessington," near Blackburn. He cites no authority for this statement. But I found on the Amsterdam records [*Puiboeken*, sub dato] the record, authenticated by his autograph signature, of his intention of marriage, 29 March, 1607, to Margery Halie, from Ipswich, widow of Richard Appelby. [G. Johnson, (*Troubles*, etc., 152) mentions "R. Appleby" as, in 1598, one of the active members of the church at Amsterdam.] Here Ainsworth describes himself as of Swanton, Eng., and as being thirty-six years of age. There are at least three Swantons in England, two of which are within twelve miles of Norwich — so that there seems some likelihood that he, as well as Robinson, and many others, came from that neighborhood fertile in dissent. While, as this record transfers his birth to 1570–1, it would appear that Dr. Halley's Henry Ainsworth, born in Lancashire ten years earlier, must have been another man.

It has been usual to say that he graduated at Cambridge. Yet Roger Williams, who seems to have known him well, declares [*Blovdy Tenent*, etc. (1644), 174]: "That most despised (while living) and now much honoured Mr. Ainsworth, had scarce his Peere amongst a thousand Academians for the Scripture Originalls, and yet he scarce set foot within a Colledge walls."

Lawne [*Prophane Schisme*, etc., 17] speaks (1612) of "Master Ainsworths daughter," in terms which imply that she was then an adult. First married in 1607, Henry Ainsworth could, in 1612, hardly have had a daughter more than four years of age, so that it seems probable that there was another family of the name in Amsterdam. Or was this "Master Ainsworth's daughter," Henry's sister? One John Ainsworth [*Eynswort*] "a young man from Amsterdam," was married at Leyden, 24 December, 1636, to Elizabeth Keble; was made citizen of Leyden, 4 November, 1639, and lived (27 October, 1648) in the *Peter-Kerksteeg* in that city [*Leyden Records*]. From his age he might have been a son of our Henry; or a representative of another family of the name in Amsterdam, to which the girl mentioned by Lawne belonged. Gov. Bradford [Dialogue, etc., Young, *Chron. Pilgrim Fath.*, etc., 441] who is probably the best witness to whom we can turn, says: "The report of Mr. Ainsworth was near those times *when he was newly come out of Ireland with others poor*, and being a single young man, and very studious, was content with a little." Yet, elsewhere [449] he says of him: "When he was a young man, *before he came out of England*," etc. Most likely he was born at Swanton, and perhaps with a few kindred spirits sought refuge first in Ireland, or was, in some way, led into connection with the Separatists whom we know then to have existed there [see in *H. Barrowes Platforme*, etc., 49–53, a letter justifying Irish Separatism], from whence he went with others to Amsterdam. John Shaw, a Puritan minister of some note, and who, although born in 1608, seems to have made himself familiarly acquainted with this Separatist history, in some *Advice to his Son* [remaining in MSS. and cited by Mr. Hunter in his *Collections*, etc., 185], says: "Ainsworth . . . upon the like grounds separated, *and went into Ireland with his followers, and after, he returned to Amsterdam in Holland.*" Neal [*Hist. Puritans* (ed 1837), i: 421] represents Ainsworth as going from Amsterdam to Ireland, on account of the troubles in his church, and afterward coming back to die there. Perhaps he took this from Hoornbeek, who says [*Summ. Contr. Relig.* (ed. 1658), 740]: "Ainswortus in Hiberniam trajecit, nonnullosque ibi reliquit discipulos, brevi reversus Amsteldamum."

Subjects, falsely called Brovvnists, doo hould tovvards God, and yeild to hir Majestie and all other that are ouer vs in the Lord. Set dovvn in Articles or Positions, for the better & more easie vnderstanding of those that shall read yt: And published for the cleering of our selues from those vnchristian slanders of heresie, schisme, pryde, obstinacie, disloyaltie, sedicion, &c., vvhich by our adversaries are in all places given out against vs, etc. The precise quality of this it will be more convenient to consider further on.

It was to be expected that the portion of the church which was detained in London, should continue in the exercise of church acts, because it comprised the Pastor and Elders, who, on the Barrowist theory, to all intents and purposes were the church. Accordingly the seals were administered, discipline was exercised, and, so far as their narrow and abnormal circumstances permitted, all church functions were performed.[69]

Falling into the same mistake, however, into which Browne's church had fallen at Middelberg, of holding that it was the duty of the body, and of each individual member thereof, to carry upon the conscience the burthen of every shortcoming, or overstepping, of which any other member might seem to be guilty; a like harvest of trouble and sorrow was eventually reaped.

Of this we possess an amusing, a painful, and a most instructive record, in the published narrative of a brother of the Pastor, who bequeathed to the future, in a volume which, although unfinished, extends to two hundred and fourteen quarto pages of dense blackletter, his version of the distressing experiences through which he passed. He seems to have died in the midst of his endeavor — the volume ending abruptly, and probably but few copies were printed, of which few it is doubtful whether more than a single one survives. Forty years ago the painstaking Hanbury declared concerning it: "It has hitherto eluded our most diligent search."[70] It was my good fortune,[71] however, in

69 G. Johnson, *Discourse*, 109.

70 *Histor. Mem. Relating to Independents*, etc., i: 110.

71 In casual conversation in London with Mr. W. Aldis Wright, secretary of the company of Old Testament revisers, now bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and formerly librarian, happening to refer to my long, anxious, and so far ineffectual, search for the volume, he mentioned his impression that he had at some time seen it in the Trinity Library, and in the kindest manner invited me to go up and verify that impression. I did so, and — the book being bound with another, and not being itself catalogued — after long search the treasure was found; a result that would have been to me impossible, but for his patient and persistent kindness.

1872, to find one[72] in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and by its means to gain a flood of light upon what had heretofore been drearily obscure.

George was some two years younger than his brother Francis,[73] was matriculated as a Pensioner of Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1580, proceeded B. A. 1584–5, and commenced M. A. in 1588.[74] After leaving the University he taught a school, at the house of one Fox in St. Nicholas Lane, London,[75] — a house often used as a place of assembling by the Separatists. In March, 1592–3, he had been committed to the Fleet by the Bishop of London for having been caught[76] in an assembly of Separatists "beyond Islington," where he was acting as reader, or preacher,[77] and, 2 April, he had been examined before the High Commissioners and remanded to the Fleet, where he was kept until, as we shall see hereafter, with his brother from the Clink, he was banished in the spring of 1597.

"In the year 1594," says this narrator, "it was reputed that Fr. Johnson, a prisoner in the Clink at London, was a suitor to Mrs. Tomison Boys,[78] a widow" — as I presume the widow of Edward Boyes, the haberdasher on Fleet Street at whose house Johnson had been originally arrested.[79] "Some thought it not a good match." Francis wrote to his brother George in the Fleet — they not being "suffered to come the one to the other," asking advice. George replied that "he was very lothe to contrary him (having heard how farr the matter was proceeded in, ād knowing how hardly he could endure to be contraried)," but on the whole advised him "to leaue of his desier in that behalfe, and not to proceed, he being prisoner for the Ghospel, striving for sincerity in the eies of all men, and she being much noted for pride, which would give great offēce if he should marie such a one, and it should not be reformed," etc., with other reasons.

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72 *A Discourse of Some Troubles and Excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam*, etc.

73 He deposed (2 April, 1593) that he was "of the age of 29. yeares;" while three days afterward, Francis described himself as "of ye age of 31. yeres, or thereabouts." [*Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 107,'33.]

74 T. Cooper, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, etc., ii: 435.

75 *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 107.

76 *Ibid.*

77 "And ther have heard yonge Johnson preach sithence his Brother the Elder Johnson was in troble." Deposition of Robert Aburne, 3 April, 1593. *Ibid*, 114.

78 Mrs. Thomasine Boyes. Her late husband's residence is put down as in Fleet St. *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 64.

79 See page 266 *ante*.

The event proved, however, that the said F. J. was "so inveigled and overcaried with the said M. T. B. that no reasons or requests (howsoeuer he pretended to aske iudgement) could persuade him to the contrary." In August or September "the said M. T. B." went to see G. J. in the Fleete, and on his persuasion promised him that if she married his brother, she "would do as became his estate."[80] All speedily ended in "mariage secretly," but when Mrs. Francis came to call soon after upon her new brother-in-law, alas, it was "in more garish & proud apparel than before he had seen her." He again "delt with her that she w^d reforme it," and she "againe gave him good wordes." The next time she came, she invited him to prove her dress wrong from the Scripture, and he quoted Isaiah iii: 16, to her, in proof that the daughters of Zion were rebuked for such things, and she argued in answer that "all the creatures of God were lawful to y^e children of God."[81]

When the marriage became public, the Archbishop of Canterbury lodged the husband in close confinement for having been married in prison and not according to law, and "she being mett in her apparel unreformed," great "offēce was given thereby to all sorts of people." George felt it to be his duty to write to her, "but no amendment could be gotten at her hands." Then he tried to get others to interfere, "but they were loth and would not." Next he wrote to his brother, telling him that Mrs. F. J. and the Bishop of London's wife, "for pride and vaine apparel were ioyned together;" and what scandal was abroad "because F. J. being in prison, & the brethren in great necessity beyond y^e seas," she "wore 3. 4. or 5. golde rings at once." Moreover, "her busks, & her whalebones in her brest" were "so manifest" that "many of y^e saints were greeued." He went on to advise that she pull off her "excessive deale of lace;" discontinue the whalebones; exchange the "schowish hat" for a "sober taffety or felt;" abolish the "abominable and lothesome (I am ashamed to name it, & the Lord make her ashamed to wear it) cod-pece fashion in the brest;" quit the "great starched rufs, y^e musk and rings;" and "let sobrietie and modesty be used." If his brother wants to know where the

[80] *Discourse*, etc., 94.

[81] *Ibid*, 95, 96.

money is to come from to effect these changes, he answers that she probably has enough, as her husband is understood to have left her £300, but if that be not so, if worst come to worst, he [George] will undertake to raise it for her, "rather then the holy profession and people of God should be evil spoken of."[82] This letter, when written to his brother, on sober second thought was sent[83] to her, so that should she repent it need not be shown to her husband.[84]

I regret to say that it had to be shewn to her husband, and that he "tooke it in so ill part that he returned taunts and revilings, calling his brother fantasticall, fond, ignorant, Anabaptisticall, and such like." Whereupon George wrote another letter, in which he exasperated his brother beyond all endurance, by declaring that he feared he might quote against her the last clause of the third verse of the third chapter of the prophet Jeremiah; provoking Francis to say that it was the "abhominablest written letter that ever was written," and moving him even to seek to persuade the church to excommunicate its writer. On the other hand George obtained the assistance of Settle, a preacher then lying in the Gatehouse, and of Daniel Studley, one of the Elders of the church, who was in Newgate, who wrote letters in support of his. This effected so much that when the Pastor had again liberty to go abroad with a keeper, an interview between the parties was managed, which resulted in some accommodation. George admits, candidly, that "the excessive lace upon her sleeves had a cover drawen over it;" the fashion of her brest was not "so garish, so low, and so spits-fashioned as it was woont to be;" the "hatt also not so topishly set" as formerly, and the general effect was such that he was "glad to see y^t^ change, *hoping more would follow.*" All could be arranged provided George would acknowledge that he "had miscaried himselfe in writing the letters." This he was at first unwilling to do, but the censures of the church being threatened, and G. J. being "not much acquainted with such threats," he finally yielded, and through the interposition of Bristow, afterwards a Deacon, and Bishop, a brother-in-law of the two Johnsons, a reconciliation was effected which lasted for a year or

[82] *Ibid*, 97.

[83] By postscript dated "2 m. 19, 1595," signed "Your bro: in ye faith & suffgs. of Christ."

[84] *Ibid*, 98.

more.[85] Then a brother took renewed offence at the pride of the Pastor's wife, and signified it to G. J. It was replied to him that it was "*his* duety to deal therein." His answer was that he durst not, but continued to grieve and mourn.[86] Hereupon George "considering how heavily the yong gentleman tooke it," wrote to the Pastor "so lovingly as he could (and laboring what he might to prevēt offences because of the former trobles), that if he would take it in good parte, keepe it to himselfe and make a good use of it, he would write unto him what he had heard." An angry correspondence followed.[87] A committee, of which Mrs. "Tomison Boys" Johnson appears to have been an energetic, though possibly an *ex-officio* member, waited upon George, "to demande certaine questions of him," but she was "very peert and coppet,"[88] and no progress was made.[89] G. J. even refused "to giue the parties name that told it"—a chivalry that might easily have exposed him to some suspicion before prejudiced minds.[90]

In the early spring of 1597, when they had been delivered out of prison and appointed to be banished, a church meeting was held to hear the matter, and after a stormy session, in which George Johnson was condemned as a "forestaller" because, before proceedings began, he had talked with some of the brethren about the cause of the meeting;[91] and during which, in his own judgment, he received very hard and unbrotherly measure,[92]

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[85] *Ibid*, 101–3.

[86] "The party that was offended, and ye teller, being a brother [of the church] G. J. desiered *him* to deal with ye Pastor, & with her; shewing him that it was his duety to deal therein. His answer was yt he durst not, or that he was not able; and though G. J. much desiered & vrged him not to speak to him thereof (remembering what stirs he had about such matters) but to perform the duety himselfe, yet could he not obteine it of him: onely he greeued, mourned, and said it was great offēce in a Pastors wife making such holy professions, her husband being in such case & suffering, as he did, for so glorious a truth: and desiring G. J. to write to his bro: thereof parted from him for that time." [*Ibid*, 103.] "G. J." seems to have been just conscientious and simple-minded enough to be unable to avoid the conviction that, under these circumstances, he was under obligation to burn his fingers for the other man's chestnuts.

[87] G. J. states that it was his custom to request their father (it is mentioned incidentally that the old man "usually visited them in yr prisons ōce, if not twise a day") to read F. J.'s letters first, and, "if they were brotherly, to deliver them, if not to make ym away, desiring to avoide contention." *Ibid*, 104–5.

[88] *Ibid*. "Peart,"—brisk; lively. "Coppet,"—saucy; impudent. *Halliwell*, s. v.

[89] G. J. says that "ye brethren beyond ye seas [*i. e.*, the portion of the church that was at Amsterdam] were greeued" about Mrs. T. B. J. *Ibid*, 105.

[90] *Ibid*, 106.

[91] *Ibid*, 107.

[92] George accuses his brother and Studley (who, he thinks, procured the meeting) of dealing "so strangely as I have not read or

"the pastor's wife" at last "confessed that she was sory, and if it were to do, she would not so weare it," whereupon he also confessed that "he also was sory, if he had any way over-caried himselfe,"[93] and the troubles were once more adjusted, and harmony sealed by the Lord's Supper on the next Lord's Day, and "a meeting of many, as a love-feast, at the pastors house."[94]

During 1595, the Pastor had sent forth from his prison to the press one small quarto volume, of one hundred and fifty-two pages, entitled *A Treatise of the Ministery of the Church of England. Wherein is handled this question, Whether it be to be separated from, or joyned unto, etc., discussed in two letters, the one written for it, the other against it, etc.* The occasion was that a gentlewoman who had been imprisoned "because she vvould not ioyne vvith the publick ministerie of England in the vvorship of God," being "much sollicited," sent to Arthur Hildersham of Ashby-de-la-Zouch[95] "a reason of that her faith and practise." To this Mr. Hildersham replied, and, on advice, she submitted his reply for answer to "Mr. F: Io. prisoner for the same cause."[96] Johnson begins with the expression of great regard for Mr. Hildersham, and confessing that he himself in ignorance had been an adversary to the truth, hopes that God may have mercy on another as He had on him.[97] The general drift of the argument is to make clear the unscriptural character of the Church of England in its ministry, and to state the theory held by this Separatist body in place of it. That this is the Barrowist, rather than the Brownist, doctrine, is made clear by the statement that to the Eldership, consisting of the teaching and ruling Elders, "the oversight and guyding of the Church is committed."[98]

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heard of the like: things which were most secret, and which G. J. had named to them in private, made they publique: expounded his wordes of exhortation to be charges: relations of other mens speaches to be his wordes and accusations: called for proofes in things yt were seene in ye eies of all, and which shee promised to reforme: discouraged the witnesses: upraided any that spake against the apparel with Anabaptistry; catched them in their wordes: entrapped them by questions and so discouraged ym by reproches and scoffes as they would speake no more, but left G. J. to beare ye whole burthen." *Ibid*, 108.

93 *Ibid*, 108.

94 *Ibid*, 109.

95 In accordance with the custom of the time names were veiled under initials, but I take it there can be no doubt that the "one Mr. A. H. a minister, and a man very learned" [iii] who had so many "good things" in him, "howsoever he have ben overtaken thus to write against the truth" [2], was the estimable pastor I have named. Who the "Mris N." may have been, I submit no guess.

96 *Treatise of the Ministery*, etc., iii.

97 *Ibid*, 2.

98 *Ibid*, v.

Early in 1597 the Government appear to have become convinced that there might be some wiser policy than to keep these men indefinitely in prison. And a project of planting a colony in some northern portion of North America being entertained, a petition was presented to the Council by some of these Barrowists, that they might be permitted to go thither, promising "to liue and die faithful to her highness, and this land of our nativity."[99] Three merchants,[100] soon after, undertaking a voyage of fishing and discovery "and to plant themselves in an island called Rainea,[101] or thereabouts," and having made ready two ships therefor, asked leave to transport out of the realm "divers artificers and other persons that are noted to be sectaries, whose minds are continually in an ecclesiastical ferment," and received permission to take four at this time — two in each ship; on condition that they give bonds that the four shall not return unless they be content to reform themselves, and to live in obedience to the laws ecclesiastical, etc.[102] The four thus selected were Francis Johnson and Daniel Studley for one ship, the *Hopewell*, of one hundred and twenty tons, William Crafton master; and George Johnson, and John Clarke,[103] for the *Chancewell*, of seventy tons, Stephen Bennet master.[104]

It looks a little as if all the members of the church so long incarcerated in London had been released, or were set at liberty when these four embarked; there was, at any rate, the possibility of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and of "a meeting of many as a love feast" at the Pastor's house.[105]

The ships left Gravesend on Friday morning, 8 April, 1597, but were "staied by contrarie windes" at Falmouth, whence

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99 *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, cclxvi: 56. The petition has no date, but by an entry in the Council Register it is seen to have been sent in during 1597.

100 Abraham, and Stephen Van Harwick, and Charles Leigh. George Johnson seems to call the latter "ye Pastors wifes cosen." 106.

101 This, which was sometimes written Ramée and Ramees, seems to have designated one or more of the little group of Magdalen Isles, situated in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, S. W. of Newfoundland, about due W. of the northern portion of Cape Breton Island, and nearly due N. of the eastern extremity of Prince Edward's Island. [See Charlevoix's *Hist. New France* (Shea's ed.), v: 300; Champlain *Voyages* (ed. 1830), i: 126.] In L'Escarbot's Map of *Nouvelle France*, a fac simile of which was published in the *Memorial Volume of the Popham celebration* (1863), the islands are called *Iles Colombaires*.

102 *Register of the Privy Council*, 25 March, 1597.

103 Dr. Waddington says he had been Mayor of St. Albans. *Cong. Hist.*, 1569–1700, 95.

104 Geo. Johnson, *Discourse*, etc., 109, 110.

105 *Ibid*, 109.

they finally sailed on the 28th. Hakluyt gives, from the pen of Charles Leigh, who accompanied the expedition, a circumstantial account of the voyage, which is supplemented in some particulars by George Johnson. The *Chancewell* was run upon the rocks within eighteen leagues of Cape Breton, on the 23 June, "a faire sunne shine day," by the "headines of ye Maister," but a kind Providence sent her consort within hail four days later. The plans of the expedition became thus disarranged, and the remaining ship, which took all on board, proved to be so disabled by rotten sails and cordage and there was danger of so much inconvenience from scant provision that it was concluded to make direct return for England. By the 1 September they were back again in the Channel, and in the first week of that month, the four exiles were put ashore at Southampton, and went stealthily up to hide in London, whence they passed to Gravesend and thence by boat to Amsterdam, where they must have arrived about the middle of the month.[106] Most likely other members of the church who had been released from the London Prisons six months before, had already gone over, so that now, at last, the church in its entirety was together in Holland.[107]

It was officered as follows: Francis Johnson, Pastor; Henry Ainsworth, Teacher; Daniel Studley, George Knyveton, and M. Slade, Elders;[108] and Christopher Bowman, Deacon.[109]

It will be convenient for us here to revert to the *Trve Confession*, to which I have already referred as printed by joint consent of the London and Amsterdam portions of the church during the previous year, and which they had presented to the world as their matured statement of belief, and the justification of whatever any intelligent person might regard as unusual, or fanatical, in their faith or practice.

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[106] It seems probable that Elders Knyveton and Slade, and Dea. Bowman, reached Amsterdam some months before the Pastor and remaining Elder; for Geo. Johnson, in describing the condition of the church, says: "Before the Pastor and D. Studleys comming over to Amsterdam there was (after troubles in some measure ended about M. M.; M. G.; and M. Sm.) good order taken to see how the congregation profited in Religion: Christian dueties to be performed: ye Teacher [Ainsworth] with the Elders and Deacon [Knyveton, Slade & Bowman] visited from house to house, examined how they profited in Religiō and instructed them, so that the blessing (as sundry reported) was gracious and wondrous; but the P. & D. St. being come, ys must be left." *Discourse*, etc., 25.

[107] The account of the voyage is in Hakluyt [*Voyages of Eng. Nation*, etc. (ed. 1810), iii: 242–249]. George Johnson's account is in his *Discourse*, etc., 109–113.

[108] G. Johnson, *Discourse*, etc., 151.

[109] *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 110.

The document is preluded by seven and a half dense black-letter pages of preface, addressed to the general Christian intelligence. Assuming that their heavy sufferings, ending in imprisonment and banishment to many, and a violent death to some, were known, they say:

"That the true cause of this their hostilitie & hard vsage of vs may appeere vnto all men; wee haue at length amyds our manie troubles, through Gods favour, obteyned to publish vnto the view of the world, a confession of our fayth & hope in Christ, and loyal harts, towards our Prince, the rather to stop the mouths of impious and vnreasonable men, who have not ceased some of them, both openly in their Sermons & printed pamphlets, notoriously to accuse and defame vs, as alsoo by all indirect meanes secretly to suggest the malice of their oune evill harts, therby invegling our soveraign Prince and Rulers against vs: that when the true state of the controversie between them and vs shalbe manifested, the christian (or but indiffirent) Reader may iuge whether our adversaries haue not followed the way of Cain and Balaam, to kill and curse vs Gods servants without cause. For if in this our Confession appeere no matter worthie such mortal inmitie and persecution, then wee protest (good Reader) that, to our knowledge, they neyther haue cause nor colour of cause so to entreat vs, the mayne and entire difference betwixt their Synagogs and vs, beeing in these Articles fully & wholly comprised."[110]

Another motive they confess; the hope of benefit to such of their "poore Contreymen who remayne yet fast locked in Egypt," and in slavish subjection to the "intollerable yoke" of "38. antichristian ecclesiasticall offices, and manie mōe Romish statutes and traditions, almost without number," etc.[111] They renew their objection against being called Donatists, Anabaptists, etc.;[112] protest that they have never had fair dealing; refer to the barbarous cruelty they have endured, printing in the margin the names of their number who have lost their lives, or been put to death, saying:

"Our God (wee trust,) will one day rayse up an other John Fox, to gather and compile the Actes and Monuments of his later Martyrs, for the vew of posteritie, tho yet they seem to to bee buryed in oblivion and sleep in the dust. Then will this last infernall Cergie alsoo appeere in their proper colours, and be found nothing inferiour to their bloody predecessours in poysoned malice and tyrannie, but rather even to exceed them, in regard of the tyme."[113]

Yet they pray that God may shew mercy to them; and, most of all, say they:

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[110] *A Trve Confession*, etc. (1596), iii.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] *Ibid*, iv.
[113] *Ibid*, v.

"Wee are sorie for our dread sovereigne Queen, whom wee haue alwayes loved, reverenced and obeyed in the Lord, that shee should so bee drawn by the subtle suggestion of the Prelates to smyte hir faithfullest subjects, having hir finger so deep in the blood of Gods children, wherby shee hath not only defiled hir precious soule in the eyes of hir God, but also brought an evill name vpon hir meek and peaceable Government heere on Earth, in all Nations rownd about hir who doo with greef behold that Land to persecute and waste true Christians now, which was erewhiles an harbour and refuge for Christians persecuted in other places."[114]

Glancing then at some of the "innumerable abhominations" of the English Church, and citing from various Puritan writers testimonies to the same effect, they conclude by some brief reply to the objection urged against them because of the discord and variance which, they are obliged to confess, have "prevayled mightely" among them.[115] They plead that the Lord has meant to sift them; they urge, among other things, "the rebellion of Corah, the conspiracie of Absalon, the treason of Judas, the hypocrisie of Ananias and Saphira, the Apostacie of Demas," as proof that God's way with His people has been thus "to fine them as the Silver is fined," and "trye them as the Gold is tryed;" and so, praying that men's persons may not stand in the way of the faith of our glorious Lord, they offer their statement of belief "to the view and tryall of all men."[116]

There are forty-five articles in this formula. Of these the first sixteen are devoted to God's nature, and man's nature, the Bible as the rule of faith, and the person, offices, and kingdom of Christ. The next nine to the church, its work and offices, and the ministry. The next defines the function of Elders. The next two speak of the conditions of Christ's presence with, or absence from, his churches. The next nine treat of the anti-Christian ministry of the Church of England, and the way in which good people within that church ought to make their way out of it. The thirty-eighth defines the inter-relations of sister churches. The next six discuss the relations of churches and of Christian people to the magistrate, and to the civil law and affairs. The forty-fifth is an expression of judgment as to the Lord's prayer.

In general, I think it may be said that this Confession de-

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[114] *Ibid.*

[115] *Ibid*, ix.

[116] *Ibid*, x. "And yf thou shalt reape anie frute — gyue God the glory."

serves a most respectable rank, as a clear, compact, and evangelical summary of the main truths of the Bible as they were understood by good people of that day; often expressed with considerable felicity of style. Without dwelling at all upon the type of its theology, seven points which it makes especially invite our consideration:

1. A church is a peculiar congregation made up of those who covenant together to be in communion, confessing their faith.[117]

2. Such a church may and ought to appoint some of its members to prophesy and teach the Word, even if they have none "with able guifts and fitnes" to a public ministry; but the sacraments should not be administered by them.[118]

3. When possible, and as soon as possible, such a congregation should elect and ordain suitable persons for pastor and teacher — whom, on sad occasion they have power, as well, to depose and excommunicate.[119]

4. Members of one congregation should be received by another, but not "without bringing certificate of their former estate and present purpose." And, "though congregations bee thus distinct and severall bodyes, every one as a compact Citie in it self, yet are they all to walke by one and the same rule, & by all meanes convenient to haue the counsell and help one of another in all needfull affayres of the Church, as members of one body in the common faith, vnder Christ their head."[120]

5. A vagueness like that of the previous formula (the *Trve Description*) still obscures the vital matter of the Eldership. Article 24 expressly states that Christ hath given the "power to receiue in, or to cut off, anie member, to the wholl body together of euery Christian Congregation, and not to anie one member aparte, or to moe members sequestered from the wholl, or to anie other Congregation to doo it for thē;" yet Article 26 declares that "for the keeping of this Church in holy & orderly communion," Christ "hath placed some speciall men over the Church, who by their office are to governe, ouersee, visite, watch, &c." It would seem, then, that their theory lodged the real control of all church affairs in the hands of the Pastor and Elders; but that, in receiving and disciplining members, a vote

[117] *Articles* 19, 33.
[118] *Article* 34.
[119] *Articles* 35, 23.
[120] *Articles* 37, 38.

of the congregation must be taken. Very significant, in this connection, is this clause of the 24th Article: "Ech Congregation ought to vse the best help they can heervnto," — that is to guide it in its votes of admission or of censure; and I have no doubt that the framers of these rules heartily believed that the judgment of the Elders would be precisely this "best help" which the body of the Church could have.

6. Another important point remains — their attitude toward the magistrate. In this they were loyal, and they held to the best rules of good citizenship, but they were far behind Browne, in that their 39th Article teaches that the magistrates ought to "suppress and root out by their authoritie all false ministeries, voluntarie Relligions, and counterfeyt worship of God;" ought "to establish & mayntein by their lawes every part of Gods word, his pure Relligion and true ministerie," yea, ought "to enforce al their Subjects, whether Ecclesiasticall or civile, to do their duties to God and men," etc.

It is clear from all which they say on this subject, that their real convictions would fairly have expressed themselves in this syllogism:

(1) The magistrates ought to establish and support the true Church, and suppress all others.

(2) We are the true Church.

(3) Therefore, the magistrates ought to establish and support us, and suppress all others.

7. We shall not be quite ready to understand all the action of these men, if we do not once more note an important clause of the 26th Article: "for the better keeping thereof [of the holy order of this church] in all places, by all the members, hee hath giuen authoritie, & layd duty vpon thē all to watch one ouer another." That fraternal inquisition which, like a sledge-hammer, had shattered the Middelberg church, was to come hither also — as indeed must have seemed eminently probable, from what we have already observed of George Johnson's experience.

It can easily be understood that a considerable portion of the time of such new comers to a strange country — especially when the lowness of their circumstances for previous years, shut out from every avenue of honest industry, is remembered — must

have been devoted to the endeavor to discover some way of earning an honest livelihood. George Johnson says that some who "had beene students were content to carde, ād spin, or to learne trades, thereby to maintain themselves;"[121] while he of himself declares that many weeks he "had not above 6. 7. or 8. pence the weeke to live upon;"[122] which quite agrees with what Roger Williams said of Henry Ainsworth's condition at this same time and place, namely, that he, "though a worthy instrument of Gods praise, lived upon nine pence in the weeke, with roots boyled."[123]

Busy as they might be, however, in trying to find honest food for daily hunger, they had time for church work and plenty of it, and not more than ten weeks could have passed after the baffled and belated emigrants to the new world had been landed on the quays of Amsterdam, and the church was able to assemble itself in its completeness; before the brotherhood began to feel the throbs of the old agitation about the clothing of the pastor's wife.

Fortunately for our desire for detailed statements of their methods of managing their affairs, and perhaps for the truth, but unfortunately for their reputation as men of sense, and for the good repute of some of the principles which they were trying to carry out, George Johnson's book survives to shed its faithful light upon the extraordinary scenes which otherwise would have slipped forever from our cognizance. I may say here, that I look upon this brother of the pastor as a thoroughly honest and conscientious man, not over strong in mind (although I think some of his Amsterdam opponents put it too hardly against him when they accused him, as he says they did,[124] of having "a crackt brain"), tenacious of his prejudices, sensitive and inclined to be jealous; not always able rightly to adjust the focus with which his vision took in passing events — with the result of sometimes dwarfing into indistinctness what was distant, but more often of unduly magnifying near molehills into

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121 *Discourse*, etc., 61.

122 *Ibid*, 37.

123 Quoted by John Cotton in *A Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination*, etc. (1647), 119. The church in writing to Junius speak of themselves in February, 1599, as being eaten up, in a manner, with deep poverty, "profunda inopia fere exesæ." *Præst. ac Erudit. Vir. Epis.*, etc., 77.

124 *Discourse*, etc., 184.

mountains. He was, moreover, petty and persistent, while I have no doubt he was prayerful, and painstaking in every known duty. I conceive of him as on hand, early, in the church-meetings with his pen, ink-horn and paper, and as patiently taking notes while other men were making history for him to set down; and sometimes, I have no doubt, tears of genuine sorrow over what seemed to him the wrong-doing of brethren, blotted the page before his bedimmed eyes.

We remember that peace had been made between the brothers before they started for their Newfoundland exile. For the most part this peace reigned during both voyages, and I must think that George shows his goodness of heart in several paragraphs, where he speaks warmly of the kindness with which Francis treated him, and the joy which he felt thereat.[125] He was evidently distrustful of Studley, and regarded him as the evil genius of the expedition, and one or two slight flurries of renewal of the old clothes contention seem traceable to his malice.[126] Poor George began to fancy himself slighted almost as soon as they came back into the chops of the Channel,[127] and when they got to Amsterdam, Francis, hiring a "great house"[128] by the *Reguliers Poort*,[129] and "having sundry roomes to spare, suffered G. J. in necessity to go up and downe seeking a place, and not once offered one corner of his superfluity,"[130] so that he felt more slighted than ever, and some of the brethren judged there was a "privy grudg" against him. On the 25th Novem-

[125] *Discourse*, etc., 109, 110.

[126] *Ibid*, 112.

[127] *Ibid.*

[128] *Ibid*, 113.

[129] *Ibid*, 180. The Reguliers-poort, or the gate leading out of the city a little east of south toward the *Reguliers Hof*, was on the extreme boundary of the then settled portion of Amsterdam in that direction, and was not far — just across the Amstel — from the *Ververyen*, or streets named from the dye-houses, on what is now the *Groenenburgwal* [green canal]. Wagenaar, the great historian of Amsterdam (1765), says that the English Brownists at first held their assemblies there, it being then a distant part of the city [ii: 174]: "Zy hielden, in't eerst, hunne Vergaderingen op den Groenenburgwal, toen een afgelegen oord van de Stad." When Ainsworth was married, in 1607, he seems — I say seems, for the record is obscure, and different eyes have read it differently — to have lived on the *Singel* by the *Heyligenwegspoort*, which is in the same general neighborhood, a little to the west. A large number of these wedding records go to prove that these Brownists clustered around the *Binnen-Amstel* near the *Bakker Straat* — where, as we shall see further on, was a headquarters for them quite of the same kind with that furnished, after May, 1612, at Leyden by Robinson's house on the *Klok-steeg*.

[130] *Ibid*, 113. It seems never to have occurred to the guileless George, that Mrs. Francis might — after all that had passed — possibly have her own reasons for preferring that one roof should not habitually shelter both.

ber the Pastor and Studley sent for George, and saying that there was talk of choosing more Elders, and deacons, intimated that they thought the church would choose him, "but he should not be, except he would confess sinne in alledgeing *Jer. iii: 3* (*last clause*), against the pastor's wife." George upbraided them with stabbing anew the old wound; said, being unfit and unworthy, he did not care to be Elder; and, as to the last clause of *Jer. iii: 3*, having thought it over pretty thoroughly on sea and land, he had come to the conclusion that "it was not sinne to alledge that Scripture against her." Whereupon his visitors rose up in haste and left in wrath; his brother, as he says, declaring: "If you wil not acknowledg sin in alledging it, either you shal be excommunicate, or I wil be no Pastor."[131]

Three days after, there was a church meeting about some affairs, wherein was speech of a woman who had "apostated," it was thought through pride of apparel. The Pastor censured those who charged this upon her, and so had driven her away; whereat George could hold his peace no longer, but "plainly said that not y^e^ reprooving of her for her attire, but her evil and unfaithful heart, was the cause of her apostacy," and "more words followed."[132] Soon we read:

"The 8. of y^e^ moneth called December, being the 5. day of the weke [Thursday] which was the ordinary day for exercise of prophecy, after exercise, about 5. or 6. a clock at night, y^e^ Pastor and M. St[udley] called G. J. before the Elders, and asked him if he would confess sin in alledging Jer. iii: 3 (last clause)?"

This led to a scene which lasted until ten o'clock at night, in which time G. J. thought he "was so reviled as he never was before y^e^ Prelates and opē adversaries."[133] Then he was cited to another meeting at the Pastor's house at 3 P. M. of the next Monday, where they wrangled again until ten o'clock, "discerning the time to be so far spēt, by the watchmens and rattlemās coming about, who crieth and warneth aloud how the houres of y^e^ night pass." No special progress was made in this interview, at which Ainsworth was present and began to take George Johnson's part in a mild way, until Francis said: "If you knew him as M. Studley and I know him, you would not so

[131] *Ibid*, 114.
[132] *Ibid*, 115.
[133] *Ibid*, 116. The talk was about "y^e^ particulars" of Mrs. J.'s offences.

speak;" except that Francis made against his brother these three specific allegations, viz.: (1) that he was a nourisher of tale-bearers; (2) a slaunderer; (3) a teller of untruths. "And so they brake off again."[134]

On the Wednesday following [14 December, 1597, O. S.] the Elders further requested G. J.'s presence, and proposed to him to "put the matter to six of the church." He objected that it was not according to Scripture to deal with a matter privately after it had been brought into the assembly of the Elders. Then they brought new charges against him, but he replied that these were private matters, as to which the first steps of discipline had not been taken with him. As to one subject, they put it to his conscience to say if the thing were not as they had charged, to which he retorted that it was like the Spanish Inquisition to inquire and examine on his conscience — at which they said he was "impudent and ungodly."[135]

The next day [Thursday the 15th] the Elders summoned him again, but having a special engagement with a "marchant" — let us hope the poor fellow was earning a few pence — he sent word that he could not attend. They returned a peremptory command to him to come, citing *Ezra x: 7, 8*, as a warrant of their right to require it at his hand. He replied that there was, he fancied, a difference between princes and Elders, and reiterated that he couldn't be present then, but "if it pleased the Elders to appoint him any other time, he would come." To this the Elders sent back word that they should carry the matter to the church; and he replied that if, under the circumstances, they insisted on that course, he must leave it to God, and be content.[136]

The next day a church meeting was held, and Studley stated the case in a summary manner. George Johnson insisted upon knowing who was his accuser, and at last his brother, the Pastor, said, "I am, and will be, his accuser, and M. Studley also is witness." Then G. J. made the point that they should retire, and not sit as judges in their own case. Teacher Ainsworth pleaded the example of Moses and Corah, where the former was both judge and party, but G. J. replied that Moses was not

[134] *Ibid*, 117, 118.
[135] *Ibid*, 119, 120.
[136] *Ibid*, 121. Piously adding: "hoping God would worke all thg.s. for ye best."

judge in his own case, but the Lord between him and Corah. Some spoke on G. J.'s side, but the Pastor reproved them as inexpert in controversies, so the Elders "got their wills as they had done at London," and the matter proceeded.[137]

George Johnson was then accused of having charged Mrs. Francis Johnson "with musk as sin;" and he replied that it was the excess, and not the use, which he had condemned. Then they said he charged her with sin in wearing "a topish hat." After much debate the church voted that the hat was "not topish in nature." G. J. urged that "he spake against y^e^ hat in her being a Pastors wife, and he in bonds; and not that the hat was simply unlawful in y^e^ nature thereof." Whereat the Pastor made a syllogism, thus:

"What is not in the nature thereof topish, that used by any is not topish:

"The hat in the nature thereof is not topish;

"*Ergo*, being used by her it was not topish."

G. J. wanted that reduced to writing, whereat the Pastor changed it two or three ways, and G. J. replied that "though velvet in its nature were not topish, yet if common mariners should wear such, it would be a token of pride and topishness in them. Also a gilded raper and a feather are not topish in their nature, neither in a Captain to weare them; and yet if a minister should weare them, they would be signes of great vanity, topishness and lightnes in him."

Then the Pastor fell to a discourse upon dress: how it came in for sin; the diversity of it; that Thamar was clothed as a king's daughter; that an attire was lawful in one country which would not be in another; that diversity of persons, and circumstances of comeliness, gravity, decency, education, ability, etc., were to be considered: to which his brother retorted that Mrs. Johnson would be especially condemned by these very principles, she being the wife of a minister of the gospel in prison expecting death.[138]

Here witnesses were called, and Mr. Adams, Christopher Dickens and William Houlder testified that Mrs. Johnson's dress had given great offence; and the latter declared that once

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[137] *Ibid*, 123–125.

[138] *Ibid*, 126.

going to see the pastor in prison, with full purpose to contribute to his necessities, when he saw his wife sitting there so fine, his mind was "so trobled that he came away not daring to give the contribution which he had proposed: so offensive was her pride to him." The Pastor said these men contributed nothing to his support; that his wife bought her own clothes, and if she could not wear what she had, he would be gone. Here Mr. Adams suggested that it was hardly well to go into these personal matters, and the Pastor said *he* was not meant; others said they did the best they could in contributing, and thought it would be easier to raise money if the Pastor's wife were less proud. This led him to speak strongly, but Ainsworth poured oil upon the waves, and they became still. Then they accused George of having charged Mrs. Johnson with sin in wearing "lawne coives" [caps], busks, "whale-bones in the petticoat bodies," and the "long white brest called of the world by the filthy name of the kod-peece brest." These all George condemned as "after the fashion of the world," but "if she used them for infirmity, he condemned them not." The Pastor argued that they might lawfully be used, whereat Christopher Dickens begged him not so to speak, lest it should "bring in many inconveniences among their wives." The meeting then ended with the promise that the offensive gown should be produced, that it might be tested whether what G. J. had said were true. After meeting George got possession of a paper in which his brother had set down *thirty* charges (mostly of this character) against him. This he prints in his book, and proceeds in detail to answer; but as our concern is rather with light upon church processes than upon individual difficulties, I will not dwell upon it.[139]

The next meeting fell through because the Pastor and Elder Studley refused to have the gown produced, "whereupon the brethren could not try things as was appointed, and so brake off."[140]

Further particulars of offence were subsequently charged by G. J. (apparently to offset his brother's thirty) against the Pastor's wife; among which were: "A painted hypocritical brest, shewing as if there were some special workes, and, in truth,

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[139] *Ibid*, 127–135.

[140] *Ibid*, 135.

nothing but a shadow — contrary to modesty and sobriety;"[141] "bodies tied to the petticote with points, as men do their doublets to their hose, contrary to *I Thess. v: 22*, conferred with *Deut. xxii: 5*, and *I John ii: 16;*"[142] that some people called her "a bouncing girle;"[143] that "she stoode gazing, bracing or vaunting in shop doores, contrary to the rules of modest behaviour in ye daughters of Zion, and condemned, *Isa. iii: 16;*"[144] that she "laide in bedd on the Lordes day till 9. o.ck, and hindered ye exercise of the worde,[145] she being not sick, nor hauing any iust cause to lie so long: this contrary to the diligent care and redines, which should be in Gods servants — *Ps. cxix; Isa. lviii: 13; Ezek. xx: 12; Act. xx: 7, etc.;*"[146] and that the "Clarkes" in Bedel's shop compared her for pride with the Bishop of London's wife.[147]

Another church-meeting was held on Tuesday the 20th December, at which little progress was made except that Ann Colyer, who had been servant in the Pastor's house, testified that she had heard Mrs. F. J. say she wished herself a widow again, whereupon the Pastor "upbraided" her [that is A. C.] as "a wicked and ungodly woman," and George encouraged her not to be afraid but to tell the truth, and another wrangle followed, until, at Ainsworth's suggestion, the matter was deferred to the next week.[148]

On the Lord's Day intervening, the Pastor "read the fifty-third Psalm, and, explaining it, dealt so palpably that the people perceived he compared them to the Ziphims, who would have delivered David into Sauls hands, inveighing and applying things so grossly that many were greeved, and yet afterward none durst rebuke him: further the same day in his lecture he inveighed so palpably against G. J. (comparing him to Absolom, to Judas, to Corah, Dathan, etc.), that divers of the people feared G. J. would there presently interrupt and rebuke him: but God gave patience til they delt againe about the controversy, and then G.

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141 *Ibid*, 136.

142 *Ibid.*

143 *Ibid.*

144 *Ibid.*

145 This looks as if the Sabbath meetings were then held — we shall see hereafter that about 1607, with aid from England, a building was erected for their accommodation — in the "large" house of the pastor, near the *Reguliers Poort*; as afterwards occurred to Robinson's people, at Leyden.

146 *Ibid*, 136.

147 *Ibid*, 136.

148 *Ibid*, 140.

J. admonished him [F. J.] for perverting the Scriptures, abusing the place of preaching, making it a place to bluster out his affections," etc.[149]

Although the further consideration of the troubles had been postponed until the church-meeting of the next Tuesday, they took it up after "evening exercise" on the Sabbath, and George Martin was examined as a witness. While he was relating the matter they "entangled him in his words, and being weak they discouraged and wearied him, that he said he would deal no more therein."[150]

For some reason the Elders "disappointed" the church of the meeting on Tuesday, but on Thursday there was another stormy session, marked by little except by the fact that the Pastor seems to have allowed his temper to get the better of him to a mournful degree; and the church, under the lead of the Elders, decided against G. J. on a portion of the charges he had made.[151]

Another church meeting was appointed for Thursday, 12 January, 1598, but "as some came but not all, nothing was done."[152] On the next Lord's Day, after exercise, the Elders expressed their disappointment at the failure of that meeting, and Mr. Ainsworth stated what course the Elders had determined upon; namely, to censure George Johnson for a portion of what he had done; and that for his over-carriage he should be punished by the church not choosing him Elder; while as to other things it would be sufficient to stigmatize him as a false witness. Upon this some of the brethren suggested that it seemed a little difficult to leave the matter thus without proceeding against him — to bring him to repentance, or to cast him out — if he were a false witness. Hereupon the Pastor exhibited intense dissatisfaction that "the brethren rested not in the Elders judgment," and began again to talk about resigning, that is "to desier to be discharged." The church finally voted as the Elders wished. Some begged G. J. for the sake of peace to bear it. He didn't care to be an Elder, but opened his Bible and read *Micah vii: 3*, and *I Tim. v: 21, 22*, and warned them not to "wrap it up," and to "do nothing by partiality." Ainsworth asked him if he

149 *Ibid*, 140.
150 *Ibid*, 140, 141.
151 *Ibid*, 141, 145.
152 *Ibid*, 145.

wanted to be excommunicated? He "answered no; but desiered, if he were guilty, that they would bring him to the sight thereof, and judge righteous judgment; for in his conscience he was persuaded they did charge him very uniustly."

Thus ended the matter for the present; G. J. calling the reader's special attention to the fact that: "Euen by their own confession, y^e^ elders end and determine matters, yet they will pretend that y^e^ church doth it, whereas, in truth, they give the church the title and name, but they usurpe the power."[153]

We shall get considerably more light upon the practical interior working of the kind of Congregationalism which prevailed in this church, if we attend, with George Johnson, one or two church meetings which were held soon after this date.

On the 22d January [1598], notice was given that on the Lord's Day following the church should choose officers — the day being observed as a fast, that God would give peace and direct the choice:[154] These duties having been first duly, and no doubt sincerely, performed [29 January], the choice of two deacons was entered upon. The church nominated two and the Elders two. William Eiles and Robert Jackson "had the most voices, unto whom the Pastor and Elder Studley would not consent; but they would have Stanshall Mercer and Jacob Johnson, who had not above one or two free voices." Quite a number of the church had "suspended their voices" (*i. e.*, had not voted at all). So the Pastor and Elder Studley proposed to elect their candidates by counting for them these "suspended voices."[155] Some objected that those votes ought not to be given to one more than to another; but the Pastor pleaded that they *were entrusted to the Elders to cast them as they pleased.* It was still urged that no such order could be shewed from the Word, and personal objections were brought against Mercer and Johnson, as having "apostated." The Elders still, however, would have these two, and the majority of the church could not consent, and so the matter went over.[156] Then it was proposed to choose Elders. Some brethren thought they had Elders

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[153] *Ibid*, 145–146.

[154] *Ibid*, 151.

[155] G. J. explains here in a marginal note: "This order the Pastor brought frō colledge choises in civil thgs. but we have not so learned christ so to deal in choise of His church officers." *Ibid*, 151.

[156] *Ibid*, 151.

enough, there being three, and the church small; although as they had but one deacon, there might be need in that direction. It was also suggested that there was nobody fit for the office. The pastor named M. Bellot. It was answered that he was not fit. The Elders then requested the brethren "to bring their exceptions against him." It was replied that there was no warrant to object thus against a man who was not chosen. But the Elders appointed the next Thursday at 1 o'clock to hear what objections the church had to Bellot's becoming an Elder![157] On that occasion a paper signed by twenty-two male members of the church was handed in, asserting that there is no rule or practice in the Scriptures to bring in exceptions before election be made; with these three "grounds for y^e^ contrary practise," viz.: (1) It is taught that there should be trial of an Elder; (2) he must be found blameless; (3) hands must not suddenly be laid on — all which "proveth a consideration or tryal betweene election and ordination; which same appeareth by *Acts vi: 2–6*, and *i: 21–26*." After prophesying this was discussed, and Bellot again urged, and again objected to as "not fitt." The subject was resumed, after exercise, on the next Sabbath evening, and another attempt made by the Elders to secure the choice of their nominees, both for Deacons and Elder, with like result of failure. Still another attempt followed, on the 19th February, and the brethren continuing of the same mind, the subject dropped for the time;[158] George Johnson calling attention to the significant fact that instead of allowing the Church to have its way and yielding "to receive the best," the Elders deferred the election until such time as they might see the way clear to secure in some way the choice of their own candidates.[159]

A lull of tolerable amity between all parties now ensued for about three months, only endangered by the circumstance that poor G. J. was driven "thorow very great striuing and much hardnes to perform the duety" of laboring once more with Mrs. F. J. — this time about "a veluet hoode — such as none but y^e^ richest, finest and proudest sorte do vse." His letter to her winds up, as follows: "I condemne not velvets or silkes; but in you the Pastors wife, and in y^e^ poor banished estate of

[157] *Ibid*, 152.
[158] *Ibid*, 156.
[159] *Ibid*, 156. "Till at length they got y^r^ will, as after ward wil apeare."

this remnant, such attire will open ye adversaries mouth, discomfute ye ungodly, discredit ye Ghospell, and dishonour God; if therefore their be any vertue, and love in you, thinke on these things."[160] But, on the whole, this was tolerably received, and through the intervention of brother-in-law Thomas Bishop, the peace was maintained.

On the 25th June, the subject of the choice of Jacob Johnson as deacon came up again, and it appeared that a man deeply interested[161] had been aided by others who felt strongly[162] to go over to England after testimony; and that he had brought back a letter signed by three London brethren,[163] to the effect that Jacob Johnson had "apostated."[164] A hot discussion ensued, and the election dropped once more.

The old clothes controversy now revived, and after several seasons of storm, on Friday, 4 August, 1598, six brethren (including two of the Elders, and brother-in-law Bishop) waited upon George at his chamber, to know if he purposed to receive the sacrament on the following Sunday; saying that "many would not partake if he did."[165] He says that "for peace sake he yeelded to them herein."[166] It seems a little odd that, attending the meeting on the next Thursday, expecting to reply — as he had been warned — to former general matters of complaint, he was required to give the reasons of his absence from the sacrament. However he gave them, and John Nicholas "gibed him." Ainsworth followed, "dilating upon a greeke worde."[167]

On the ensuing Thursday George gave his reasons; which were, for substance, that "before sacrifice is to be offered, reconciliation is to be sought." [*Matt. v: 23, etc.*[168]]

Several meetings followed, the main topic being his "overcariage and contentious dealing" against the pastor's wife,

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160 *Ibid*, 157, 158.

161 Wm. Asplin. *Ibid*, 159.

162 Thomas Michel, I. Phelps, M. Shepheard, Rob. Bailey, etc. *Ibid, marg. note.*

163 Henry Pratt, Leuis Jenkins, Rob. Bailey. *Ibid*, 160.

164 My impression is that, while more sometimes might be included in this word, a man would be said by them to have "apostated," if he should have returned even for a single half-day to the service of the Established Church. See what F. Johnsen in another place says about Stanley Mercer in this connection. *Inquirie and Ans. of Tho. White*, etc., 45.

165 Thus early the illogical and silly notion that a believer, in communing with his Lord and with the church, in some way endorses the conduct of any to his thought unworthily partaking with him, shows itself within the Congregational body.

166 *Ibid*, 164.

167 *Ibid*, 166.

168 *Ibid*, 167–170.

which he declared was due admonition merely, and that the people of Israel "so accounted of Jeremy, yet it was not so."[169] It was finally insisted that he should repent, or be excommunicated, when he "tolde them he then appealed to another church for help; desiering them to stay their excommunication and let another church hear and determine betweene them." The Pastor asked "what church he would appeal to? He said the church of *Norwich*."[170] The Pastor said it was Popish to appeal to another church. M. Studley spake disdainfully of that church.[171] G. J. answered that if it were Popish to appeal to one he would appeal to the Reformed Churches, as he could find means thereunto."[172] This early proposition for an Advisory Council — although in strict accordance with the 38th Article of the Confession of the Church — found little favor. The pastor anticipated history by intimating to the brethren that the course proposed would make one church subject to another, and that it would be a disgrace to them not to be able to end their troubles within themselves.[173]

I have intimated that this narrative of George Johnson terminates abruptly. It ends before it has recounted all the steps over which the final act of excommunication was reached. We know, however, that their old father went over to Holland in the hope of making peace, and that eventually — the one perhaps in 1599, the other in 1602,[174] both the father and younger brother were cast out of the church of which the elder brother

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169 *Ibid*, 171–201.

170 It would seem that Browne's labors at Norwich, in addition to the church which emigrated, bore fruit on the ground, in a church which maintained, at least for several years, existence in that city, and of which a Mr. Hunt was for a time pastor. *Ibid*, 205.

171 Johnson intimates that Studley had his own reasons for being dissatisfied with this Norwich church, because it had censured him at a previous date. *Ibid*, 205.

172 *Ibid.*

173 *Ibid*, 206.

174 He says — his book is dated 1603 — "which excommunication we haue thorow Gods strength endured above 4. yeres;" which would throw back the date of it to 1598 or 1599. [*Ibid*, 29.] Lawne's *Prophane Schisme of the Brownists*, etc. (1612), contains a document signed by four Amsterdam ministers, of date 18 November, 1602, referring to the case of the old man. [60.] Dr. Stuart of Edinburgh — who seems to have studied this subject in his day with more care than any other writer, says, in his *Some Account of the Author*, prefixed to his edition of Ainsworth's treatises *Of the Communion of Saints* and *An Arrow against Idolatry*, etc. (1789), that "about 1598, or 1599, George Johnson, his father, and some members of the church who adhered to him, were put away on account of their behaviour," etc. [xxix.] Bishop Hall speaks of his [G. J.'s] "pittifull relation of his eight yeares quarrels with him [F. J.] and *foure yeares* excommunication," etc. *Common Apologie*, etc. (1610), 42.

was Pastor.[175] The final handling of the matter lasted through twelve weeks.[176] The advice and help of the Reformed Churches seem also to have been invoked, but, as I must judge, in the nature of an *ex-parte* counselling, to which the Pastor and Elders did not assent — certainly to whose result they paid no heed.[177] George Johnson says — for in his peculiar manner of constructing his book, he gives the result before undertaking to recount all the processes by which it was reached: "When none would pronounce the sentence of excommunication against G. J. [he] being present, and shewing how by Gods worde, they could not in good conscience do it: yea, when they had striven about an houre who should do it and none would; then he (I say) [that is F. J.] in his fury and rage vexing stood vp and said he would pronounce it, and so he did; whereby he became (as he

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[175] Hoornbeek, writing at Utrecht in 1653, says: "Sed Iohnsono [i. e. F. J.] viro admodum contentioso, neque cum Fratre primùm Georgio, tum nec cum Parente benè conveniebat, quem utrumque etiam excommunicavit." *Summa Controversiarum*, etc. (ed. 1658), 740.

[176] "When G. J. stood forth against their sins, they brake off the small benevolence which weekly he had received, so as in 12. weekes space (while ye matter was last in hādling) he received not any, but lived in great necessity." *Discourse*, etc., 37.

[177] Baillie says: he "rejected peremptorily the mediation of the Presbytery of Amsterdam for reconciliation." *Dissuasive*, etc., 15. See also *Prophane Schisme*, etc., 60.

[178] *Discourse*, etc., 76.

[179] In considering the manner in which both Gov. Bradford and John Robinson speak of George Johnson, we must, in fairness, remember that as he was in his grave before they ever saw Amsterdam, they were dependent solely upon hearsay evidence for their estimate of him. Bradford speaks, to be sure, only in a general way, leaving his reader to infer his opinion from such phrases as: "unreasonable and endless opposition," "who can escape the scourge of tongues," etc. [*Dialogue Bet. Cert. Young Men & Cert. Anct. Men*, etc., Young's *Chron. Plym.*, 446, 449]; and Robinson but adopts Bernard's reproachful description: "George becoming (as Mr. B. chargeth him) a disgraceful libeller." [*Justification of Separation*, etc. (1610), 55.] Perhaps it is worthy of notice, in this connection, that although Bernard [*Separatists Schisme*, 35] does use that language, in another place in the same volume, he adopts toward G. J. an entirely different tone; says he "is to be beleeued;" and advises his reader: "If thou canst possiblie, get his booke." [158.] Dr. Waddington [*Cong. Hist.*, ii: 191] calls him "a restless monomaniac." But he had never seen his "rambling book," and judged him solely by the reports of those who did not live at peace with him.

[180] This is patent from George's own narrative; while Ainsworth, in 1608, said that he was "for lying, and slandering, false accusation and contention, himselfe cast out of our Church." *Counterpoyson*, etc. (ed. 1642), 30.

[181] It has been represented that George, on his return to England, went back to the Establishment, and died at Durham about 1605, in its communion. [*Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii: 435.] But his brother Francis says, in 1606: "Of late going into England, he was there taken and put in prison *for this cause*, where he died *vnder their hands*," saying also, "he did not leave, or contrary, our generall cause and testimony against the Church of England." [*Inquirie and Answer of Thomas White*, etc., 61.] Clyfton also gives similar testimony, saying that he died at Durham, and occupied himself in prison "in finishing the book which he had begunne, and whereof some sheets are printed." *Advertisement concerning a Book lately published by Christopher Lawne*, etc., 14.

had beene party, accuser and iudge, so) also pronouncer and executioner of the sentence in his wifes, and his own case."[178]

It is clear that all this testimony of George Johnson ought to be well salted with the remembrance of his many peculiarities,[179] and it is fair also here to call to mind the fact that the estimable Ainworth[180] seems, in the main, to have sided with his brother against him. Yet one can hardly persevere through his tedious quarto, without being strongly impressed with the conviction that, with all his whimsicalities and weaknesses, he always meant to tell the truth; and that a good deal of truth important to be taken into any fairly complete estimate of the working of Barrowism at Amsterdam, has gotten itself told through his garrulous pen. It is pleasant to note also that after his death even his brother Francis speaks of him in a way to imply general confidence in his character.[181]

We may at least be grateful to him for acting as a reporter for us of so many of the minute details of the working of Seperatism in Amsterdam in its earlier developments, in the days when the night-shadows of the sixteenth century were flushing with the dawn of the seventeenth.

LECTURE VI.

Fortunes and Misfortunes in Amsterdam.

The Lord hath deuided them by great knowledge, and made their wayes divers.

Some of them hath He blessed and exalted, and some of them hath He sanctified, and appropriate to Himselfe: but some of them hath He cursed and brought them lowe, and put them out of their estate. *Ecclesiasticus* [*Genevan Version*], *xxxiii: 10, 11.*

Optimi quidem, sed nec satis eruditi et paulo iracundiores viri, ætate jam provectiores quam ut pravi quidquam dedoceantur vel recti quidquam addiscant. *Porson.*

For as gold is tested by fire, and thus becomes useful, so also are you tested: Those, therefore, who continue steadfast, and are put through the fire, will be purified by means of it: and as gold is refined, and rejects its dross, so will you also cast from you all sadness and straitness, and become worthy to be built into God's building. *Pastor of Hermas, Vision iv, Chap. 3.*

Let all histories be looked, & it wil appear the Church hath never more abounded with contentions and scandals, then when al power was in the Ministers hands and the people excluded. *Henry Ainsworth, Animadversion, etc., 124.*

> Nor ought so good, but, strain'd from that faire vse,
> Reuolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse.
> Vertue it selfe turnes vice being misapplied.
>
> *Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliet* (*ed. 1623*), *61.*

Who are a little wise the best fools be. *Dr. John Donne, The Triple Fool.*

Fortunes and Misfortunes in Amsterdam.

AFTER the subsidence of that great trouble in which its pastor's wife, and his father and brother, had been so conspicuously and painfully implicated, the exiled English Church in Amsterdam enjoyed a brief period of comparative internal peace. During this, however, the minds of the Pastor and Teacher, and of the more cultured and intelligent members, were considerably exercised with discussions, and testimonies, as to the principles on which they stood. As early, indeed, as December, 1598,[1] while poor George's struggles were at their hight, it had been thought expedient to publish a new edition of the Confession of 1596; and in order to bring it to the readier notice of the Universities, and the men of learning and influence in England, Holland and elsewhere, whom they especially desired to reach, it was also put into Latin — then the common language of scholars. This work of translation, there is reason to think, was done by the hand of Ainsworth,[2] who — although we know absolutely noth-

[1] Fr. Junius (Leyden) says, 9 January, 1599, that he has "nuper" received their "libellum." [*Praest. ac Erud. Vir. Epis.*, etc. (ed. 1704), p. 69.] So near to Amsterdam, it is to be presumed it would reach him not long after its issue from the press.

[2] It might be inferred, but Brook [*Lives of the Puritans*, etc., ii: 300] states it as a fact.

ing of the details of his early history and training,[3] we do know to have been one of the best linguists of his time.[4]

A wholly new "Preface to the Christian Reader," was prefixed, which itself was preceded by two pages of address, in which these *Angli in Belgia Exulantes* most respectfully invite the "reverend and learned men, students of Holy Scripture, in the Christian Universities of Leyden in Holland, Saint Andrews in Scotland, and of Heidelberg, Geneva, and other like famous schools of Christian learning in the Low Countries, Scotland, Germany and France," to examine this formula of their faith, and to convince their errors by the light of God's word, if in any thing they find them to be out of the way; and, either in silence or by writing, to approve the same if it seem to agree with the great standard of truth.[5] The Preface proper seeks to explain why it is that any of the English nation should be forced to forsake their native country, and live in exile for the Gospel's sake. It is not because they dislike the government of their native land; they are loyal to the Queen, and ready to adventure their lives in her defence should need require.[6] Nor is it because they would usurp the place of the civil ruler. They simply seek to reform themselves and their lives; leaving the suppression of remaining idolatry unto the magistrates, to whom, in their judgment, it of right belongs.[7] Nor have they forsaken their ancient faith. They only contend against relics of the man of sin, of which they specify, in particular four: (1) the conversion, in one day — without any spiritual change — of the whole land, mostly of Papists, to "the bosome and body" of the English Church;[8] (2) the essential continuance of the old Popish hierarchy;[9] (3) the almost universal dependence upon incompetent and unpreaching ministers;[10] (4) the employment in the service of worship of substan-

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3 See note 68 of the last lecture.

4 "A very learned man he was, and a close student, which much impaired his health. We have heard some, eminent in the knowledge of the tongues, of the University of Leyden, say that they thought he had not his better for the Hebrew tongue, in the University, nor scarce in Europe." [*Dialogue*, etc. Young's *Chron. Plym.*, 448.] See also Cotton, *Way of Cong. Chhs. Cleared*, 6.

5 I cite the Latin edition of 1598: *Confessio Fidei Anglorvm Qvorvndam in Belgia Exvlantivm: Vnâ cum Præfatione ad Lectorem: Quam ab omnibus legi et animadverti cupimus*, etc., 3, 4.

6 *Ibid*, 6.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid*, 7.

9 *Ibid*, 8.

10 *Ibid*, 9.

tially the same old Popish mass-manuals in an English dress.[11] They are deeply grateful that, "divinâ misericordiâ, locum quietis in his regionibus invenimus."[12] But they desire the good opinion of all, and slander forces them to tell the world what it is which they really believe and teach. If in anything they can be shown to err, they propose to follow all further light from Heaven. On the other hand, they submit that it will become the duty of all whom they address to accept and submit to all truth which they set forth: "respiciens potiùs thesauri ipsius præstantiam, quam vasculorum quibus continetur vilitatem, aut testium ipsius infirmitates, quorum in mortali corpore, nil nisi stigmata & mortificationem Domini nostri Jesu Christi videbis."[13]

The forty-five Articles themselves remain, for substance of doctrine, unaltered. Four are rendered into Latin without verbal modification.[14] Twenty-three are very slightly changed as to the form of conveying the same idea.[15] The thirtieth has a considerable addition, to make it distinctly condemn a larger number of semi-papal corruptions. Thirteen add words and clauses, or omit them, in the endeavor more distinctly to body forth the contained thought.[16] And four are essentially rewritten, in the intent to expand and emphasize more fully their teaching.[17] Further, in perhaps a dozen instances, the original Greek words of the New Testament are introduced into the Latin, which do not appear in that original of 1596, from which it was translated.

Copies of this document were probably soon placed in the hands of prominent persons at each of the seats of learning named. Such, at any rate, was the fact in the case of the distinguished Francis Junius,[18] who had then been for several years Professor of Theology in the famous University at Leyden, to whom it was sent by the hand of a member of the church about the close of the year 1598.[19] A correspondence ensued, which

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[11] *Ibid*, 10.

[12] *Ibid*, 13.

[13] *Ibid*, 14.

[14] Nos. xx, xxiv, xxv and xxxvi.

[15] Nos. iv, v, viii, x, xii, xiii, xv, xvi, xviii, xix, xxi, xxvi, xxvii, xxix, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxix, xl, xli, xlii, and xlv.

[16] Nos. i, ii, iii, vi, vii, ix, xi, xiv, xxii, xxiii, xxxiii, xxxvii and xxxviii.

[17] Nos. xvii, xxviii, xliii and xliv.

[18] Otherwise known as *François Du Jon.*

[19] "Accepi nuper, dilecti in Christo fratres, per quemdam è numero vestro." Junius to Frat. Angl. (9 Jan., 1599), *Præst. ac Erud., Vir.*, 69.

has fortunately been preserved, and which is instructive, as showing the spirit of the times, and of the men.[20]

Junius did not enjoy being, in a sense, compelled to take sides in a controversy in which he felt no interest. He would much have preferred a holy silence,[21] but, as they will not let him be silent, he will declare faithfully and with a good conscience before God, that he thinks they should speak first with whom they sojourn, whom they deny not to be brethren — that is, the Reformed Churches of Amsterdam. As to the Church of England, if from its procedures wrong has been done them (which it belongs not to him to affirm or deny), why, since they are departed, can they not be quiet? He thinks it would be Christian to forget the injury that is past. They have no need to purge themselves in Holland, for nobody accuses them there.[22] And if they could not reform England while they were in it, is it likely they can do it now that they are absent from it?[23] There are many reasons why it would not be comely nor prudent for strangers to intermeddle in such a controversy. They must remember that the common judgment of good men has been, that where the foundation of the truth of doctrine remains, which is the pillar of salvation, there the church remains (although with most corrupt manners and discipline), from which no man ought rashly to separate himself.[24] And he

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[20] The first letter (and perhaps letters) of Junius (9 January and 10 March) were translated into English and published in London, early in 1602, by one "R. G." This occasioned another letter from the church to him, with a further reply, and the publication of the three letters of Junius in an English dress, with four replies of the church, in a little quarto entitled *Certayne Letters, translated into English, being first written in Latine, etc., 1602, pp. ii, 58.* The *Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ*, etc., which was published at Amsterdam in 1660, contained Junius's first letter, with the reply of the "Fratres Angli," together with the letter of Taffinus and Arminius [pp. 80–99], and in the Appendix, the "Epistola præfixa Confessioni," etc. [pp. 919–927.] A second edition was published, "ab innumeris mendis repurgata," in 1684, a copy of which is in the Library of the University at Leyden, but which I have not particularly examined. A third edition, "novo augmento locupletata," was published at Amsterdam in 1704, which contains, in their proper order: (1) the "Epistola præfixa," etc.; (2) Junius's letter of 9 January, 1599; (3) Reply of the "Fratres Angli" of 19 February; (4) Taffinus and Arminius to Junius, of 3 March; (5) Junius to the "Fratres," of 10 March; (6) their Reply of 18 March; (7) Junius to them again of 16 July, 1602 [he died of the pest, 13 October, following]; (8) their Replication of 21 July, 1602. 65–85.

[21] Quam ut sanctum silentium colamus," *Præst. ac Erud. Vir. Epis.*, etc. (1704), 70.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid*, 71.

[24] "Ubicunque doctrinæ veritatis, quæ arx salutis est, fundamentum remanet, quamvis corruptissimis moribus atque disciplina, Ecclesiam permanere, nec hominis cujusque esse officium, ut sese ab ea Ecclesia temere abgreget," etc. *Ibid*, 72.

wants them to consider what a pity it is for the suffering cause of Christ to be further by them galled with this particular wound.[25]

This letter Junius was "prudent" enough to send unsealed to the Dutch and French Pastors of Amsterdam, that it might be first read by them before delivery to the exiles to whom it was addressed.[26]

The church replied to him, at considerable length, on the 19th February following, in a letter signed by the Pastor, Teacher, Elders Studley, Knyveton and Mercer,[27] and Dea. Bowman. Courteously, but once or twice a little sharply, they review his plea for silence; object to his suggestion that they should counsel only with the Reformed Churches in their immediate vicinity, that the rest which they now enjoy has come to them from the magistrates and not from the ministers, who, in various ways, have manifested an unfriendly spirit;[28] assent to much which he has said as true, but urge again that he should follow Beza's example[29] and give a judgment upon the matters submitted which may be helpful to the truth — refuting whatever may need refutation, and endorsing what may bear endorsement, and letting it be manifest to all what his mind and judgment is.[30]

On the 10th March, Junius replied briefly. He is a little sharp with them. "I wrote not of the question, because I thought the time was not for it."[31] "I knew nothing of you, neither should yet have known any thing, if you had held your peace."[32] "Of the English Churches I have no certain knowledge; why would you have us speak?" "Keep your confidence to yourselves and leave us our modesty, who have resolved not to speak of other men's matters, except we know them thoroughly."[33] "Touching Beza (how excellent a man!)

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25 "Misereat vos denique Ecclesiæ Christi, quam certe non decet, non expedit, ac ne oportet quidem, in tot tantisque vulneribus ipsius universe impositis, hoc particulari vulnere à vobis ulcerari." *Ibid*, 73.

26 "Quas ad ministros Ecclesiarum hujus civitatis Belgicarum et Gallicarum misisti non obsignatas, ut ab illis prius legerentur." Answer of *Fratres Angli*. *Ibid*, 73.

27 Whether Slade had been excommunicated before this date I do not know, but his name does not now, or hereafter, appear. Mercer had been chosen Elder, apparently, in 1598. G. Johnson, *Discourse*, etc., 11.

28 *Præst. ac Erud. Vir. Epist.*, 74.

29 *Ibid*, 77.

30 "Apud omnes quæ sit tua . . . sententia." *Ibid*, 77.

31 *Ibid*, 80.

32 *Ibid*, 81.

33 "Habetote sanè fiduciam vestram, & nobis relinquite modestiam nostram, qui de rebus alienis nisi percognitis non statuimus dicere." *Ibid*.

take heed ye be not deceived: he spake by way of supposition." "If you think yourselves more strong in judging, bear with us as with weak ones, till by godly quietness and holy study we may attain to more high and certain things."[34]

He had received a few days before from John Taffin, Pastor of a Walloon Church in Amsterdam, and from the famous James Arminius, then Pastor of a Reformed Church in the same city, a long communication in response to his transmission to the Amsterdam ministers of his first letter to the exiles; thanking him for so doing, and going with considerable detail into the relations of those exiles to the Reformed Churches; specifying ten points of difference between them, and explaining some of the practical embarrassments which had been created by their presence.[35] Junius does not think it important to make direct reference to this communication in his second reply to the *Fratres Angli*, but one fancies it had left impressions on his mind which imparted something to the coloring of his epistle.

The exiles prepared a rejoinder to this second letter of the Leyden theologian, bearing date eight days subsequent to that of his, in which, among other things, they ventured rather a caustic allusion to a memoir of himself which he had published four years before;[36] but, on sober second thought, they laid the document aside. More than three years afterwards, copies of Junius's first two letters having been surreptitiously published in London in an English version, the exiles resumed the correspondence and sent this delayed answer, under cover of a second. He replied to this, and they replied to his reply, and published the whole correspondence.[37] No new feature enters into these later communications: Junius to the last affirming his intention to rest from these things, and occupy himself religiously in the work of the Lord,[38] and the *Fratres Angli* as persistently declaring that "because in our faith you can shew no

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34 "Si vobis fortiores in judiciis esse videmini, nos velut infirmos ferte, dum quiete pia & studio sacro, ad altiora & certiora venerimus." *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid*, 78–80. Those "points" are given by Brandt [*Hist. Reform. in Low Countries*, etc. (Chamberlayne's translation, 1720), i: 479] increased by the addition of an eleventh.

36 *Vita D. Fr. Junii, edita. Aº 1595. Ibid*, 82.

37 *Certayne Letters*, etc., 1602.

38 "Ego quiescam a rebus illis, & in opere Domini me religiose occupabo." *Præst. ac Erud. Vir. Epist.*, 83.

error, and yet in this time and estate of things like not to stand for us, and this cause, it is safest to be silent."[39]

The letter of Taffin and Arminius to which I have referred, sheds light upon some of the difficulties with which the exiles had to contend. It brings out the fact that the Dutch and Walloon pastors were of opinion that these English ought to petition the magistrates for leave to hold their public assemblies for worship,[40] and that those Pastors had even volunteered to address the civil authority on that subject, and this in terms liable to arouse suspicion against the new-comers.[41] It is evidenced also that efforts were successfully made from England to prejudice men of influence in Amsterdam against them;[42] while one of Junius's letters mentions incidentally that the "Legatus serenissimæ Reginæ" had had an interview with him concerning them, and expressed freely his opinion about them.[43] Altogether, we have no difficulty in seeing that these Separatists were regarded, even by those whose civil and religious position offered least in the way of prejudice, as a set of discontented, factious, conceited and thoroughly disagreeable men, with whom it would be safest to have as little to do as possible.[44]

A gleam of light falls incidentally from this correspondence upon the then social condition of these English. They express the hope that Junius will pity their exiled church: "embar-

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39 "Quia in fide nostra nullum potes ostendere errorem, & tamen in hoc tempore, & rerum statu pro nobis causaque hoc stare non placet, silere tutissimum." *Ibid*, 84.

40 Brandt [as above, i: 481] speaks of these people as holding "Ecclesiastical or Religious meetings in Amsterdam, after their own way, *by the connivance of the magistrates*."

41 "Nos enim quum eos huc appulisse, & conventus agere intellexissemus, officii nostri fuisse existimavimus, & illos monere, ne quid absque Magistratus venia hic tentarent, & simul magistratui indicium de illorum conventibus facere; non ex ullo pravo adversus illos affectu, sed quod in justam Magistratuum offensam silentio usi incidere metuimus." etc. *Ibid*, 79.

42 Dr. Stuart, Introduction to *Two Treatises by Henry Ainsworth* (1789), xvi.

43 *Præstant. ac Erud. Vir. Epist.*, 84. The Archbp. of Cant. wrote, 9 February, 1605, complaining that "sundry factious and schismaticall Persons, who have cut themselves off from the communion of our Church, and are thereupon departed out of the Land, have planted themselues in divers Towns of the Low Countries," and are publishing "many dangerous Books and Pamphlets in English to the maintenance of such their Anabaptisticall opinions, and to the slander of the Ecclesiasticall Government established here in England." He wants the States "dealt with," "for redress of the same," etc. R. Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State*, etc. (1725), ii: 195.

44 *Stuart*, as above, xvii. *Brandt* [as above, ii: 15] says that "in the Synod holden at Amsterdam, about the end of June this year [1600], the case of the so named Brownists was debated, and after considering the Ten Reasons [see note 35 ante] for their Separation, it was judged and declared: *That they were to be accounted Schismaticks*."

rassed by general obloquy, almost consumed with deep poverty, and scorned and injured by almost everybody."[45]

In 1600, Francis Johnson printed *An Answer*[46] to a volume the year before published at Middelberg by Henry Jacob, defending the churches and ministry of England;[47] and in 1602 the company together sent forth *Certayne Letters*, including the Junius correspondence to which I have alluded.

On the 24th March, 1602–3, James I. succeeded Elizabeth upon the throne of England. It became suitable that these exiles should approach him that they might tender their homage, and see if possibly they might now be permitted to live in peace at home. They accordingly sent a deputation to London[48] with a brief, loyal, and most respectful memorial, vindicating their attachment to the throne and their fidelity to Protestant truth; enclosing a copy of their Latin "Confession" in proof that they were neither Anabaptists, Familists nor heretics of any sort; and begging to be suffered in peace within their native land, without being urged to "the vse or approbation of any remnants of poperie & humane traditions."[49] Failing in this, they submit a supplementary petition, noting: *The Heads of differences between them and the Church of England, as they understood it, viz.:*[50]

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45 "Misereat te (oramus) Ecclesiæ nostræ hic exulantis, probris ubique affectæ, profundâ inopiâ fere exesæ, pene ab omnibus spretæ & afflictæ, adversus quam denique Satan extrema quæque modis omnibus jam diu molitus est." *Præst. ac Erud. Vir. Epist.*, etc., 77.

46 *An Answer to Maister H. Jacob His Defence of the Churches and Ministers of England;* and *An Answer to Maister H. Jacob his Treatise concerning the Priestes of the Church of England, made by the Prælates, accepted and ioyned vnto by the people. Which he termeth a Pastorall calling. By Francis Iohnson, an exile for the testimony of Jesus*, etc. 1600, 4to, xxviii, 220.

47 *A Defence of the Churches and Ministery of England. Written in two Treatises, against the Reasons and Objections of Mr. Francis Johnson and others of the Separation commonly called Brownists, published, especially, for the benefit of those in these parts of the Low Countries.* Middelbvrgh. By Richard Schilders, 1599, 4to, pp. 91.

48 Dr. Waddington cites the *Holland State Papers* (MSS.) in proof that Johnson himself carried this petition to England, but "had leave to return whence he came." [*Bicentenary Prize Essay*, 44.] It is much more likely that both Johnson and Ainsworth (possibly with some of the Elders) went to London on this business. In the third petition they say "*We* being come to attend your Maicstyes pleasure & expect vvhat gracious answer by the vvill of God you shall give vnto us, have breifly explained our former grounds," etc. [*Apologie*, etc., 40.] Their elaborate third memorial seems to have been prepared on the ground, and Ainsworth was almost certainly (at least largely) its author.

49 *Apologie*, etc., 32–35.

50 It seems probable that Separatists of like faith in England united with this church in this memorial, inasmuch as it was endorsed as "the humble Supplication of sundry your Majesties faithfull Subiects, who have now a long tyme ben constreyned *eyther to live as exiles abroad, or to endure other grievous persecutions*

"I. That Christ the Lord hath by his last Testament given to his Church, and set therein, sufficient ordinary Offices, with the maner of calling or Entrance, Works, and Maintenance, for the administration of his holy things, and for the sufficient ordinary instruction guydance and service of his Church to the end of the world.

"II. That every particular Church hath like and full interest and power to enioy and practise all the ordinances of Christ given by him to his Church to be observed therein perpetually.

"III. That every true visible Church, is a company of people called and separated from the world by the word of God, and joyned together by voluntarie profession of the faith of Christ, in the fellowship of the Gospell. And that therfore no knowne Atheist, vnbelever, Heretique or wicked liver, be received or reteined a member in the Church of Christ, which is his body; God having in all ages appointed and made a separation of his people from the world, before the Law, vnder the Law, and now in the tyme of the Gospell.

"IV. That discreet, faithfull, and able men (though not yet in office of Ministerie) may be appointed to preach the gospell, and whole truth of God, that men being first brought to knowledge, and converted to the Lord, may then be ioyned together in holy communion with Christ our head and one with another.

"V. That being thus ioyned, every Church hath power in Christ to chuse and take vnto themselves meet and sufficient persons, into the Offices and functions of Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons and Helpers, as those which Christ hath appointed in his Testament, for the feeding, governing, serving, and building vp of his church. And that no Antichristian Hierarchie or Ministerie, of Popes, Arch-bishops, Lord-bishops, Suffraganes, Deanes, Arch-deacons, Chauncellors, Parsons, Vicars, Priests, Dumb-ministers, nor any such like be set over the Spouse and Church of Christ, nor reteined therein.

"VI. That the Ministers aforesaid being lawfully called by the Church where they are to administer, ought to continew in their functions according to Gods ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of Christ committed vnto them, being not inioyned or suffered to beare Civill offices withall, neither burthened with the execution of Civil affaires, as the celebration of marriage, burying the dead, &c. which things belong aswell to those without as within the Church.

"VII. That the due maintenance of the Officers aforesaid, should be of the free and voluntarie contribution of the Church, that according to Christs ordinance, they which preach the Gospell may live of the Gospell: and not by Popish Lordships and Livings, or Iewish Tithes and Offerings. And that therefore the Lands and other like revenewes of the Prelats and Clergie yet remayning (being still also baits to allure the Iesuites and Seminaries into the Land, and incitements vnto them to plott and prosecute their woonted evil courses, in hope to enioy them in tyme to come) may now by your Highnes be taken away, and converted to better vse, as those of the Abbeyes and Nunneries have been

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at home," etc. While the second petition began by speaking of their "poore church and people vvhereof some be constreyned to live as exiles in forreigne lands abroad, and both they heretofore *and others still in our own countrey have many other vvayes a long tyme susteyned great persecution at home*," etc. *Apologie*, etc., 35.

heertofore by your Maiestyes worthie predecessors to the honor of God and great good of the Realme.

"VIII. That all particular Churches ought to be so constituted, as having their owne peculiar Officers, the whole body of every Church may meet togeather in one place, and iointly performe their duties to God and one towards another. And that the censures of admonition and excommunication be in due maner executed, for sinne, convicted, and obstinatly stood in. This power also to be in the body of the Church whereof the parties so offending and persisting are members.

"IX. That the Church be not governed by Popish Canons, Courts, Classes, Customes, or any humane inventions, but by the lawes and rules which Christ hath appointed in his Testament. That no Apocrypha writings, but only the Canonicall Scriptures be vsed in the Church. And that the Lord be worshipped, and called vpon in spirit and truth, according to that forme of praier given by the Lord Iesus, Math. 6. and after the Leitourgie of his owne Testament, not by any other framed or imposed by men, much lesse by one trãslated from the Popish leitourgie, as the Book of common praier &c.

"X. That the Sacraments, being seales of Gods covenant, ought to be administred only to the faithfull, and Baptisme to their seed or those vnder their government. And that according to the simplicitie of the Gospell, without any Popish or other abuses, in either Sacrament.

"XI. That the Church be not vrged to the observation of dayes and tymes, Iewish or Popish, save only to sanctify the Lords day: Neyther to be laden in things indifferent, with rites and ceremonies, whatsoever invented by men; but that Christian libertie may be reteined: And what God hath left free, none to make bound.

"XII. That all monuments of Idolatry in garments or any other things, all Temples, Altars, Chappels, and other places dedicated heertofore by the Heathens or Antichristians to their false worship, ought by lawfull aucthoritie to be rased and abolished, not suffered to remayne, for nourishing superstition, much lesse imploied to the true worship of God.

"XIII. That Popish degrees in Theologie, inforcement to single life in Colledges, abuse of the study of prophane heathen Writers, with other like corruptions in Schooles and Academies should be remooved and redressed, that so they may be the welsprings and nurseries of true learning and godlines.

"XIV. Finally that all Churches and people (without exception) are bound in Religion onely to receave and submit vnto that constitution, Ministerie, Worship, and order, which Christ as Lord and King hath appoynted vnto his Church: and not to any other devised by Man whatsoever."

In these particulars the difference between them and the Church of England consists. There can be but one right way. And their humble suit is that "being freed from the errors, remnantes and monuments of that Antichristian defection and iniquitie, vvhich the Lord hath already begun and vvill not cease yet further to discover," the "svvord of the Magistrates

authoritie" may concur with "his servants testimony" for the accomplishment of the work.[51]

A third and still more elaborate supplication followed, in which they "breifly explaned" their "former grounds;" confirmed their fourteen positions by citations from the Word of God; and once more prayed the King, since he tolerated French and Dutch churches in London and elsewhere, to consent that his own "naturall loving subiectes shall fynd no lesse favour" in his eyes.[52]

Some weeks passed, during which the delegation waited about London, receiving no answer, when an "honorable personage" offered, if they would briefly set down in writing "the effect" of their suit, himself to present it to the King. They got it into seventeen lines. They wanted to be suffered to live at peace in England, holding their own faith, as the French and Dutch churches were allowed there to live in difference from the hierarchy; being loyal subjects and leaving it to his Majesty to deal with the abuses of which they complained. And if his Majesty were pleased to have the differences between them and their adversaries tried, they would be happy to hold discussion in writing, or to take any other course which the King should prefer, "for the fynding out of the truth, by the word of God."[53]

The King did not respond favorably. And the "Vice-Chancelour, the Doctors, both the Proctors, and other the Heads of Houses in the Vniversitye of Oxford" published a quarto of forty-four pages,[54] principally directed against a "Humble Petition" presented by "Ministers of the Church of England desiring Reformation of certaine Ceremonies & abuses of the Church," but in which they turned aside to attack these other petitioners, stigmatizing them as "absurd Brownists,"[55] having a "selfe conceited confidence,"[56] and holding "pestilent and blasphemous conclusions."[57] This led, in 1604, to the issue[58] of

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51 *Apologie*, etc., 36–40. See also *Additional MSS.* (British Museum), No. 8978. (138c.) 238.

52 *Apologie*, etc., 40–81.

53 *Ibid*, 82.

54 *The Answere of the Vice-Chancelour, the Doctors*, etc., *of the Vniversity of Oxford*, etc., *to the Humble Petition*, etc. Oxford, 1603, 4to, pp. xii, 32.

55 *Answere*, etc., ii.

56 *Ibid.*

57 *Ibid*, 12.

58 Johnson, having previously used the first person sufficiently to make it unnatural for him to employ the plural "we" in any sense of reference to himself alone, says [*Short Treatise*, etc., 2]: "in *our Apologie*," etc. Hanbury [*Hist. Mem. Ind.*, i: 49] attributes it to Ainsworth alone.

An Apologie or Defence of svch Trve Christians as are commonlie (but vniustly) called Brovvnists, etc., in which the exiles published their three petitions, and replied at length to the attack of the Oxford Doctors,[59] dedicating the whole to "the high and mighty Prince, King Iames, our Soveraigne Lord" — pleading, in mitigation of their persistence, the fact that his Majesty, when some of them waited upon him, was pleased to say that he was willing to take knowledge of any truth of God, for he had a soul and body to save as other men; and that those who differ in religion must "be careful alway to have warrant of the Word of God and antiquitie."[60]

The failure of all these efforts to move the throne and secure even sufferance at home, not only obliged the memorialists to postpone indefinitely all hope of returning to England, but convinced many of their sympathizers there that the wisest course for them would be to cast in their lot with their exiled friends at Amsterdam. The numbers of the church, therefore, gradually increased, and there seems to have been some gain in their outward prosperity. Among those who joined them was one Thomas White, with a company of twelve or thirteen who had been members of a Separatist church somewhere in the West of England.[61] For a time they united themselves to Johnson's church, but subsequently set up a little church by themselves. In a letter to their West of England friends, they gave two reasons for this course, viz.: (1) that they had had "better experience one of another," than of the existing Amsterdam Church; (2) they thought it might be a good thing to "encrease the number of the churches and ourselves to walk together in holynes to the Lord," that "by this means the adversaries reproch of one church and flocking thereunto, setting up one head, may be stopped."[62] Johnson himself, in the account which he gives of the affair, adds another reason, to wit: that Thomas White and Thomas Powell wanted to be officers, and their desire could not

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[59] In the course of their reply to some of the Oxford Doctors' slanders upon Barrowe, they introduce that most interesting letter of Barrowe "to an honourable Lady and Countess of his kindred," written between his condemnation and his execution, to which the world is indebted for some valuable facts, and which seems to have been preserved only here. *Apologie*, etc., 89–95.

[60] *Apologie*, etc., xi.

[61] F. Johnson, *Inquirie and Answer*, etc. (1606), 63.

[62] *Ibid* [53], quoted from a letter of this company to the West of England Church.

be gratified in the old church.[63] White, however, soon wearied even of office in his own company, withdrew, and in 1605 sent out a rather scurrilous little book, entitled *A Discoverie of Brownisme, or, a briefe declaration of some of the errors and abhominations daily practised and increased among the English company of the separation remayning for the present at Amsterdam in Holland*, etc.[64] Johnson replied to it in the next year,[65] explaining some of its many obvious misrepresentations, flatly denying other of its statements, and, I am sorry to say, dropping too freely into a like spirit; so as to allow himself, for example, to intimate that White's father was "reputed to have skill in y^e^ black art;" challenging White to deny, if he dared, that his father had said that it would greatly surprise him should his son Thomas prove a good man; or that he himself had been guilty of "evil dealing about clokes," and of other still more shameful sin.[66]

You will remember the book of Barrowe and Greenwood, which Johnson burned in 1591 — with such unexpected consequences upon his own future. At his own personal expense, now in 1605, he reprinted the volume (*A Plaine Refutation of M. Giffard's Booke*, etc.); as the best atonement he could make for the injury he had done to the authors, and the truth it was intended to serve.[67]

Perhaps it may be thought that these *Fratres Angli in Belgia exulantes* have already had considerable experience of sorrow, but we have now reached a period in their affairs when they were put upon special remembrance of those words of Isaiah: "thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased their ioy."[68]

In 1571 John Smyth matriculated as a sizar of Christ's College, Cambridge, proceeded B. A. 1575–6, and was elected Fellow, and commenced M. A. in 1579.[69] In a sermon *ad clerum*,

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63 *Ibid*, 54.

64 Printed at London, 4to, pp. iv, 30.

65 *An Inqvirie and Answer of Thomas White, his Discouerie of Brownisme, by Francis Iohnson, Pastor of the Exiled English Church at Amsterdam in Holland.* 1606. 4to, pp. xvi, 92.

66 *Inquirie and Answer*, etc., 50, 51.

67 "Coming to live at Amsterdam, he caused the same books, which he had been an instrument to burn, to be new printed and set out at his charge. And some of us here present testify this to be a true relation, which we heard from his own mouth before many witnesses." Gov. Bradford, Dialogue, Young, *Chron. Plym.*, etc., 425.

68 *Isaiah*, ix: 3 (Genevan version).

69 T. Cooper's *New Biographical Dictionary*, etc., p. 1065. Mr. Cooper is the surviving author of the two volumes published of the in-

preached by him on Ash Wednesday, 1585–6, he advocated a keeping of the Sabbath so much more strict than that which was common, as caused him to be cited before the authorities of the University.[70] While he was at Cambridge Francis Johnson seems to have been at one time his tutor.[71] We next[72] hear of him as "preacher to the citie of Lincoln."[73] Before separating from the church of England he spent nine months in the study of the subject,[74] and held a public disputation at the house of Sir Wm. Bowes at Coventry with Messrs. Dod, Hildersham, and Barbon, on points involved.[75] We hear of him next at Gainsborough on the Trent, as gathering a separate church.[76] And now, in or about 1606,[77] he makes his appearance with his little fraternity at Amsterdam, where they seem to have joined themselves to Johnson's company.[78] Having some knowledge

valuable *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* (Vol. i, 1858, Vol. ii, 1861) whose apparently uncontemplated arrest, at 1609, has been felt by me to be a particular misfortune, inasmuch as it has deprived me of an amount of most desirable knowledge of men whose lives would have been noticed in its third volume. It is well known that the Separatists were very largely Cambridge men. To an American scholar it seems inexplicable that Cambridge men should fail to demand, until they obtain, such a work in all accessible completeness.

70 Strype, *Annals*, etc., iii (1), 496.

71 Gov. Bradford, Dialogue, etc., Young, *Chron. Plym.*, etc., 450.

72 From a letter of Fr. Johnson to Lord Burghley, it has been usual to say that John Smyth was confined eleven months in the Marshalsea, while Johnson was in the Clink. But Johnson, in his *Answer to Maister H. Jacob His Defence*, etc. [200], makes it clear that the Mr. Smith who had been in the Marshalsea was Mr. W. Smith—another man. He was the person to whom the famous answer of the High Commissioner [Wroth] was made, viz.: "Come thou to churche & obey the Queenes lawes; & *be a dissembler, be an hypocrite, or a Deuill, if thou wilt*," etc. [*Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxv: 50.] Which quite reminds one of the incident related by Samuel Clarke [*Lives of Sundry Em. Persons*, etc. (1683), 130] of Richard Mather. A church dignitary asked him how long he had been a minister, and he said, "fifteen years." "And how often worn the surplice?" "Never." "What," said the officer, "Preach fifteen years and never wear a surplice! *It had been better for him that he had gotten seven bastards!*"

73 John Cotton, *Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination*, etc., 58.

74 *Paralleles, Censures, Observations*, etc., 128.

75 Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, etc., ii: 196; *Paralleles*, etc., 129.

76 J. Hunter, *Collections concerg. the Chh. at Scrooby*, etc. (1854), 33; *Paralleles*, etc., 128.

77 B. Evans, *Early Engl. Baptists*, i: 202; Brook, *Lives*, etc., ii: 196; J. Ivimey, *Hist. Eng. Baptists*, i: 114; A. Taylor, *Hist. Eng. General Baptists*, etc., i: 67.

78 Brook affirms this [ii: 196]. So does Barclay, who has devoted more pains to the investigation than any recent writer. [*Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, etc., 63, 68.] Ainsworth [*Animadversion*, etc., 137] speaks as if Smyth and his company had been members of the "ancient church," and [*Defence, etc., agt. the challenges, cauils, etc., of Mr. Smyth* (Preface)] he says that Smyth "not long since professed himself to be a member with us;" while Smyth himself seems [title of *Differences of the Churches of the Separation*] to call his company (before his second secession) the "Second English Church at Amsterdam." Bradford's language is a little ambiguous [Dialogue, etc., Young, *Chron. Plym.*, 450; *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 16], but can, no doubt, be so understood as to be fairly consistent with the fact as thus by others established.

of physic, he soon began to prescribe for ailments of the body, "in administering whereof he usually took nothing of the poorer sort," and of the rich "he took but half so much as other doctors did, excepting some, who being well able and well-minded, urged more upon him."[79] He was very kind to the poor.[80] In short, he seems to have had many engaging qualities, besides being a good scholar, a rather close reasoner, and a fair preacher; but on the other hand, "his inconstancy, and unstable judgment, and being so suddenly carried away with things, did soon overthrow him."[81]

For a year, or possibly two, he and his managed to live peaceably with the general company. But his mind had a curious restlessness, and his conscience a wonderful sensitiveness in regard to extraordinary and unimportant matters. Probably in 1607, he printed a little book called *Principles and Inferences concerning the Visible Church;*[82] soon after which, with a number of followers[83] — perhaps including nearly or quite all of those who had come out of the North with him — he seceded from Johnson and Ainsworth's church and formed a second, on substantially the same basis of general faith, but with many differences of what we should think minor details; soon publishing a second treatise, entitled *The Differences of the Churches of the separation*,[84] etc., in which, expressly modifying various points which he had made in his previous book, he set forth the errors to bear testimony against which had prompted their secession.

These errors were six in number — for substance these:[85] (1)

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79 *A Declaration of the Faith of the English People remaining at Amsterdam in Holland: being the remainder of Mr. Smyths companie. With an appendix giving an account of his sickness and death*, [1612,] 42.

80 *Ibid*, 43.

81 Gov. Bradford, Dialogue, etc., Young, *Chron. Plym.*, etc., 450.

82 I have met with no copy of this work, except that in the Minster library at York, and that — a duplicate — which, by the courtesy of its authorities, is now in my possession.

83 I have seen no statement of the number; but since we find the names of *forty-two* subscribed to the MS. Confession (still preserved among the MSS. of the Mennonite Seminary in Amsterdam) which was presented by Smyth and his second secession to the Waterlander Church with which they (vainly) sought subsequent affiliation; and since a majority clearly remained with Helwys and Murton; one might, perhaps, be justified in the conjecture that as many as from seventy-five to one hundred must have gone with Smyth when he left the "ancient church."

84 Without date, but it must have been issued in 1608, or *early* in 1609, because Ainsworth's reply to it was printed at Amsterdam in 1609. It is a 4to of some forty pages.

85 Smyth himself sums them up most briefly thus: "Let no man be offended at us for that we differ from the auncient brethren of the Separation *on the Leitourgie, Presbyterie & Treasurie of the Church:* for we hold not our faith at any mans pleasure or respect of persons, neyther do we bind ourselves to walk according to other mens lynes further then [they] walk in the truth, etc." *Differences*, etc., ii.

that the worship of the New Testament is spiritual, and therefore it is a sin to use an English Bible in the service of God, it being the Teacher's duty to use in that service the Greek and Hebrew texts; (2) that it is unlawful to have the book as a help before the eye in prophesying; (3) and so likewise in singing; (4) that the tri-formed Presbytery of the Church — of Pastors, Teachers and Elders — is unlawful, and man's device; (5) that there are no Elders but Pastors;[86] and (6) that in the matter of contributions, the church treasury ought to be filled by the church only, and with separation from them that cannot accompany their gifts with prayer and thanksgiving.[87]

The difficulty began with the use of the English Bible in worship, Smyth insisting that only the originals were inspired, and every translation apocryphal.[88] It appears, moreover, that singing was disused in worship by his new company.[89]

It will be perceived that no mention is made, in these statements, of any differences of judgment between the "ancient church" and that formed by Smyth in leaving it, as to Baptist or Arminian tenets; and it is obvious that there was none. His interest in these subjects was of a later date, and his consequent secession was afterward from his own second Barrowist company, which he had previously drawn away from that under Johnson and Ainsworth. The neglect to notice this fact — if I mistake not — has tinged with misleading inaccuracy, and led into more or less of confusion of thought, all previous writers on the subject,[90] with the single exception

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[86] Hoornbeek [*Sum. Controver. Relig.* (ed. 1658), 740] says of Smyth: "fundavit Congregatiunculam Separatistarum, sive Brownistarum: sed cum antiquioribus ejusdem sectæ non diu concors, quos idololatriæ accusabat, quod tum in concione ad volumen Bibliorum, tum inter cantandum, Psalterium respicerent, etiam Antichristianismi in regimine Ecclesiæ, quod Pastoribus adjungerent alios Doctores, & Rectores, quæ humani commenti dicebat." I am not sure but Baillie [*Dissuasive*, etc. (1645), 16] should be set down here also, but his language is not clear.

[87] *The Differences of the Churches of the Separation*, etc. ["*Principall Contents*, etc.," *following Introduction*], compared with Ainsworth's *Defence*, etc., 1–5.

[88] Shaw says in the MS. before cited [note 68, p. 270 ante] "Smith . . accused the rest for looking on their Bibles in time of preaching, and on their Psalm-books in time of singing psalms." Ainsworth says [*Animadversion*, etc., 108]: "M. Smyth indeed leaving the truth and broaching *his heresie against the translated Scripture, would needs* publish it in our church," etc.

[89] *Differences*, etc., 34. Ivimey brings out the fact that prejudices against singing were general among the early Baptists. *Hist. Eng. Bap.*, ii: 374.

[90] Crosby [*Hist. Eng. Baptists* (1738), i: 91] says: "When his search after truth, etc., had led him to entertain some principles different from his brethren, particularly that of baptiz-

of Hoornbeek, who wrote at Utrecht less than half a century after.

We must not fail to notice that one of the most important points here made was that which regarded the Eldership. Smyth taught that the Scriptures know but one kind of Elders, in opposition to the theory held by Johnson and the church, that Pastor, Teacher and Elder are three separate offices. He held, also, "when the church wanteth [i. e.: is destitute of] an Eldership, it hath never the less power to Preach, Pray, Sing, etc., and by consequent to administer the Seales," etc. And so, "when the church hath chosen and ordayned herself Elders, then she loseth none of her former power, but still retayneth it entyre to herself to use when occasion ariseth."[91] These passages prove that questions, which afterwards rent the ancient church asunder, were then stirring within it.

After Mr. Smyth's arrival, and before this separation, we

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ing believers only, they [the 'ancient' church] set themselves violently to oppose him, they cast him out of the church," etc. But Crosby acknowledges that he had been unable to see Smyth's books—which would have enlightened him. Ivimey [*Hist. Eng. Baptists* (1811), i: 114] repeats, for substance, the same statement. Neal [*Hist. Puritans* (1732–8) (ed. 1837), i: 422] adds that Smyth and his company of seceding Baptists went to Leyden! Perhaps he had gotten this latter from *Hoornbeek* (1653), who mentions it [ed. 1658, 740]; or Hornius, who [*Hist. Eccles.* (1687), 398] says: "Quintus author Separatistarum *Smithius* fuit, qui ecclesiam *Leidæ* separatam constituit." More likely Baillie [*Dissuasive*, etc., 16] was his authority. Brook [*Lives of Puritans* (1813), ii: 196] corrects Neal in the latter error, but repeats the former. Wilson [*Hist. and Antiq. of Dissent. Chhs.* (1808), i: 21] says: "the next subject of dispute [in the 'ancient' church after poor George's excommunication] related to matters of doctrine, more especially baptism, which occasioned a schism in the church, headed by Mr. John Smyth," etc. Adam Taylor [*Hist. Eng. Gen. Baptists* (1818), i: 68] says "this [his new view of baptism] alarmed the ['ancient'] church and they cast him out." Bogue and Bennet [*Hist. Dissenters* (ed. 1833), i: 190] ascribe Smyth's leaving the church of Ainsworth and Johnson to "his objections to infant baptism." Price [*Hist. Prot. Nonconformity* (1836), i: 496] gives his change of views as to baptism as the reason of Smyth's "expulsion from the Brownist church," and insists that in excluding him that church "arrogated a power with which no Christian society is invested." Skeats [*Hist. Free Chhs. of Eng.* (1869), 40] repeats the same error. Even Dr. Evans, who has devoted special labor to Smyth's career, falls [*Early Eng. Baptists* (1862), i: 203] into the same mistake. So does Fletcher [*Hist. Independency* (1862), ii: 287–290]; and so do Dr. Bacon [*Genesis New Eng. Chhs.*, 223] and Mr. Punchard [*Hist. Congregationalism*, iii: 298]. Mr. Underhill [Han. Knol. Soc's. *Tracts on Lib. of Con.*, 87] seems to lie under the same misconception.

And finally the careful Mr. Barclay, who has done more than any one else to obtain and perpetuate accurate knowledge on this general subject, puts [*Inner Life of Soc's. of Commonwealth*, etc., 68] his new views on baptism first among Smyth's reasons for secession from "the ancient church." Prof. Masson goes so far out of the way [*Life of Milton*, ii: 540] as to represent that, after separating for baptism's sake, Smyth formed a congregation *in Leyden* "side by side" with John Robinson.

[91] *Differences*, etc., 28.

learn from two minutes on the records of the English Reformed Church then (and still) existent in Amsterdam, that the Brownists "applying to their friends in England, obtained money to build a house to dwell in, and to preach in secretly, if need be." The same authority states, under date of 16 March, 1607: "The beforesaid Brownist preaching-house being half ready, God sent his strong wind most furious from heavens and cast the house only, and no other, flat down unto the ground, which was a sign that they do not build upon the rock, the true and wise foundation."[92] Clearly, however, this misfortune, if it crushed the building, did not altogether crush the spirits of the people, for the Amsterdam records inform us that, in less than a fortnight after, 29 March, 1607, Henry Ainsworth, aged thirty-six years, was married to Marjory Haley, widow of Richard Appelbey, of Ipswich.[93]

Some time during 1607 was published also a second edition of the Latin form of their creed (of 1598), entitled *Confessio Fidei Anglorum quorundam in Inferiori Germania Exulantium, Vna cum annotatione brevi præcipuarum rerum in quibus differimus ab Ecclesia Angliæ prout nunc se habet;*[94] the fourteen points of difference, which had been four years before presented to the king, being here put into Latin by Ainsworth, and appended as *Capita Differentiarum.*[95] A new English edition, of the same general fashion, was also simultaneously sent forth.[96]

The chief event of the year, however, in our eyes, was the arrival of the first portion of that church which — an outgrowth from Smyth's Gainsborough company — had been formed, apparently, by William Brewster and John Robinson in the previous year, in the Manor-House at Scrooby, and whose endeavor to reach Amsterdam in a body by ship from Boston, in Lincolnshire, had been so cruelly thwarted by the

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92 *Records of English Reformed Church, Amsterdam, sub datis,* 4 Feb., and 16 Mar., 1607.

93 The whole [translated] record is this: "*Henricus Ainsworth*, from Swanton [Norfolk], minister, aged thirty-six years, dwelling on the Singel near the Keipoort, with *Margery Halie* from Ipswich, widow of Richard Appelbey." *Puiboek*, sub dato.

94 16mo, pp. ii, 55.

95 Pp. 50–55.

96 *The Confession of faith of certayn English people, living in exile, in the Low Countreys, Together with a brief note of the special heads of those things wherein we differ from the Church of England, etc. Reprinted in the yeere 1607.* 16mo, pp. 72.

treachery of the ship-master, and the violence of the "chatchpoule officers."[97]

The following spring and summer (1608) witnessed the arrival in Amsterdam of the remainder of the Scrooby company;[98] Pastor Robinson, Teacher Clyfton, Elder Brewster, and the principal members who formed the rearguard, getting there by August.[99]

For a short time now, in spite of the loss of Mr. Smyth and his company, this "ancient" church was at a hight of prosperity which she had never before experienced. Very pleasant is the reminiscence which, forty years after, Governor Bradford, among the wild woods of the Old Colony, wrote down concerning it:

"If you had seen them in their beauty and order, as we have done, you would have been much affected therewith, we dare say. At Amsterdam, before their division and breach [he seems not to have in mind here Smyth's departure, which, I take it, was just before his day, but a greater which was to follow], they were about three hundred communicants, and they had for their pastor and teacher those two eminent men before named,[100] and in our time four grave men for ruling elders,[101] and three able and godly men for deacons,[102] one ancient widow for a deaconess,[103] who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honored her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other helps as their necessity did require; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons; and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ."[104]

Bradford adds: "truly there were in them many worthy

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97 Bradford, *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 12.

98 J. Hunter, *Collections*, etc., 41; Gov. Bradford, *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 10.

99 "Robinson, Brewster and other principall members" . . . "were of ye last & stayed to help ye weakest over before them," etc. [Bradford, *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 16.] Clyfton was of course one of the "principal members," and it seems well settled that he arrived in August. J. Hunter, *Collections*, etc., 44.

100 Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth.

101 Daniel Studley, Stanshall Mercer, George Knyveton and Christopher Bowman.

102 David Bristow, M. Braithwait, and Thomas Bishop.

103 I have met with no suggestion as to the incumbent of this office unless Geo. Johnson's mention in 1597 [*Discourse*, etc., 137] of "Widdow Reules" be such. The only other instances of such a title bestowed upon any woman of the company, among more than three hundred names in my possession, are "Widow Unwin" [*Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 66, 117], and "Widow Ch." [White's *Discoverie*, etc., 24], which latter I cannot interpret.

104 Dialogue, Young, *Chron. Plym.*, *etc.*, 455.

men," and one will be ready to endorse his words who remembers that, in all probability, during the latter half of 1608, and the early months of 1609, there might have been occasionally if not habitually seen in this congregation, Francis Johnson, Henry Ainsworth, John Robinson, Richard Clyfton, William Brewster, William Bradford, and Samuel Fuller; besides many others possibly as genuine, though not as marked, in their claim upon our reverent remembrance.[105]

This was the sunshine and the calm, before the storm.

The first explosion took place by their side in Smyth's second English Separatist church in Amsterdam. His restless mind came under the influence of the Waterlander Hans de Ries,[106] and of the disciples of Arminius,[107] until he grew to the opinion that valid baptism demands the assent of contemporaneous personal faith in the recipient; and accepted many of the looser theological tenets then prevalent in Holland. The result was the re-modeling — I find no proof whether the entire company consented, or whether a minority were left — of his seceded flock, and the organization of a church, which, while still administering baptism by affusion,[108] confined its reception

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[105] It does not seem to be certain whether Robinson and his company united themselves with Johnson's church, or maintained a separate organization, and service. Bradford's language certainly implies familiar acquaintance with and frequent attendance upon, the "ancient" church. But the probabilities favor the idea that the Scrooby church maintained its separate existence; while the fact which Bradford states [Dialogue, Young, *Chron. Plym.*, etc., 453] about Clyfton: "he belonged to the church [that found its home] at Leyden; but being settled at Amsterdam, and thus aged, he was loath to remove any more; and so when they removed, he was dismissed to them there," implies this; for if all had joined the "ancient" church on arrival at Amsterdam, it would have been Robinson and those who went to Leyden, and not Clyfton who staid, who would have needed dismission. Fletcher [*History of Independency*, ii: 258] expresses the judgment that Robinson and his flock maintained separate worship in Amsterdam. Perhaps they retained their own church organization, but mainly worshiped with the others.

[106] He and Lubbert Gerrits were well-known Dutch Baptists of that day, and authors of a Confession of Faith largely circulated. See Evans's *Early Eng. Bap.*, i: 211.

[107] Arminius, having been pastor in Amsterdam from 1588 to 1603, had passed the remainder of his life (till 19 October, 1609) as Professor in the University at Leyden.

[108] Although a Baptist church, it is clear that they did not practice immersion. Aside from various circumstances which need not be dwelt upon which make this probable, it is made certain by the fact that when some of them subsequently applied for admission to a Mennonite church in Amsterdam which baptized by affusion, that church said, after questioning them as to their mode of baptism, "no difference was found between them and us." [*Evans*, i: 208.] It is noticeable also that Helwys's Confession, published by those that remained after the exclusion of Smyth and his friends, styles baptism "*washing* with water." [Art. 14, *Declaration of Faith of Eng. People remaining at Amsterdam*, etc.] Barclay [*Inner Life*, etc., 73] says the practice of immersion seems to have been intro-

to consenting adults; Smyth, by way of cutting a knot which did not readily untie, baptizing first himself and then Helwys and the remainder of the company.[109]

duced into England 12 September, 1633. Crosby [i: 149] calls it then "a new baptism." Pagitt [*Heresiography* (ed. 1654), 30] says: "At this day they have a *new* crotchet come into their heads, that all that have not plunged nor dipt under water, are not truely baptized, and these also they rebaptize," etc. Featly, in his *Dippers Dipt*, etc. [ed. 1645, p. 187], criticises the *Anabaptist Confession* of 1644 as "wholly sowred with this *new leaven*, etc. I say the *new* leaven, for it cannot be proved that any of the ancient Anabaptists maintained any such position [as immersion]." See also testimony to the same effect in E. Barber's *Vanity of Childish Baptism* (1642), and in *Anti-Quakerism* [B. M. 669, f. 22], v. 13, etc.

In this connection it may be also remarked that John Smyth's own Confession of Faith — preserved in the Mennonite archives at Amsterdam — makes no reference whatever to the *manner* of baptism. Here is all its language on that ordinance: "*Art. xiv.* Baptismum esse externum symbolum remissionis peccatorum, mortificationis et vivificationis, *ideoque ad infantes non pertinere.*" [MS.] The corresponding article in the Mennonite creed was this: "*Art. xxxi.* Sacer Baptismus est externa, visibilis & Evangelica actio, in quâ, secundum Christi præceptum, & praxin Apostolorum, ad finem sanctum, aquâ baptizantur in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus sancti, qui doctrinam sancti Evangelii audiunt, credunt, & libenter, poenitenti corde, accipiunt. Tales enim jussit Christus baptizari; *sed neutiquam infantes.*" H. Schyn, *Historia Christianorum qui in Belgio, etc., Mennonitæ appellantur*, etc. (1723), i: 207.

[109] This self-baptism it was long a part of every good Baptist's creed to deny. Crosby [*Hist. Eng. Bap.*, i: 95–100] went into its disproof with great zeal, relying mainly upon two positions, viz.: (1) that those who charged it did so with "so much passion and resentment" as to weaken the probability of its truth; and (2) that to have baptized himself would hardly have been "conformable" to some of the positions of Smyth's books. Ivimey [*Hist. Eng. Bap.*, i: 115] boldly says: "there is no doubt but this silly charge was fabricated by his enemies, and it is an astonishing instance of credulity that writers of eminent talents have contributed to perpetuate the slander." Adam Taylor [*Hist. Eng. Gen. Bap.*, i: 85] presumes the story to have "originated in mistake." Prof. Cutting and Dr. Underhill [*Historical Vindications*, etc., 37, 57–60] are very sure that "interesting evidences have been discovered within a few years tending . . . to lift . . . from him the reproach." Evans [*Early English Bap.*, i: 203–209], who knows more about it than all the others — having more materials at command — is much more reasonable, but rather non-committal. On the other hand there is much testimony.

The reader who wishes to study thoroughly the subject would do well to consult Mr. John Hunt's *Religious Thought in England* [i: 217]; J. Jones's *Bishop Hall, his Life and Times* [1826, p. 56]; Stuart's *Life of Ainsworth* [Edinburgh, 1789, p. xliii]; Pagitt's *Heresiography*, etc. [1654, p. 66]; John Hoornbeek's *Summa Cont. Relig.* etc. [1658, p. 741]; Robert Baylie's *Disswasive from the Errours of the Time* [1645, p. 16]; John Robinson's *Defence of Doct. of Synod of Dort*, etc. [1624, p. 178]; Edmund Jessop's *Discovery of Errors of English Anabaptists*, etc. [1623, p. 65]; R. Clyfton's *Plea for Infants*, etc. [1610, *Ans. to Epis.*]; Bishop Hall's *Common Apologie*, etc. [1610, p. iv]; Richard Bernard's *Plain Evidence that the Church of England is Apostolical, and the Separation Schismatical*, etc. [1610, p. 19]; Stillingfleet's *Unreasonableness of Separation*, etc. [1681, p. 52]; T. Wall's *Baptism Anatomized*, [p. 107]; and Caspar Calvor's *Fissuræ Sionis* [1700, p. 504]. And, to come to direct witnesses, we have John Robinson in his *Religious Communion*, etc. [1614, Ashton's ed., p. 168], stating distinctly that Smyth and his company told him that "Mr. Smyth baptized first himself, and next Mr. Helwys, and so the rest." Next we have "I. H.," in *A Description of the Chvrch of Christ*, etc. [1610, p. 23], asking: "I pray you tell vs one thing Master Smyth? By what rule baptised you your selfe?" And Henry Ainsworth, who was a present witness, in his *Defence of the Holy Scrips., Worship*, etc. [1609, pp. 69, 82], saying: "Mr. Smyth anabaptized himself with water," and again, he "anabaptized himself, and then anabaptized

We can take time for only the briefest outline of the subsequent fortunes of this remarkable man, and his followers. But a few months elapsed — it could hardly have been more than a year — before differences of judgment, shared by numbers on both sides, arose between him and his co-pastor, Helwys,[110] John Murton, and others prominent in his new Baptist church. Smyth seems to have gained more light upon the questions of the right administration of baptism and the true doctrine of succession, besides making great progress in doctrinal heresy.

As condensed into six heads, the offensive views entertained by him were by Helwys and his friends understood to be, for substance, these:[111] (1) that Christ had one moiety of his nature from his mother; (2) that men are justified partly by the righteousness of Christ apprehended by faith, and partly by their own inherent righteousness; (3) that Adam's sin in no wise affects his posterity, so that before actual sin there is no need of Christ; (4) that the church and ministry must come by succession, contrary to his former belief, and although "he can not shew from whom, when, nor where;" (5) that an Elder of one

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others." All which is clinched by Smyth's own declarations. Having previously [*Character of the Beast*, etc. (1609), p. 58] urged that each Christian man, in some circumstances, has the right to baptize himself; in his last book, called *The Retractation of his Errours*, etc., he acknowledges [p. 36] that "we did" thus; and again he argues that, "seeing ther was no church to whome we could Joyne with a Good conscience, to have baptisme from them, therefor wee might baptise our selues." [p. 37.] Further, when (in 1609) seeking admission to the Waterlander Mennonite Church in Amsterdam, Smyth and his associates said of themselves: "qui hunc errorem suum agnoscunt, ejusque poenitentiæ agunt, viz.: *quod incœperint se ipsos baptizare*, contra ordinem a Christo constitutum, etc." [MS. *Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam.*] Mr. Barclay [*Inner Life of Relig. Soc. of Com.*, etc., 70], who gave the subject a very careful examination on the ground, reached the conviction that this was conclusive. Add to all the evidence here cited, the fact that in the letter of Lubbert Gerrits to the church at Leeuwarden, asking advice as to the reception of Smyth and his company, the fact that "he has baptized himself" is distinctly referred to [see letter in *Evans*, i: 213]; and it is impossible for any reasonable man to doubt that the statement which Robinson made as to Smyth's se-baptism was a correct one. I am happy to say that the Boston *Watchman*, the leading Baptist journal in New England, has had the candor honorably to concede this. It may be hoped that the matter will now rest.

[110] Smyth, in his *Last Booke*, etc. [40], mentions the fact that when he was sick at *Bashforth* [Basford, Notts?] Helwys was kind to him. This would imply that the two men had been friends and co-workers in England. While the [*MSS.*] records of the Ecclesiastical Court at York mention action taken, 26 January, 1607–8, against "Joan, wife of Thomas Elwisse," and again, in 1608, against "Joan Elwaise of Basford." These entries seem to render it probable that Helwys came from Basford, and belonged to the church emigrating from Gainsborough.

[111] See these points made [16] in *A Declaration of the Faith of English People remaining at Amsterdam in Holland*, etc. (1611), which was the work of Helwys; as would appear from a reference in his *Proof that God's Decree is not the cause of any Man's Condemnation*, etc. See Hansard Knollys Society's *Tracts on Liberty of Conscience*, etc. (1846), 88.

church is an Elder of all churches; and (6) that magistrates may not be members of Christ's Church, and retain their magistracy.

It is clear that, while a very strong affection existed for Smyth on the part of those who had left the ancient church under his lead, the majority still felt the wrong of his errors to be so immeasurable, that no human regard could be allowed to stand in the way of their fidelity to truth. Early in 1609 they accordingly cast him, with about forty who sympathized with him, out of their company.[112] Smyth and his friends — prominent among whom were Hugo Bromhead and Thomas Pygott — made application to one of the Dutch Mennonite churches for admission to their fellowship.[113] Helwys, Murton, Seamer and William Pygott, on behalf of the excommunicating body, remonstrated with that church, beseeching them not to be hasty to "deal in this cause betwixt us and those who are justly, for their sins, cast out from us."[114] The Dutch were cautious, and seem to have taken more than a year to think of it, seeking the advice of a sister church at Leeuwarden, which disfavored the movement, and the overture was declined.[115] So that for the brief remainder of his earthly life — he was buried in the *Niewe Kerk* in Amsterdam, 1 September, 1612[116] —

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[112] This date is made probable by the fact that the letter of Helwys and others protesting against these excommunicated persons being received by the Waterlanders, bears date "12 March, 1609," and seems to have been not long after the church action to which it refers. [*MS. in Mennonite Archives at Amsterdam.*] Dr. Evans [*Early English Baptists*, i: 210], who prints the letter, has misprinted the date, making it 1610; probably forgetting that new style had been in use in Holland since 1583, and that the year at this period began there on the 1st January, and not on the 25th March, as in England.

[113] This autograph request is in the Mennonite Archives in Holland, and a translation of it has been printed by *Dr. Evans* [i: 209]. It has no date.

[114] Amsterdam *MSS.* as above, printed by *Evans*, i: 209. There is another letter in Latin in the same Mennonite Archives which has never been published, apparently from Helwys to the same church, urging the same plea. As thus: "vos in timore dei obsecramus, ut vobis ipsis attendatis, ne in consulto improbos iustificetis innocentesque condemnetis, a quo scelere, ut vos Deus avertat, summis precibus oramus:" etc. [MSS.]

[115] Same MSS. and *Evans*, i: 211–218. I should think that Dr. Evans was right in dating the application 1610, and that the Leeuwarden brethren, whose final letter is dated 18 July, 1610, were replying concerning a request made only four months previous, but for the fact that the letter requesting advice speaks of its being "a long time since, and continually," that the English made their application.

[116] See Burial Records *Niewe Kerk*, sub dato. *Barclay* [95] gives it also. At the time of his decease he is set down as lodging in the hinder part of the "Great Cake-house" of Jan Munter [where religious meetings were held, and many of them lived]. Prof. J. J. de Hoop Scheffer, of the Mennonite College, discovered this record.

Smyth appears to have remained the pastor of his little excommunicated company, meeting in the Cake-house of John Munter,[117] who, after his death, published their creed, together with his *Last Booke, Called the retractation of his errours, and the Confirmation of the Truth*, with an appendix giving some account of his sickness and death.[118] What was left of this flock, numbering about thirty individuals, appear, late in 1614, to have renewed, with more success, their request to become incorporated with the Waterlanders. On the 20th January, 1615, this was granted, and, although for a time they continued separate English worship in the Cake-house, they became gradually absorbed among the Dutch, until, by the middle of the century, all trace of their separate existence is lost.[119]

Helwys and Murton, and their company, after the excommunication of Smyth and his followers, seem to have remained in Amsterdam, and kept up their service and organization for a year or two, when, as they said, fearing that they had done wrong in fleeing from persecution at home (a conclusion which Robinson thought was greatly aided by the difficulties encumbering their stay in Holland),[120] they returned to England, and established in London, in Newgate, what appears to have been the first Arminian (or General) Baptist church in the kingdom.[121] Helwys soon drops out of sight, probably

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[117] Matthew Savnders and Cvthbert Hvtten, in their letter to Johnson's church [Lawne's *Prophane Schisme*, etc., 56] under date of 8 July, 1611, speak of three kinds of English Anabaptists then in Amsterdam, viz.: "Master Smith, an Anabaptist of one sort, and master Helwise of another, and master Busher of another." Where Leonard Busher came in, or rather from whom he went out, I have seen no evidence. Was he a Calvinist Baptist, and did he represent a section of Smyth's friends who followed him into "believer's baptism" but not into Arminianism? All that seems to be known of him is that in 1614 he was in London and published *Religions Peace*, etc.

[118] This little tract, "believed to be unique," which Mr. *Barclay* [118, pp. xvi] reprints in his useful volume [1876], and which he speaks of as "*recently* discovered in York Minster library," it had been my good fortune to find there, and, by the kind permission of Rev. Canon Raine, to copy in full, in the summer of 1871, while Dr. Waddington cited it in 1874. If he had "discovered" in that same choice (though not large) collection, Helwys's *Declaration*, as well, which I had, at the same time, found there and also copied, it would have aided him in clearing up some points which he was obliged to leave in darkness and error.

[119] Dr. *Evans* [i: 220–223] gives the authorities for these statements.

[120] "Neither is it likely, if he [Helwys] and the people with him at Amsterdam, could have gone on comfortably, as they desired, that the unlawfulness of flight would ever have troubled him," etc. *Religious Communion*, etc. *Works* (Ashton's ed.), iii: 159.

[121] *Crosby*, i: 272; *Ivimey*, i: 122; *Taylor*, i: 87; *Evans*, i: 224, ii: 24; Han. Knol. Soc's. *Tracts*, etc., i: 87; Price, *Hist. Prot. Noncon.*, i: 519; *Barclay*, 94.

being removed by an early death.[122] Murton became his successor, and, although troubled also with a secession, had, as late as 1626, a church of one hundred and fifty members, with at least four or five other churches with which it was in fellowship.[123]

Earnest and unselfish[124] hero and leader of at least three secessions, and one exclusion; going out of the Church of England to become a Barrowist, and leaving Barrowism for a more rigid Separation, and abandoning that more rigid Separation that he might be a self-affused Baptist, and cast out by his own Se-Baptists because he had traveled lengths in the "liberal" theology of that day which they deemed fatal, and in which they could not follow him; still, all things considered, I am clear that John Smyth deserves our respectful remembrance as one of the most gifted, and, with all his faults, one of the best of the great company who have borne that name. His ability and his essential worth, while suggested by the vigorous and virtuous tone of his books, are demonstrated by the impression he made upon friends and enemies alike. Perhaps no more true or touching memorial could be treasured for him than a few words from the same hand which had just sorrowfully written the sentence of his excommunication.[125]

"What would we not have endured or done, would we not have lost all we had, yea, would we not have plucked out our eyes, would we not have laid

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[122] Crosby [i: 275] says "how long Mr. Helwisse lived . . . I cannot find." Taylor [i: 95] thinks he died about 1623. Brooke [*Lives Pur.*, ii: 282] thinks he died "most probably about the year 1620." *Evans* [i: 226] says: "of his death we know nothing."

[123] "Some thirty years ago, Mr. Morton, a teacher of a church of Anabaptists in Newgate," etc. [*Truth's Victory* (1645), 19.] See letters from the Amsterdam Archives published by *Evans* [ii: 21–51], which refer to the secession from Morton's church of Elias Tookey and eighteen others. See also *Barclay*, 95.

[124] Smyth [*Life & Death*, etc., 11] declares — as a simple fact and not a boast — "that I neuer receiued of them [his flock], all put together, the value of *fortie shillings!* to my knowledge since I came out of England: and of Mr. Helwis not the value of a penny."

[125] *A Declaration of the Faith of Eng. People remaining at Amsterdam*, etc. [Helwys's company], 15. It is not strange that those who suffered in consequence of Mr. Smyth's peculiarities should sometimes speak strongly in regard to them. Yet, on the whole, his Separatist brethren did not bear very ill testimony of him — all things considered. Robinson gently and sadly said of him: "his instability and wantonness of wit is his sin, and our cross." [*Justification of Separation*, etc., Works, ii: 62.] And Bradford, in addition to his testimony which I have already given [p. 313 ante], says: "[He] afterwards was drawn away by some of the Dutch Anabaptists, who finding him to be a good scholar and unsettled, they easily misled the most of his people," etc. Dialogue, etc., *Young*, 451. He elsewhere calls him: "a man of able gifts, & a good preacher." *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 9.

down our lives [could we still in conscience have enjoyed and followed his teaching], doth not God know this? Do not men know it? Doth not he know it? Have we not neglected ourselves, our wives, our children, and all we had, and respected him? And we confess we had good cause so to do in respect of those most excellent gifts and graces of God that then did abound in him; and all our love was too little for him, and not worthy of him. And therefore let none think, and let not him think, but that our souls have and do mourn for, the loss of such a man. And if the Lord had taken him away from us we might have cried (bear with our foolishness), 'the chariot and horsemen of Israel.' But he hath forsaken the Lord's truth; he is fallen from grace, and though the fowler had spread his net and laid it, the net is broken and we are escaped, blessed and praised be our God!"

And these from his own pen, which furnish the key to his estimate of his own character.[126]

"Although in this writing something ther is, which overwharteth my former judgment in some treaties by me formerly published: Yet I would intreat the reader not to impute that as fault unto mee: rather it should be accounted a vertue to retract errors. Know therfor that latter thoughts ofttymes are better then the former; & I do professe this (that no man account it straunge) that I will every day as my errors shall be discovered confesse them & renounce them. . . . . .

"Whereunto my earnest desire is that my last writing may be taken as my present iudgment, & so far forth as it overthwarteth any former writings of mine, let it be accounted a voluntary retraction & unfeyned repentance of my former errors & evil wayes before the whole earth."

Robinson and his people soon heard the mutterings of an advancing tempest in the sky of Amsterdam, and, like wise men as they were, prudently withdrew in season to Leyden; receiving permission of the Leyden magistrates 12 February, 1609,[127] and becoming established in that "fair & bewtifull citie, and of a sweete situation, but made more famous by y^e^ universitie wherwith it is adorned,"[128] by midsummer.

I have already called your attention[129] to the fact that a vagueness, implying the want of a clear thought and a determined purpose, pervades the early creed of this ancient church of Johnson and Ainsworth, and was never quite dispelled from its later one, as to the question whether the church power inhered in the Elders or the membership. Brownism, as I have

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[126] *Differences of the Churches of the Separation*, etc., iv.

[127] *Gerechts Dagboeck* (Leyden), G, p. 34.

[128] Bradford, *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 17.

[129] See statements and citations on pp. 260 and 281 ante.

said, their doctrine certainly never was; neither did it seem to attain to absolute Barrowism in this respect. You can hardly have failed to notice a decided and increasing leaning in the pastor's mind toward the High Church theory—a leaning which seems to have grown stronger for the reason that the various experiences of trial through which the church had passed, created in his mind a distrust of the multitude. His brother George declared that Elder Studley's influence[130] was strong in the same direction, and Gov. Bradford seems to endorse the suggestion.[131] In one way and another Francis Johnson was led on to intensify the Presbyterian element of Barrowism and minimize its democratic element, until he took the most extreme ground against any, the least, popular control of ecclesiastical affairs.[132] In this he, naturally, had the full sympathy (Ainsworth excepted) of his Elders, and, as the event showed, of a majority of his church. Ainsworth, on the other hand, with a respectable minority, adhered to what they esteemed to be the true, as well as the accepted way.

Bradford names the apprehension "that y^e^ flames of contention were like to breake out in y^t^ anciente church it selfe," as one urgent motive for the seasonable removal of the Scrooby emigrants to Leyden.[133] And six months could hardly have elapsed after that removal, before these differences of judgment did blaze into open dispute.[134]

Johnson, the Elders and the church, maintained that the rights, duties and responsibilities, as to church management of the private members, ended, when they had, as occasion might require, and the board of Elders request, elected such persons

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[130] *Discourse*, etc., 23, 151, 185–190, etc. Studley, in a statement which was printed from his pen by Clyfton in his *Advertisement*, etc. (1612), [122], speaks bitterly of "popular" government in a church.

[131] Gov. Bradford says: "He [F. J.], by reason of many dissensions that fell out in the church, and the subtilty *of one of the elders of the same*, came after many years to alter his judgment about the government of the church, and his practice thereupon, which caused a division amongst them." Dialogue, etc., Young, *Chron. Plym.*, etc., 445.

[132] John Robinson declared of Francis Johnson that he was "immoderately jealous for the officers dignity." Letter, published by Ainsworth, *Animadversion*, etc., 117.

[133] *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 16.

[134] Ainsworth [*Animadversion*, etc., 137] says: "we had by a twelv moneths dispute tried if we could have come to accord; but were further off in the end, then at the beginning." He states this as one reason for their secession. That took place in December, 1610. Deducting a year from this would carry the time of the outbreak back to December, 1609—the Leyden men having left Amsterdam probably in the previous May.

as that board might suggest, to fill vacancies in its number; those Elders being the church. **Tell it vnto the Church,** meant tell it to them. A body of simple church members, aggregated without Elders, had no power except to elect Elders. It could not even ordain them. It could not excommunicate an erring and unrepentant member. And in a church fully organized with Elders, should the Eldership fall into the grossest heresy or crime, the congregation had no right to depose or excommunicate them, or any of them. On the other hand, the Elders had the power of excommunicating church members, without, and even against, the consent of the body.[135] Johnson, as cited by Clyfton, stated his theory interrogatively thus:

"Whether ye Elders power be not ministeriall under the Lord, in and for the Church, so as it is the Lord's primarily, the churches secondarily, & ye Officers ministerially, or instrumentally, for the Lord and ye Church, whose officers they are; & that therefore there is no weight in their obiections about ye Elders power, as if it were not the churches, & that which perteyneth to ye bodie of ye congregation, but that in deed it is the churches, & so to be ministred by ye Officers whome ye Lord hath set in his church, to minister in His name for ye Churchs use & benefit." [136]

There was, naturally, another point also. It was denied that a church having internal dissensions ought to obtain, and heed, the advice of sister churches. A few minor related points clustered around these.

On the other hand, Ainsworth and his sympathizers maintained, as to these particulars, the doctrine of the Confession, which had been many times published.

No man, however gifted, can achieve impossibilities. And neither Henry Ainsworth nor John Robinson could expound Barrowism, or teach it, so as wholly to do away with the ineradicable inconsistency of its fundamental principles. But they could guard it from being wholly perverted into Presbyterianism, by re-emphasizing — if they could not harmoniously explain — its popular side. Ainsworth said: "we give not to the people *goverment*, as before I have shewed, but a right and power to observ and doo al the commandements of Christ, touching his

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[135] See Clyfton's *Advertisement*, etc. [22–24, 34, 35, etc.]; Ainsworth's *Animadversion*, etc. [10–138]; Johnson's *Treatise of the Ministery*, etc. [113, 114], and *Treatise concerning XVIIIth Matt.*, etc., passim.

[136] *Advertisement*, etc., 34.

prophetical, preistly and kingly office, by the Elders teaching, guiding and governing of them in the Lord."[137] This is about as far as he was able to go in direct assertion of popular rights. From another point of view, however, in denouncing the hierarchy which is created by counting the Eldership — which must practically be the majority of that Eldership — to be the church, he is much more forcible:

"Now that being so, a Church having a Pastor and a Teacher that are learned, and 3. or 4. ruling Elders, which are as unlearned as the other of the people, taken of tradesmen and the like: these 3. or 4. Rulers (whose power they have proportioned with the Princes of Israel) shal by their number of voices cary matters, though it be against Pastor, Teacher, and 500. brethren. Yea these may excommunicate or depose the Pastor and Teacher, and cast out of the brethren: but none can excommunicate them, or depose them joyntly from their offices. The utmost that we can find these men to allow the Church in these exigents, is when they have doon al they can, to *separate* from them: and this power any man hath in the church of Rome. But I hope every one that savoureth the things of God aright, wil abhorr such an unruly prelacie. For if these Elders prove such as Paul foretold of, *greevous wolves not sparing the flock*, but *speaking perverse things to draw disciples after thē;* & as the Church hath had woeful experience of, now so many hundred yeres: what havock & miserie wil not they bring upon Gods people? And if we add unto this their other opiniō of Gods covenant to continue with a Church, though they fall into so many horrible synns, idolatries & blasphemies as the Romish synagogue hath doon, which now they plead for to be stil the true Church of Christ: what wil not a presumptuous Eldership doo, and yet bear out themselves with this that they are the true church, and al that leave them (for what cause soever) are schismaticks."[138]

Ainsworth and his friends made successively three propositions in the interest of peace. They offered to remain quietly, provided, notwithstanding the modified views of the majority of both Elders and brethren, no change be made in the working processes of the church; which was declined on the ground that to do so would be to continue "in errour and evil," to leave "the Eldership to be troden under foot," and subject the whole church continually "to contentions and scandals."[139] They next suggested "a peaceable parting and to be two distinct congregations, ech practising as they were perswaded, yet nourishing brotherly love and unitie;" which was refused, unless the minority would leave Amsterdam.[140] The

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[137] *Animadversion*, etc., 24.
[138] *Ibid*, 39.
[139] *Ibid*, 123.
[140] *Ibid*, 126.

third proposition was that of calling in the friendly advice and mediation of Robinson's church. The Elders rejected this, partly on the plea that that church "was in the same error;" partly on the suggestion that, if council were needed, that of the Dutch and Walloon churches of Amsterdam could be had (to which it was replied that those churches "could not discuss the cōtroversie in our English tongue to the understanding of our Congregation now troubled; no, nor of al our Elders"), and partly for other and more trivial reasons.[141] They did condescend to say, however, that while they could not approve such a plan, nor become a party to it, if the Leyden church chose to come self-moved, or on the ex-parte request of the disaffected, they would "permitt" that.[142]

Some thirty of Ainsworth's friends — he himself, it would seem, taking no part in the request[143] — then wrote to the Leyden church, stating the case and earnestly requesting its help. The Leyden Elders made their first reply by writing, not to the disaffected brethren who had solicited their coming, but to the church itself, giving the substance of the request made, and begging to "be informed how things stood with them," and signifying an "unwillingness to interpose, but upon a dew and necessary calling; and that also as much as might be vnder the conditions of best hope of good issue." The church replied, and two or three letters seem to have passed upon both sides, all ending in the same decision, that Johnson's church "would not approve, but only permit" the measure; "as men use to permit of that which is evill, and which in deed they could not hinder."[144] At some time during the excitement of these scenes the church appears to have deposed Ainsworth from his office as its Teacher — a step afterwards retraced on Leyden persuasion.[145]

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[141] *Ibid*, 108, 109.

[142] *Ibid*, 133.

[143] This is implied in the terms of the letter, of which Robinson and Brewster say: "The reason why they [some 30 of the brethren there] thus earnestly requested our help was because M. Ainsworth was so sparing in opposing of Mr. Johnsons new doctrine (though alwayes misliking it) as they scarse knew how he was minded in the things: so loath was he to come to any professed and publique opposition with him, whom he rather hoped to pacify by moderation, then by opposition to stop in his intended course. Besides he was careful not to give any incouragement to the too violent oppositions of some brethren, though minded as they were, in the things themselves." *Ibid*, 133.

[144] *Ibid*, 134.

[145] Gov. Bradford says: "the church [of Leyden] sent messengers to those of Amsterdam, . . . when in their dissensions they had

The Leyden Elders, on Ainsworth's personal solicitation,[146] went to Amsterdam; first of themselves. Afterwards they went again, being sent by their church, at the request of Ainsworth and his company. They were faithful in reproving some things which they thought to be wrong in the posture and acts of those, opposed to Johnson and his measures, who had sent for them. In one of these visits, or by letter, the church of Leyden proposed to the church at Amsterdam what it called a "middle way," to wit, that all matters of offence, etc., be first taken to the Eldership and discussed, and, if possible, settled, by them; but, if things be not ended there, that they be then judged jointly in the church of Elders and brethren.[147] But this also failed to find acceptance. Johnson came near, at last, to harmonizing the difficulties, by proposing that all who could not walk with the ancient church in peace be dismissed to the Leyden church. His church assented. Ainsworth and his brethren "did never desire, but for peace sake, consented." And, on consideration, Robinson's church came into the expedient, and sent back its Elders to Amsterdam "for the further ratification of it, and for some other purposes tending to the establishment of peace amongst them." On this report Johnson's church a second time consented to and confirmed the arrangement.[148]

A fair way out of the trouble seemed thus to be assured, when, suddenly, a new difficulty presented itself, — the Amsterdam church receded from its assent;[149] and all hope of adjustment was lost. It became probable that Ainsworth and many of his people, even should they make a journey to Ley-

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deposed Mr. Ainsworth, and some other, both of their elders and brethren, Mr. Robinson being the chief of the messengers sent; which had that good effect, as that they revoked the said deposition and confessed their rashness and error, and lived together in peace some good time after." Dialogue, etc. Young, *Chron. Plym.*, 418.

146 "When no means among our selves could end the strife, they [Johnson and his friends] know, how I both intreated them to consent they [of Leyden] might be sent for: & when they would not, my self went and obteyned their cōming." *Animadversion*, etc., 109.

147 *Ibid*, 128, 135.

148 *Ibid*, 135.

149 Robinson and Brewster say: "but reversed the agreement of themselves, without acquainting us with the change of their mind or reasons therof." [*Ibid*, etc., 135.] Ainsworth himself says: "They plainly *reversed* the agreement, and . . . when some of our brethren desired their testimonial [i. e.: letters of dismission] for to goe to Leyden, they refused to give it. And we could not tel before we came thither & tried, whether there would be meanes found for our living there or no." *Ibid*, 131.

den, and become covenanted with their brethren there, must necessarily return to Amsterdam to earn their bread; since in their hard fight in a strange land for the sustenance of themselves and their little ones, "to remove their habitation" would be, with many, "the apparent undoing" of themselves and their families. And Johnson and his company seem to have been inflexibly determined that, if they could in any wise so manage it, they would have Amsterdam to themselves. Ainsworth speaks strongly as to this — nor is he to be blamed for his words:

"Strange and unheard of cruelty was in these men, that would bind us there [at Leyden] to remain, though we and our families should be undoon; & being but strangers themselves in this city [Amsterdam] with us, would take upon them so imperiously to banish us the town, which the Lords of the city never offred. I wish they may find more mercie with the Lord at the day of Christ, then they have shewed unto us."[150]

Ainsworth, and those who acted with him, now felt that no expedient for a peaceable settlement of their troubles remained. Their "sowles were wearied, with their turnings of devises." Yet they exercised a noble patience still, which called forth the praise of the Leyden Elders, "of Mr. Ainsworths great moderation, upō whom the rest did much depend."[151] He says himself:

"We taryed with them a good while after their foresayd letter, whereas we might upon their breaking of their own solemn agreement, added to al their former evils, justly have forsaken them."[152]

Both sides wrote again to the Leyden church; but it knew not what to say, and so replied not to the letters of either — thinking it "better to be silent; seing unto what extremitie things were brought."

The time came, at last, when the minds of these dissidents were fully made up on the question of duty:

"What should vve doo, but shake off the dust of our feet against such authors of errours, and peace breakers? Albeit in these our great troubles and strayts, we doubt not but many things through our ignorance and frayltie might be doon amyss; for vvhich vve have, and doo alvvayes humbly ask mercy of God, that even our secret synns may be forgiven us."[153]

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[150] *Ibid*, 131.
[151] *Ibid*, 136.
[152] *Ibid*, 132.
[153] *Ibid*, 132.

Writing afterward to a friend in England, the master spirit of the movement said:

"After long disputing these matters when no waie of peace could by us be found, . . . we followed the commandment, Romans xvi: 17, and have sithens laboured to build up ourselves in ye holy faith whereunto God hath called us, in love and peace, mourning for ye great scandall & reproch which Satan hath wrought by this breach amongst us." [154]

This secession seems to have taken place on 15–25 December, 1610.[155] Curiously, Ainsworth and his people obtained for their temporary meeting-place a building on the same street, on the same side of the street, and within one door of the house from which they went out.[156] The ancient church passed the extreme sentence of excommunication upon the seceders; and formally deposed Ainsworth from his office of Teacher.[157] And Johnson soon published *A Short Treatise*[158] designed, for

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[154] Letter of Ainsworth, printed in Clyfton's *Advertisement*, etc., 22–24. Most of the details of the account which I have given of the relation of the Leyden Church to these difficulties, have been taken from a letter of Robinson and Brewster to Ainsworth, printed by the latter in his *Animadversion*, etc., pp. 132–136.

[155] Clyfton's *Advertisement*, etc., 93. New style had been adopted in Holland, 1 January, 1583, although it was not adopted in England until late in 1752; the day after Wednesday, 2 September, being called (by Stat. xxiv, Geo. II, c. 23) Thursday, 14 September, 1752. [J. J. Bond, *Handy Book*, etc., xix, 21, 24.] There were therefore 169 years during which the method of computing dates in England and Holland varied, so as to make double-dating during that period essential for absolute accuracy. The 25th December in Amsterdam would therefore be the 15th in England, and by old style everywhere. Paget [*Arrow*, etc., in *Hanbury*, i: 334] says "the time of your [Ainsworth's] rending from Mr Johnson being on a Christmas day, so-called." This seems to settle it that Johnson, in Clyfton's book, in naming the 15th was employing old style.

[156] *Prophane Schisme*, etc., 26, 82. From what Paget says [*Arrow*, etc., 26], it appears that this building had been formerly in the occupancy of an assembly of Jews for their worship.

[157] Baillie says [*Dissvasive*, etc., 15]: "Master Ainsworth the Doctor with his half, did excommunicate Johnson and his half, who were not long behinde, for they also did quickly excommunicate Ainsworth and all his followers." But Mr. Cotton corrects this. He says [*Way of Cong. Chhs. Cleared*, etc., 6]: "Mr. Ainsworth and his company did not excommunicate Mr. Johnson and his, but onely withdrew from them, when they could no longer live peaceably with them." Lawne says [*Prophane Schisme*, etc., 62]: "Saint Francis . . . hath also cut off his speciall Teacher, Mr. Ainsworth, and deposed him from his office, etc." And Paget [*Arrow*, etc., 94] says to Ainsworth: "You being deposed from the office of a Teacher, by Mr. Johnson and his company for your schism and rending of them, etc." On the other hand Lawne [*Schisme*, etc., 42] represents Wm. Gilgate, who left the old church in Ainsworth's company, as saying: "The contention grew so extreame betwixt these two parts, that so many members on either side as submitted vnto the other, were by the rest given to Sathan, and cut off by excommunication." But this must, I think, only mean that Ainsworth's company may have cut off with censure any member afterward leaving them to go back to the old church.

[158] *A Short Treatise Concerning the exposition of those words of Christ, Tell the Church &c., Matt. 18, 17. Written by Francis Johnson, Pastor of the English exiled Church at Amsterdam in the low Countreyes, etc. Printed in the yeare of our Lord, 1611.* 4to, pp. iv, 26.

substance, to demonstrate that to "tell" the "church" means to tell the Elders, and not the congregation of members.

About this time some members of Johnson's church went off unceremoniously, and joined the English Reformed Church, so as to require that they be proceeded against; and Christopher Lawne, John Fowler, Clement Sanders and Robert Bulward were excommunicated between July and the January following. Whereupon the four put their heads — and, I suppose, their purses — together, and printed, during 1612, a small quarto, entitled *The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists, or Separatists, with the impietie, dissensions, lewd and abhominable vices of that impure Sect*,[159] filled with abuse — some plausible and some otherwise — of all the Amsterdam Separatists, but especially of Johnson, and certain members of his church, chief of whom was Elder Studley, whom they accused of the grossest wickedness. Clyfton, who had remained with Johnson in the late separation, took up the pen in behalf of the accused, and soon printed *An Advertisement concerning a Book lately published by Christopher Laune and others against the English Exiled Church at Amsterdam*,[160] etc., in which he set forth a series of documents designed to confute Lawne's slanders. One of these, comprising seventy pages, was by Francis Johnson; another was by Daniel Studley, giving his version of the circumstances which had been pleaded against him. He was unfortunately, however, obliged to admit too much for the very best interests of his own character, while he lets out one little circumstance which gives a most important hint as to the origin of the whole "Elder" trouble. The popular impression of his various misconduct, it seems, had led as many as fifteen persons to join together to propose and request that he vacate his office as Elder. "Here," he says, "was a beginning to tread the pathwaie unto popular government; the verie bane to all good order in church and common weale!"[161]

One thing in this book of Clyfton's opens another little window, through which we may look in upon them; where he gives a somewhat minute account of the order of Sabbath

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[159] 4to, pp. viii, 88.

[160] *Printed in the yeare of our Lord, 1612.* 4to, pp. 128.

[161] *Advertisement*, etc., 122.

service that had been usual in this ancient church; including the following seven divisions, viz.:

1. Prayer and giving thanks by the pastor or teacher.
2. Reading of two or three chapters of the Bible, with brief Explanation of the same, as the time may serve.
3. The singing of some of the Psalms of David.[162]
4. A sermon — that is, the pastor or teacher expounds and enforces some passage of the Scripture.
5. The singing again of some of the Psalms of David.
6. The sacraments are administered — that is, the Lord's supper on stated Sundays, and baptism whenever there might be a candidate.
7. Collection is then made as each one is able, for the support of the officers, and the poor.[163]

It will be interesting if we compare with this a statement made by two of the prominent members of Smyth's secession — Hugo Bromhead and his wife Anne — of the order of Sabbath worship maintained by them. It may be found in an autograph letter preserved among the manuscripts of the British Museum;[164] and remembering the circumstances under which Smyth and his company seceded, we shall be prepared to find that the "regular" service of song in the house of the Lord had no place with them.

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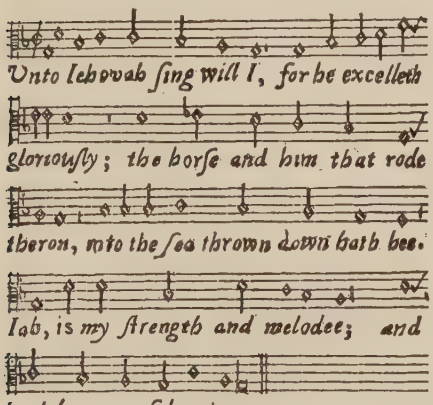
[162] Here is one of the tunes they sang:


Vnto Iehovah ſing will I, for he excelleth
glorioufly; the horſe and him that rode
theron, into the ſea thrown down hath bee.
Iah, is my ſtrength and melodee; and
hath been my ſalvation.

This is *my God, and for his ſake*
I will an habitation make;
God of my father is this-ſame,
and I will highly-him-preferre.
Iehovah, is *a man of warre:*
Iehovah, his renoumed-*name.*
Charrets of Phar'oh, and his hoſt,
he down into the ſea hath caſt:
his captaines eke each choſen one,
he did them in the Red ſea drowne.
The deeps, them cov'red: they ſank-down
into the bottomes, as a ſtone, etc., etc.

Ainsworth versified the Psalms and one or two other lyric scriptures, and his church, beyond question, used his version, with the tunes thereto set. The above is the first portion of his rendering of the "Song of Moses" [*Exodus*, xv], with a facsimile of the "tune" in which it was sung, taken from his *Annotations*, etc. (1617), in loco. There are diversities of gifts, and it is no offense to his memory to conclude that he shone more as an exegete than a poet.

[163] *Advertisement*, etc. I have mislaid the citation of the page, and have not the book by me. Mr. Ashton refers to this passage. *Works of John Robinson*, etc., iii: 485.

[164] Hugo and Anne Bromhead to W. Hamerton of London. *Harleian MSS.*, 360: 70.

"The order of the worshippe and gouernmēt of oure church is, 1. we begynne wth. prayer; after reade some one or tow chapters of the bible, gyve the sense thereof and conferr upon the same; that done we lay aside oure bookes, and after a solemne prayer made by the 1. speaker, he propoundeth some text owt of the Scripture and prophesieth owt of the same by the space of one hower, or thre quarters of an hower. After him standeth up the 2. speaker and prophesieth owt of the same text the like tyme and [way [165]] some time more some tyme lesse. After him the 3. the 4. the 5. so many as the tyme will geue leave. Then the 1. speaker cōcludeth wth. prayer as he began with prayer; with an exhortation to cōtribution to the poore, wch. collection being made is also cōcluded with prayer.

"This morning exercise begynes at eight of the clocke and cōtinueth unto twelve of the clocke: the like courses and exercise is obserued in the afternoone from 2. of the clocke unto 5. or 6. of the clocke: last of all the execution of the gouerment of the church is handled."

In 1612, a year or more after the secession of Ainsworth and his friends, we find evidence of the entering of a civil process against Johnson and his party, for the possession of the house of worship which, by the aid of subscriptions from abroad,[166] had been erected for the use of the original church; on the ground that, in point of sentiment, Ainsworth's company, and not Johnson's, was now the real representative thereof. Ainsworth's own account of the matter[167] may, I should think, be essentially received, as his spirit was manifestly judicial, judicious and conscientious through all. He says the subject was talked over in his church — members of which, of course, had made a heavy investment in the building they had left — with the result of the public agreement to suffer the loss and wrong, rather "than trouble the magistrate with our controversy." Subsequently, however, two of the brethren and one of the sisters of his church, she a widow, being "cheif owners of the building," after seeking in vain to come to any amicable arrangement of sale or otherwise with the party in possession, "desired to put it to the arbitrement of indifferent citizens; but the other party refused." They then decided, since "the estate of some of them was such as they could not bear the loss and damāge," that they must appeal to the magistrate, and asked, "if the churches right were caled in question

[165] The MS. is very much worn, faded and hard to read, and I could not be sure of this word.

[166] See p. 316 ante.

[167] This is in his *Animadversion*, etc. (1613), passim.

(for our adversaries plea was 'the church,' 'the church,') what should be answered before the magistrate?" The seceded church considered this question. It decided that it would rather suffer wrong than sue at the law. Yet, as it did not feel called upon to forbid these individual members to seek, even at the law, their legal and moral rights; and as in the process thereof it was inevitable that the position of the church would become matter of inquiry, a committee was appointed to represent it when occasion might arise. Another expedient of peace was, however, tried before going to law, and the help of the Burgomasters was invoked, who sought to persuade Johnson and his company "to put the matter to the arbitrement of good men chosen by both sides, but they stil peremptorily refused." It was then taken to the Judges. They also "both perswaded unto and nominated two indifferent men to hear the case." But the parties claiming to be the "ancient church" refused to bind themselves to abide by their decision. "The Judges the second time appointed them, with a mulct or forfeit upō those that refused their arbitrement," but they persisted in that refusal. They even had the assurance to urge the magistrates to decide at once in their favor, "and pretended how they might plead that *they which build on another mans ground, are by law to loose their building;* which pretence they made, because the assurance of the ground was made in the name of one man onely (now among them) whose name was used but in trust; for any other might have had the same as wel as hee, as was proved before the magistrate by sufficient witness."[168]

The law then seems to have taken its course, and in the

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[168] It is one of the minute curiosities of this kind of literature, and perhaps worthy of the space it will take to mention it here, that the copy of Ainsworth's book in my possession from which I make the citations in the text, contains here a most careful erasure and substitution of several words in a minute and beautiful hand, resembling that of Ainsworth's autograph — which itself is the only bit of his handwriting in existence *known* to be his. These changes are not suggested with others in the "Faults escaped in the printing." I believe, therefore, that this was Ainsworth's copy, corrected by his own hand. And, in this view, it becomes curious to note how his correction intensifies the view which he took of the spirit of the Johnsonian party. I put the original, and the correction, side by side:

ORIGINAL.	AS AMENDED.
and pleaded that *they which build on another mans ground are by law to loose their building;* which plea they made, etc.	and *pretended* how they might plead that *they which build on another mans ground, are by law to loose their building;* which *pretence* they made, etc.

Animadversion, etc., 3.

hearing the following statement of the points of their case was put in by the committee appointed by Ainsworth's company; as representing the grounds of their claim to be the original church contemplated in the erection of the edifice whose ownership was in dispute, in distinction from Johnson's company then in possession of the same.[169]

"1. The 23. article of the confession of our faith (whereto also our Apologie agreeth, page 46. 47.) professeth that euerie Christian congregation hath power to elect and ordaine their owne ministerie, &c. and vpon desert againe to depose, yea and excommunicate them. These [i. e.: Johnson's company] haue defended that a Congregation, without Ministers, cannot ordaine officers. And that if the Eldership fall into heresie or wickednesse, the whole Congregation cannot depose nor excommunicate them. And that a Congregation, without an Eldership, cannot excommunicate any wicked person whatsoeuer.

"2. The 24. article (confirmed in our Apologie, page 60. 62. 63.) professeth that the power to receiue in or to cut off any member, is giuen to the whole bodie together of euery Christian Congregation. *Matt. 18, 17, &c.* These haue pleaded for the Eldership to be the church, *Matt. 18,* and to haue both rightfull power to excommunicate, though without and against the consent of the bodie of the Congregation.

"3. The 29. article (as also our Apologie, page 51, 52.) professeth that the Hierarchie of Archbishoppes, Lord Bishoppes, Priests, &c. are a strange and AntiChristian Ministerie and Officers, not instituted by Christs Testament, nor placed in or ouer his Church. These haue placed ouer them one that was made Priest by a lord Bishops ordination, so as (because of it) they did not ordaine or impose hands on him, when at the same time they ordained and imposed hands on others, whom together with him they set ouer the Church.

"4. The 31. article (and also our Apologie, page 109.) professeth that such ecclesiasticall assemblies as remaine so in confusion and bondage vnder that Antichristian Ministerie, Courts, Canons, &c. cannot bee esteemed true visible Churches, &c. These now pleade not only for them, but for Rome it selfe, to be the true Church of God.

"5. The 32. article (whereto our Apologie agreeth, page 52. 53. 44.) testifieth that all such as haue received any of those false offices (of Lord Bishops, Priests, &c.) are to giue ouer and leaue them: and so hath it been practised heere before by all such Priests as came to our faith and Church: now one is Minister ouer them, ordained Priest by the Prelates, as is before said.

"6. The 32. article (which our Apologie also confirmeth, page 45.) professeth that people being come forth of the Antichristian estate, &c. are willingly to ioyne together in Christian communion and orderly couenant, and to vnite themselues vnto peculiar and visible congregations, &c. These haue

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169 This statement I give from Lawne's *Prophane Schisme*, etc. [78–80]. He says he took it "from the originall copie which was giuen to the arbiters;" though Ainsworth [*Animadversion*, etc., 2] endorses its correctness; while taking pains to deny that he, or his people, were responsible for its having been first given to the public.

pleaded that all are bound to communion, by vertue of their Baptisme receiued in the Church of Rome, or other Antichristian assemblies.

"7. The 33. article (confirmed also in our apologie, page 46. 47. 48.) professeth that a people so ioyned together, may proceed to choise and ordination of officers, except they haue officers before to do it.

"8. In our apologie page 113. it was maintained to be grosse error, and notorious absurditie, either to hold the Popish Church to be a true Church, hauing a true Ministerie and true Sacraments; or else that men are vnbaptised, and must admit of the *Anabaptists* re-baptisation. These haue themselues, much obiected to vs, that either the Church and Baptisme of Rome is true, or else we must be re-baptised: Both which we still deny.

"9. The 38. article of our confession, professeth that Congregations are by all meanes conuenient to haue the counsell and helpe one of another in all needful affaires, &c. The practise of this was denied, when in our greatest need and trouble they would not consent to haue the comfort and helpe of the English Church at Leiden, which professeth the same faith with vs."

Ainsworth's company was careful also to bring to the notice of the magistrates, as having collateral connection with the subject, the fact that they had earnestly sought harmony by various concessions offered to Mr. Johnson and the church, but that their overtures had been rejected, and that even the solemn agreement of peace made and confirmed through the mediation of the Leyden brethren, had, without reason assigned, been violated.[170]

I have found no record of the decision reached and enforced in this case by the civil law; but I entertain no doubt that the suit finally went against Johnson and his party, and that they were obliged to vacate the premises, and surrender the property. The equity of the action, so far as we can see, was clearly with the plaintiffs. There seems to be no doubt that the building had been in large part made possible by the donations of friends in London and elsewhere,[171] who were in strong sympathy with the original creed on which the church had been founded, and during all its earlier years administered. By a sort of moral trust-deed — if by no legal instrument — this substantially tied up the premises to the occupation and use of those still holding and administering by that original formula. So that, since there can be no question that now, in 1612, Ainsworth and his friends — aside from the fact that the

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170 *Prophane Schisme*, etc., 81.

171 See page 316 ante.

"cheif owners" were among them — were, in reality, much more fairly representative of the original church, than were its Pastor and the majority who had lapsed towards Presbyterianism; it must be held probable that the Dutch tribunal would recognize the fact, and decree accordingly. Moreover, there is evidence[172] that soon after this date Johnson, with his sympathizers, or a portion of them, removed to Emden, in East Friesland.[173] Such a procedure, which would otherwise be difficult of explanation, becomes at once comprehensible, if it be assumed that this suit ended in their ejection from their old premises. The meeting-house, I make no doubt, contained, in addition to its accommodations for worship, a number of small tenements, making it to some extent the home, as well as headquarters of the congregation;[174] so that if they were compelled of a sudden, almost in a body, to obtain new domiciles, it would be very natural that, with the dislike they had already

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[172] Baillie says: "The war betwixt these two handfuls of people became so sharp, that *Amsterdam* could not keep them both; for *Johnson*, with his side of the house, got away to *Emden*," etc. [*Disswasive*, etc., 15.] Brook says: "Mr. Johnson and his friends, at length, removed to Embden." [*Lives of the Puritans*, ii: 103.] Steven makes the statement: "Johnson having retired to Emden," etc. [*Hist. Scott. Chh. Rotterdam*, etc., 270.] So Hoornbeek [*Summa Contr.*, etc., 740] says: "Johnsonus, cum suis, Emdam concessit." He seems to think, however, that Johnson died in Emden instead of Amsterdam, as he adds: "ubi cum ejus morte congregatio soluta fuit & evanuit." But I place most dependence on Gov. Bradford's evidence, since he was living in Holland at the time, and must have been familiar with the facts. He says [Dialogue, etc., Young, *Chron. Plym.*, 445] of Johnson: "he died at Amsterdam, *after his return from Embden.*"

[173] Emden, now a town of some thirteen thousand inhabitants, situated in an air-line about one hundred and fifty English miles N. E. of Amsterdam, upon the Dollart, near the mouth of the river Ems, had been the ready asylum of persecuted English in the reign of Bloody Mary. A Presbyterian church was formed there by John a Lasco in 1554. Soon after the English Episcopalians had there a separate chapel. Subjoined to Arch. Cranmer's work on the Sacrament, printed at Emden in 1557, is a list of English bishops, archdeacons, deacons and others, who, through persecutions at home, had taken refuge in that harbor. William Penn lived there before his emigration to America, and had a conflict with the burgomaster as to the establishment of a Quaker meeting. Steven, *Hist. Scott. Chh. Rotterdam*, etc., 270.

[174] I do not know that it is susceptible of absolute demonstration that it was arranged and occupied on this plan. But there is a strong probability that it would be so, and the same thing, for substance, took place at Leyden. Moreover, it is provable by the Amsterdam city records, that in 1610, and following years, a large building which used to be the bake-house of the East India Company, and subsequently which went by the name of the Cake-house of Jan Munter, was thus employed as the meeting-house and home of Smyth's company. Many marriage records refer the residence of one or both the parties to that place; and when Smyth was buried, 1 September, 1612, as we have seen, it is stated that he lodged "in the hinder part of the great Cake-house," on the *Binnen-Amstel*, near the *Bakker-street. MSS. Records*, kindly transcribed by Prof. Scheffer, and Barclay's *Inner Life of Relig. Soc. of the Commonwealth*, etc., 95.

shown to joint residence in Amsterdam with the other party, they should seek a separate home. Leyden was pre-occupied by men as obnoxious as those they were leaving at Amsterdam, and so they pushed off toward the northeast, where they might expect hospitality and solitude.

It was a curious circumstance, and one to which Robinson and Brewster did not fail to advert in their letter to Ainsworth, that "they who would haue no peace with their brethren abyding in the same city with them," were thus obliged "to leave it themselves, and to settle their abode els where."[175]

All ended in constituting Ainsworth and his people, for the time, at least, sole representatives of the Separatist way in Amsterdam.[176] His church appears to have been officered by two Elders — Jean de l'Ecluse,[177] and "Mr." May;[178] and one dea-

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[175] *Animadversion*, etc., 136.

[176] I assume that there had been no Separatist church in Amsterdam except the "ancient" one, and those to which it gave rise by "slips" — to use a gardener's term. Yet if more could be learned of the history of Henoch Clapham, who, in 1597, published *Theological axioms or conclusions: publikly controuerted, discussed and concluded by that poore English congregation in Amstelredam, To whome H. C. for the present administereth the Ghospel*, etc., it might shed further light on this subject. I have seen no hint of any other English congregation than this of Ainsworth's in Amsterdam at the date at which he points. According to Steven [*Hist. Scott. Chh. Rotterdam*, etc., 269–282], there is no evidence of a Presbyterian church before 1607, or of an English Episcopal church before 1698. It is possible that there may have been a congregation of English merchants here, similar to those at Antwerp and Middelberg to which Cartwright twenty years before had ministered, and that Clapham may have been for a time its chaplain, but I have met with no account of it. At all events, unless Clapham changed his sentiments very much before writing some books which he published in 1598, 1600, 1605 and 1608, he certainly could not have ministered to Barrowists.

[177] He was from Rouen, France. Paget [*Arrow*, etc., 67] says he left the French church because they baptized some infants which the Separatists held ought not to be baptized; that is, which were not the children of believing parents. Johnson's party accused him of drunkenness. [*Prophane Schisme*, etc., 73.] He published an edition of Ainsworth's *Communion of Saints* in French, "*translaté d'Anglois en François, par Jean de Les Cluse*," and wrote a book entitled *An Advertisement against M. Brightman* [Paget, *Arrow*, etc., 88]. See also in regard to him, *Prophane Schisme*, etc., 15, 30, 39, 58, 59, 83; G. Johnson, *Discourse*, etc., 32; John Cotton's *Way of Cong. Chhs. Cleared*, etc., 6; and Ashton's *Works of J. Robinson* (note), iii: 127. The Amsterdam records state that (then being the widower of Catharine de l'Espine) he married 7 August, 1604, Alice Lewis, widow of Thomas Dickens. He was then set down as "bookprinter." Again, 14 May, 1609, he married Jacqueline May from Wisbeach, whom I take to be an elder sister of Dorothy May, who became the first wife of Gov. William Bradford. Still again, 12 November, 1616 (then styled a school-master), he married Anna Harris from Handborough, Oxfordshire. *Amsterdam Records* [*Puiboeken*], sub datis.

[178] "There bee sundry living that know the contrary [*i. e.*: to Baillie's story (*Disswasive*, etc., 15) that after Ainsworth's death his church remained long without officers.] For when he dyed he left two Elders over the church, *Mr. Delacluse*, and *Mr. May*." [John Cotton, *Way of Cong. Chh's. Cleared*, etc., 6.] Geo. Johnson refers to a "Mr. Maie" as a member of his brother's church, who had re-

con, Giles Thorpe[179] — who some years afterwards was chosen an Elder.[180]

There is not much more in the story with which I need to detain you. Johnson, for some reason, returned to Amsterdam to die — where he was buried 10 January, 1618.[181] And if he did not bring back with him some remnant of his ancient company still clinging to its old organization and nomenclature, I know not how to explain the fact that, in his last volume, published but a few months before his decease, he styled himself still the "Pastor of the Ancient English Church *now* soiourning at Amsterdam in the Low Countries."[182] He left behind him a record not without grave offences against the laws both of wisdom and charity, yet, with all, retaining the essential confidence of the good. Bradford said of him: "A very grave man he was, and an able teacher, and was the most solemn in all his administrations that we have seen any, and especially in dispensing the seals of the covenant, both baptism and the Lords supper." The witness adds — what suggests in this case possibly as much of dispraise as of eulogy — "and a good disputant he was."[183]

Ainsworth outlived his old associate only some four or five years. So far as his own people were concerned, he appears to have continued in peace. As to others, aside from some reply to an attack which Johnson's last volume made upon him,[184] he was in a manner forced by John Paget who, in 1607, had become pastor of an English Reformed Church which was assigned by the authorities to worship in the old *Begyn* chapel

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ported that he (George) had said "he wished his brother Francis dead;" and, by the way he treats the matter [*Discourse*, etc., 161, 207, 208], he rather leaves the impression that there may have been something of the sort unadvisedly said which needed explanation. But whether this be the subsequent Elder I cannot say. Perhaps this Elder was the father of Jacqueline and Dorothy, in which case he came from Wisbeach in Cambridgeshire.

179 "Or let them aske Master *Thorpe*, a deacon of Master Ainsworth's church," etc. [*Prophane Schisme*, etc., 11.] He was a printer, and Ainsworth's *Defence*, etc., and *Animadversion*, etc., bear his imprint.

180 "For the helpers which they had herein, they had, besides others, Mr. Th. now an Elder of your congregregation also, but then a deacon." Paget, *Arrow*, etc., *Hanbury*, i: 350.

181 *Holland State Papers*, s. d.

182 Title page of *A Christian Plea*, etc. (1617), 4to, pp. viii, 324.

183 Young, *Chronicles*, etc., 445.

184 *A Reply to a Pretended Christian Plea for the Antichristian Church of Rome, published by Mr. Francis Johnson, A° 1617*, etc. This is stated to have been written in 1618, but does not appear to have been printed until 1620.

of the nuns,[185] to be defendant[186] in a correspondence. The difficulty began in the application of an English female lately arrived, to be admitted to Paget's church without a "testimony;" and the fact that, subsequently "falling into speech of marriage with one of the Separation," she left the English Reformed, for the Separatist meeting, "pretending conscience against the use of the Lord's Prayer," and some other alleged errors in the *Begyn Hof* assembly. This led Paget to write to Ainsworth, under date of 12–22 July, 1617, in which, calling attention to these facts, he said: "if you will take it upon you to prove that she hath just cause to refuse the communion of our church, either for any of these three causes; or, afterwards, for any other, if these will not serve; I am ready, by the grace of God, to defend the contrary against you; . . . not for any desire that I have to bring her into the communion of our church, . . . but to remove offence, and to stop the mouths of such as causelessly do insult against me, and against the church of God." Ainsworth promptly replied that he was ignorant alike of the woman and of her grievances, but declared himself willing to discuss any points, when "duly called thereunto." A considerable correspondence followed, which ranged over a variety of "points," taking in "Talmudique and Rabbinical Allegations," and which illustrated the vast superiority of the assaulted party, both in learning and candor.[187]

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[185] This building, church and service continue to this day, in the *Begyn-hof*, just off the *Kalver-Straat;* and I have been much indebted to Rev. John McIlraith, and Rev. W. Macfarlane, the last and present pastors, as well as to J. J. T. van Berkhout, Esq., one of its members, for kind attentions, and extracts from its records.

[186] I say was "in a manner forced," for Ainsworth was essentially an exegetical student and a man of peace, and he had neither the time nor the taste for polemics. As he says in one of his Prefaces: "It was my desire and purpose to have left controuersies, & haue exercised my self in more quiet and comfortable meditations: but it pleaseth not God as yet, to grant my request therin." [*Animadversion*, etc., iii.] And so, in the introduction of one of his posthumous treatises, the friend who speaks for him says: "His desire being, as himself testified in his life-time, to finish this last period of his life with more comfortable meditations then to follow controversies," etc. *Seasonable Discourse*, etc., iii.

[187] The correspondence is given in Paget's *Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists: Also an Admonition touching Talmudique and Rabbinical Allegations* (1618), 4to, pp. 476. Ainsworth made a brief general reply in *An Advertisement to the Reader Touching some Objections made against the sinceritie of the Hebrew Text; and Allegations of the Rabbins*, etc. (1619), 4to, pp. 20; ad cal. "Annotations upon the Fifth Book of Moses called Deuteronimie," etc.,—possibly also separately issued. A more extended and particular answer "hee had well beguñ, and had finished long before his death, had not his infirmity of body hindred." *Seasonable Discourse, etc., against the Anabaptists*, etc., iii.

As early as during 1604, or 1605, there is evidence that in the discharge of his function as Teacher, or Doctor, of the church, Ainsworth was expounding to them the book of Exodus.[188] It seems probable that he had begun with Genesis, and that he pursued this expository service, probably as his share of the Sabbath exercise, for many years, until he had thus completed the critical interpretation, at the least, of the Pentateuch, the Psalms and the Canticles. These expositions were afterward committed to the press,[189] and their merit was, for those days, so remarkable as to win for them not only the distinguished commendation of competent scholars,[190] but in the face of the fact that their author belonged to a lowly and despised company, the more substantial honor of being reprinted at least three times in England,[191] and once — within the present generation — in Scotland,[192] and of being translated in part into German,[193] and wholly into Dutch,[194] with

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[188] This is implied in the correspondence between Ainsworth and Hugh Broughton, printed in *Certain Qvestions*, etc. (1605), 5, 16, 30, 36, etc.

[189] The comment on Psalms was first printed in 1612, that on Genesis in 1616, on Exodus in 1617, on Leviticus in 1618, on Numbers and Deuteronomy in 1619, and on the Song of Solomon, after the author's death, in 1623.

[190] I shall note here but two or three of the many testimonies which it would be easy to gather.

Matthew Poole [*Synopsis Criticorum*, I: iii] says: "Ainsworthi Angli Annotata Anglicano sermone scripta, et quidem tanto acumine et judicio, tanta fide et peritia, exarata, ut digna ausim pronunciare quæ in exteras linguas transfundantur. Idcirco ex eo plura et accuratius decerpsi in gratiam Theologorum inprimis exterorum."

Doddridge [Lectures, etc., *Works* (1804), v: 472] says: "Ainsworth on the Pentateuch, Psalms and Solomon's Song, is a good book — full of very valuable Jewish learning — and his translation is in many places to be preferred to our own, especially on the Psalms."

Adam Clarke [*Commentary*, i: 7] says: "He was an excellent Hebrew scholar, and made a very judicious use of his Rabbinical learning in his comment, especially on the Five Books of Moses. To his notes on the Pentateuch I am often under obligation."

I may add that I was assured in London in 1873, by one of the Company of Old Testament Revisers, that Ainsworth's commentary is by them held to be a valuable help in their work.

[191] (1) London, 4to, 1622 — which I have never seen, but have found advertised in a bookseller's catalogue; (2) London, John Bellamie, 1626–7, fol., pp. 1182; and (3) London, M. Parsons for John Bellamie, 1639, fol., pp. 1182. This latter is a reprint of the ed. of 1626, nearly page for page, but with variations on every page; demonstrating that it was a new edition printed to satisfy a public demand, and not the pretence of a new one to work off a bookseller's dead stock. Watt [*Bib. Brit.*, s. n.] notes an edition published at London in 1621, in two vols. 4to, of which I have found no trace — probably it is that above set down for the following year. Bellamie's first edition has 1627 on the general title, and 1626 on all the subordinate ones.

[192] Blackie & Son, Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1846, 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xx, 780, x, 746.

[193] The Annotations on the Song of Solomon, translated into German verse by Jer. Schrey, was published in 1692 at Frankfort, 8vo.

[194] *Aantekeningen Over de vijf Boeken Mosis, Psalmen en Hoogelied, etc., door Henricus Ainsworth*, etc., Leeuwarden, 169c, fol., pp. xviii, 1146. This was translated by Sibrandus

high critical endorsement.[195] One of the best testimonies to this humble and faithful student's well-earned fame as an exegete, is the left-handed one of the fact that *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique* with great pains discriminates between Henry Ainsworth, "the able commentator on the Scriptures," and Henry Ainsworth, "the heresiarch, who was one of the chiefs of the Brownists, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth," — two men whom it gravely warns its readers to "have a care not to confound."[196]

With all the disadvantages attending his residence in Amsterdam, it is clear that Ainsworth was still fortunate in the opportunity of his position. Whether the story be true, or not, that earning his bread at first as a bookseller's porter, he thus gained ready access to the riches of the sacred literature of that day;[197] it is evident that in some way he profited largely by acquaintance with the many Jews of Amsterdam; until eminent Orientalists of the University of Leyden declared that "they thought he had not his better for the Hebrew tongue in the University, nor scarce in Europe."[198]

His death took place late in 1622, or early in 1623,[199] at the too early age of fifty-two or three, and was preceded by a long-continued infirmity of body.[200] Most likely he fell a victim to

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Vomelius, minister of Bolsward in Friesland, and an able Dutch divine. He declares Ainsworth to have been one of the most learned of his class, and says his commentary shines among others [*als de maan onder de mindere sterren*] as the moon among the inferior stars. *Voorreden aan den Leeser*, xiv.

195 *Acta Erud. Lips.*, 1691, pp. 340–342. This was a periodical long conducted by the most eminent literary men. In reviewing the work of Vomelius it warmly eulogized Ainsworth, and his labors in the cause of sacred letters.

196 See *Moréri*, sub voce.

197 This statement was perhaps first printed by Dr. Stuart of Edinburgh in the account of Ainsworth — by far the most careful and accurate attempt at his biography — prefixed to his edition (1789) of the *Two Treatises* [*Communion*, etc., and *An Arrow*, etc.]; who [p. xv.] states it on the authority of a MS. note, by an unknown hand, in an edition of *Annotations* in his possession.

198 Bradford, Dialogue, etc., *Young*, 448.

199 There are two data. That friend who introduced to the English public his *Seasonable Discourse*, etc., at some time in 1623, says that Mr. Ainsworth had prepared that little treatise "for the present," which, through the haste of the messenger by whom it was to be sent, could not be further completed; with the intention to complete it and "so to make it publicke in this Spring [i. e. 1623]," but the Lord prevented his purpose by taking him to himself. [iv.] So, that member of his congregation, who, in 1623, prefaced the first edition of his *Solomon's Song*, etc., speaks [iii.] of his recent death "before he had perfected this his last labor, as his desire was," etc.

200 Neal [*Hist. Pur.* (ed. 1837) i: 421] somewhere picked up a silly story that having found a very valuable diamond, Ainsworth, though poor, would accept of no reward for it except a conference with some of the Rabbis about the prophecies of the Messiah, which the Jewish owner promised, but failing

the damp climate of Holland, and died as Smyth and so many English had done before him, of pulmonary disease. His last discourse[201] was from those royal words of Peter, in which the true people of God are characterized as "living stones" which, starting upon the "living" foundation of a Saviour, "disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God and precious," do build themselves up to be a spiritual temple, offering spiritual sacrifices, "acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." It is not difficult to think that, with his faltering, whispering utterance, he must have thrilled the sympathetic hearts of his auditors with counsel and comfort suggested at such a time by such a theme.

In his own department, Ainsworth must have been, on the whole, the greatest of these Holland Separatists. Neither so profound a thinker nor so skilled an organizer as John Robinson; neither so many-sided a man, nor so magnetic an orator as John Smyth; neither so ponderous a preacher nor so persistent a disputant as Francis Johnson; take him all in all, he

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to be able to bring it about, and Ainsworth insisting, the Jew poisoned him! Another version was that the conference took place, and that Ainsworth so overmatched the Rabbis in argument, that they poisoned him! There are three radical improbabilities here, aside from the fundamental unlikelihood that Ainsworth ever picked up a great diamond in the streets, viz.: (1) that *he* should have "insisted" on any "reward" whatever, other than the pleasure of restoring the property to its lawful owner; (2) that, under either hypothesis, the Jews should have been villainous enough to murder one whom they knew to be an eminently good man, and who had just done one of their race a very great favor; (3) that he was poisoned at all. The improbability that he died of poison is made two-fold, by the only circumstances which are really known concerning his death. (*a.*) It is clear that he was failing for some months — which is not like death by poison. The prefacer of the *Seasonable Discourse* [iii, iv,] says "it pleased God to exercise him with continued infirmity of body; he adds: "in his decayed health it was beyond his power to enforce himself" to a certain labor; and declares he proposed "if the Lord had continued some competent health and strength," to write a treatise, etc. In like manner, the introducer of the *Song of Solomon* [iii, iv,] says if "the Lord had restored his health and enlarged his daies" it had been his intention to revise that book; and mourns the loss of what Ainsworth would have done "had the Lord been pleased to give life and health to him." Gov. Bradford, moreover, says [Dialogue, etc., *Young*, 448], that he "much impaired his health" by hard study. All this best fits the hypothesis that, always feeble — Bradford [*Young*, 448] says his voice was never strong — hard labor and many cares and anxieties undermined his health, until the ungenial climate finished him. (*b.*) It is nearly incredible, that, had any basis of fact whatever existed for the poison story, it should not have come to the ears of the two warm personal friends whom I have cited, nor to those of Gov. Bradford, nor to those of Samuel White, who, in 1641 published a posthumous MS. of Ainsworth [*The Old Orthodox Foundation of Religion*, etc., vii]; which — although not himself a Separatist — he introduced with words of hearty eulogy of the man; and that if either of them had heard of it, it should not have found some place in their writing.

[201] *Certain notes of Mr. Ainsworth's Last Sermon on 1 Peter, ii: 4, 5*, etc.; said [*Biog. Brit.*, sub voce] to have been taken by Sabin Staresmore.

was more than the peer of either, and, in the direct line of personal influence, I must think he excelled them all. In disposition humble, gentle, amiable,[202] affable, affectionate, void of passion and not easily provoked; in judgment sound, modest and judicious; persistent in duty, patient under injury; innocent and unblamable in life; mighty in the Scriptures, singularly apt and accurate in quotation from them, and in harmonizing their various utterances—"things did flow from him with that facility, plainness and sweetness, as did much affect the hearers;"[203] so that "for personall qualification he was a man of a thousand, yea worthy the ranke of them that are to be preferred before ten thousand."[204] But his great claim to be held in perpetual and loving remembrance by God's people, lies in the fact, that, leaving old fancies and the conceits which ages had favored, he boldly laid down the fundamental principle that the Bible means what it says, and that what it says is to be determined by those simple laws of interpretation whic[1] apply to any other book—by getting, first of all, at the exact meaning of its Hebrew and Greek words, through the study of their etymological sense, and the careful noting of their use in Rabbinic and other writings, and, above all, by the comparison of Scripture with Scripture. Thus he pointed toward, and prepared the way for, that new school of sacred interpretation

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[202] He clearly had that gentleness and *suaviter in modo* which is sometimes mistaken for want of firmness. Paget [*Arrow*, etc., 91] directly charged him with inconstancy, and I cite the passage mainly because it contains a reference to Ainsworth's Irish exodus which had escaped my recollection when printing note 68 [p. 270, ante]. Paget says: "Let it be well observed that you are thus noted to have turned your coate & changed your religion five seuerall times: namely, *first*, being of our [the Established] religion and a member of the Church of England, you forsook that church and separated; *secondly*, that, being separated, you did againe in London, being in the hāds of authoritie yeeld to joyne with the worship & ministery of the Church of England; *thirdly*, that after this you did again slide back vnto the Separation & renounce the Church of England; *fourthly*, that *after this, when you were in Ireland*, and in some danger of punishment for your scandal, you did againe returne vnto the communion renounced by you, whether fainedly or unfainedly, I leaue vnto yourself to consider; *fiftly*, after this you change your profession againe, & fall back vnto Separation, and stick now presently in this schisme." Here it becomes us to remember two things: (1) that Ainsworth must have been very young when all happened out of which Paget manufactured this charge; and (2) that Paget was a man whom we have plenty of evidence to believe (and our John Davenport [*A Iust Complaint against an Vniust Doer*, etc., i: 16, 20, etc.] furnishes some of it) was almost fierce in his antipathies, and not likely to spoil a good story, or a telling point in an argument, for the sake of any special exactness of truth.

[203] Gov. Bradford, *Young*, 448.

[204] *Solomon's Song*, etc., iv. Nearly every word in this characterization of Ainsworth I have drawn either from this writer—one of his own congregation—or from Bradford.

which has done so much to open the Scriptures, sealed by the fathers and the schoolmen, to the knowledge of the people. Of the score and more of volumes which he left behind him,[205] his *Annotations* will be likely to live, in themselves and their suggestive influence, long after all else which he wrote, and all which others with whom he contended wrote, shall have passed beyond the remembrance of any but the most diligent and inveterate antiquary.

The church — and after Johnson and Ainsworth both were gone I find no trace, for some months at least, of more than one, but this claiming to be the "ancient" English church still — remained for a time pastorless, and fell into weakness and dissension. We get one glimpse, and that far from a cheering one, of its condition, perhaps eighteen months after its great bereavement, in a letter of John Robinson from Ley-

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[205] The following appears to have been the order of his treatises. Fuller titles will be found in the Appendix, with the various editions so far as known:

1. *Answer to Mr. Stone his Sermon.* [All I know of this is that Lawne (*Brownisme Tvrned*, etc., 8, 10, etc.) quotes it as a printed book, and that *Hanbury*, (i: 102 and Index) speaks of Mr. Stone as "T. Stone." He was probably the Stone of whom Fuller speaks, (*Chh. Hist.*, v: 163–170. See also Strype, *Whitgift*, ii: 7, 58; iii: 271, 282; Brook, *Puritans*, ii: 258) as parson of Warkton, who confessed the Presbyterian meetings, and who died in 1617. In that case this would be likely to be one of Ainsworth's earlier works.]....——
2. *Confessio Fidei*, etc. 1598
3. *Letters to Junius*, etc. [with F. J. & others], in *Epis. Præstant. Vir.*, etc.....1598–1602
4. *Apologie or Defence*, etc. [with F. J.] 1604
5. *Certayne Qvestions*, etc. 1605
6. *Communion of Saincts*, etc. [placed here because J. Paget in his *Arrow* (1618) says: (p. 86) "there was a promise, or a show, made some yeares since (in *Catalogo Francofurti, anno 1608,*) that your book of the *Communion of Saints* should have come forth in Latine at Franckfurdt Mart, but it was a false show, and a mockery of the world: it is not yet come forth." This last could not refer to the English edition, which had been issued in 1611, seven years before Paget's date. I therefore infer that the *Communion* had been first published in English before 1608, and that talk of a Latin version of a book already known in the vernacular, was what suggested Paget's remark. If so, 1607 becomes a probable first date. .(?) 1607
7. *Counterpoyson*, etc.....1608
8. *Epistle to two Daus. of Warwick*, etc. 1608
9. *Defence*, etc. (agt. Smyth.) 1609
10. *Arrow against Idolatry*, etc.....1611
11. *Annotations on the Psalms*.....1612
12. *Animadversion*, etc. 1613
13. *Trying ovt of the Tryth*, etc. 1615
14. *Annotations on Genesis*, etc. 1616
15. *Annotations on Exodus*, etc.....1617
16. *Letters to Paget*, etc.....1617–18
17. *Annotations on Leviticus*, etc.....1618
18. *Annotations on Numbers and Deut.*.1619
19. *Reply to a Pretended Plea*, etc.....1620
20. *Seasonable Discourse*, etc.....1623
21. *Annotations on Song of Solomon*, etc.1623
22. *Certain Notes of his Last Sermon*, etc. 1630
23. *The Orthodox Foundation of Religion*, etc.....1641

den, 18 September, 1624, protesting against its unscriptural proceedings toward one of its members (answering one from Amsterdam), which ends sadly thus:[206]

"And now, brethren, what shall we say more unto you? Our and all other churches advice you reject, in confidence of your own unerring judgment and proceeding in this matter.

"In your letter you mention the great weakness of the church. Oh that you would indeed manifest such persuasion of yourselves! Then would you not proceed with that confidence in a matter and manner before unheard of in the churches; then would you both be glad of and desire the advice and counsel of others, able and willing, in the fear of the Almighty and in a good conscience, to afford you the best help they can; and not so carry things as if the Word of God either came from you, or unto you alone. And for the church here, which is nearliest united unto you, what other use have you had of us, since the death of your wise and modest governors,[207] in all your differences and troubles, save to help to bear part of that scandal and opprobry wherewith, specially in the public carriage of matters, you have laden the ordinances of God and professors of the same in the eyes of all, within and without. But in vaine we speak unto you, whose ears prejudice hath stopped. We purpose not henceforth to trouble you any more in this kind; but taking part as occasion [may serve] in the good things amongst you, and professing ourselves innocent of the things amiss, will bewail your state, which is indeed to be bewailed, and commend it, as we do, to the Lord for bettering. His grace be with you always more and more. Your loving brethren, The Pastor and Church[208] at Leyden. John Robinson."

After long delay John Canne, preacher, author and bookseller;[209] became Ainsworth's successor in the pastorate. He was worthy to be such, at least in this, that he, too, was mighty in the Scriptures; being the first to illustrate the sacred text by marginal references,[210] facilitating to the common reader the

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206 *Appeal on Truths Behalf*, etc. *Works*, iii: 393.

207 This expression would seem to imply that the church had lost one of its Elders, probably Mr. May, to fill whose place [see note 178 ante] Dea. Thorpe was elected Elder.

208 Brewster had sailed for Plymouth in the Mayflower more than four years before, and no Elder had been elected at Leyden to take his place.

209 Hoornbeek says [*Summa Contr.*, etc., 740]: "*diuque carens Rectoribus*, tandem post multas contentiones accepit *Johannem Cann*, etc." Baillie [*Dissvasive*, etc., 15] says: "Ainsworth's company, after his death, remained long without all Officers, very like to have dissolved: yet at last, after much strife, they did chuse one Master *Cann* for their Pastor, but could not agree til very lately upon any other Officer, and even yet (1645), they live without an Eldership." But Baillie was apt to strain the truth till it broke into falsehood. See also Rev. C. Stovel's Introduction to Han. Knol. Soc's Edit. of his *Necessitie*, etc.

210 He seems to have been the author of three sets of notes accompanying three different editions of the Bible — although it is not certain that the last and fullest set, on which he spent many years, was ever published. [Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, etc., iii: 340.] He was better known, however, by his *Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformist's principles*, etc. (1634), which specially answered Dr. Ames's *Fresh Suit*, with other tracts of Leighton, Bradshaw and Dayrell.

performance of the duty on which his predecessor had laid so much stress, of comparing Scripture with Scripture. Whether Canne were the original choice only of one portion of the previously rent and shattered church, or whether his ministrations proved a source of division; there seems to be no doubt that before a long time he was renounced by a portion of the company, who seceded under the lead of Elder de l'Ecluse.[211] It is perhaps just possible that this separation may have been in consequence of Mr. Canne's embracing Anabaptist sentiments, as we find him in England in 1640 acting in aid of the gathering of the Broadmead Baptist Church, in Bristol.[212] The condition of the church, at the date of his return to England, Hoornbeek represents as much decayed;[213] but there seems afterward to have been a reunion of the divided elements into one church again,[214] so that when, in 1662, their meeting-house was destroyed by fire,[215] they were still numerous and vigorous enough soon to build another, on the narrow alley near the *Barndesteeg*, then, or since, named the *Bruinistensteeg*.[216] No record has been found in detail, however, of their pastors,[217] fortunes or history,[218] until we come down to 1701, when —

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211 Paget was living in Amsterdam at the time, and, with all his prejudices, must probably be accepted as trustworthy in the general statement of a fact so notorious as this. [*Defence*, etc., 33.]

212 "And at this Juncture of time the Providence of God brought to this City one Mr. Cann a BAPTIZED man; it was that Mr. Cann that made noates and References upon the Bible. He was a man very eminent in his day for Godlinesse and for Reformation in Religion, having great understanding in the way of the Lord." *Broadmead Records, anno 1640.*

213 "Qui [i. e., J. C.], turbata Sectis Anglia, & non admissis modo, sed plurimum quoque ibi pollentibus Brownistis, fastidita exili paupereque turba sua Amsteldamensi, in Angliam transvolavit, locumque invasit alium, Coetu Amsteldamensi relicto, *suo cum interitu luctante*." *Summa Contr.*, etc., 740.

214 Baillie, in 1645, speaking of the fusion effected between Master Simpson's and Master Bridges's churches in Rotterdam, says [*Dissvasive*, etc., 77]: "it may be much doubted, if their Union shall long continue. Certainly, it seems not to be so cordial, as that of the *two lately divided, and now reunited churches at Amsterdam*."

215 Steven, *Hist. Scott. Chh. Rotterdam*, etc., 272; Wagenaar's *Amsterdam*, etc. (1765), ii: 174.

216 This building, still in existence, was sold at auction so lately as 9 January, 1867, being advertised (see auction poster in my possession) as an "huis en erve tevens ingerigt tot Pakhuis, van ouds genaamd *De Engelsche Bruinistenkerk*, staande in den Bruinistensteeg," etc., etc.

217 Unless the records of the Consistory of the English Reformed Church (Paget's old *Bagyn-hof* church) which [*MS. Records*, sub datis] under date of 17–27 January, 1636, set down the denial of an application for dismission to "go to Mr. Etons," and which — 15–25 June, 1636 — censure and suspend Henry Puller for "joining himself as a member of Mr. Eton's company," may possibly refer to them, and so suggest the name of their pastor at those dates.

218 Brandt [*Hist. Reformation in Low Countries*, etc., i: 481] said in 1671: "We find that there are in that city [Amsterdam] and in other places, some remains of them [Brown-

assuming a vital lineal ecclesiastical descent through all these secessional changes, after one hundred and thirteen years of church life, and after one hundred and eight years of church life in Holland — in Campen, Naarden and Amsterdam — the feeble remnant made application to be absorbed into the English Reformed Church in that city.

Many times before, these Separatists had made business for this church. Bartholomew Barwell, 28 March, 1609, had been censured by the Eldership for criticising its pastor, John Paget, "that he dwelt too much on the Brownists." On the 29th August of the same year the Consistory had inhibited the schoolmaster from seeking lodgings among the Brownists. John Connall had been told, 18 September, 1610, it was thought good he should abstain from the Lord's table, "of his light running after the Brownists, and estranging himself from the congregation." Allis Glade, 23 April, 1614, acknowledged her fault in going to the Brownists' assembly; and the Elders, 18 August, 1621, had received the acknowledgment of fifteen, who had gone astray in that separation, and were "sorry for the offence given thereby." In 1631 he who afterwards became our own New England Thomas Hooker, failed to unite the hearts of this church as a pulpit associate with Mr. Paget,[219] because he did not quite satisfactorily answer this and like questions: "Whether it be lawful for any to resort unto the public meeting of the Brownists, and to communicate with them in the worship of God?" Thomas Adams, 27 July, 1636, had been admonished by the Consistory "of his offence in going sometimes to the Brownists, and to other unwarrantable meetings;" and 9 September, 1637, Patience Altey had been reproved sharply for her absence from the Lord's Supper, "going to the Brownists contrary to her covenant with God and this church," and twenty-one days after she had thanked the Elders for their admonition, and promised to leave off her sin.[220] Now, after these years of this experience, the question confronts

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ists] to this day, a living monument of the misfortunes which attended the Reformation."

[219] Mather says: "The old Man being secretly willing that Mr. Hooker should not accept of this Invitation, he contrived many ways to render him suspected unto the Classis, on a suspicion that he favored the Brownists," etc. *Magnalia*, iii: 61.

[220] *MS. Records of the Consistory*, sub his datis.

this Consistory whether it will swallow what remains of "Brownism" in Amsterdam in a single dose?

"The Minister,"[221] 10 April, 1701, "acquainted the Brethren that several of the Independent Congregation, which had been a considerable time without an ordinarie Minister or administration of the sacraments, were willing and desirous to join with us, and desired the Consistory to consider upon what conditions we would receive them as members of our congregation, and admit them to the communion of the Lord's Supper: And it was resolved that seeing there was no difference between them and us in the fundamental articles of our Christian faith, but only about Church Government and the use of forms [what a pity this could not have been found out years before!] those who were willing to submit in those differences to the government and practice of our church and to conform with our orders, were to be admitted as members of our Congregation without a new confession of their faith: but, with this proviso, that a strict enquirie was to be made before their admission concerning their life and conversation."[222]

This action resulted in the reception within six months of four persons, one of whom, Nathaniel Hanlois,[223] afterwards became an office-bearer in the church. One applicant, Thomas Perseval, was rejected "till we have satisfaction concerning his life and conversation,"[224] on the ground that he was found to have the reputation of having been "scandalous in his congregation."[225]

Simultaneously they conveyed their meeting-house to the Dutch Deacons [*Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Diaconie*] with the explicit understanding that it should never be used except

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[221] This minister must have been Rev. Hugo Fits, who in 1700 commenced his ministry of forty-one years. Steven, *Hist. Scott. Chh. Rotterdam*, 279.

[222] *MSS. Records of Consistory*, sub dato.

[223] The name seems to be this (certainly resembles this), but it is not easily made out.

[224] *MSS. Records*, etc.

[225] Steven [*Hist. Scott. Chh. Rotterdam*, 272] says: "After the Brownists had existed in this capital for more than a century as a separate community, their establishment was entirely broken up; and their last representatives, six in all, including two *quondam* office-bearers, were, at their own solicitation, received as members of the British Reformed, or Presbyterian Church, Amsterdam, April 10th, 1701." It will be seen that my citations from the records themselves which Mr. Steven here quotes as his authority, and which have been kindly furnished me by the Rev. John McIlraith and Rev. W. Macfarlane, late and present pastors of the church, do not quite bear out in detail all his statements.

in connection with the Reformed Religion.[226] And so the last vestige of that English Separatism which in that community for more than a hundred years had intertwined the religious life of Holland with that of Old and of New England, faded forever from the sight of men in Amsterdam.

We have seen that Robert Browne, at Norwich and at Middelberg, had sought to establish a polity which recognized Christ as absolute monarch reigning over separate independent yet fraternal local churches, through their members as his vicegerents, with a result, in point of fact, indistinguishable from a democracy; and that, by laying as a burden upon the consciences of all, all shortcomings of each, he had induced an internal unrest, which, in the unfortunate conditions under which the experiment was tried, proved fatal to its success. And we have seen that Henry Barrowe, seeking to avoid that rock of popular government on which no doubt it seemed to him Brownism had suffered shipwreck, advocated like independent fraternal local churches, but in which the people should be "most humble, meek, obedient, faithfull, and loving," under "most careful and vpright Governours,"[227] — Congregational churches ordered and controlled by a Presbyterian eldership within — whose membership had first the right to vote affirmatively for any to be such Elders who might be considered by the Elders already existing proper candidates for the office; and second, the right decorously to obey them in the Lord. We have seen that the "Ancient" English Church in Amsterdam — *Fratres Angli in Belgia Exulantes* — became organized upon a Confession of Faith shaped in general development of Barrowism, but which did not sharply define any theory of harmony between the two conflicting elements therein included; nor undertake to settle how the just freedom of the membership, on the one hand, was to be practically adjusted to the autocracy of the Elders, on the other.

This century of trial demonstrated the unsoundness of the system, by proving the essential incompatibility of these two elements. In serene weather all worked well; the Elders were

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[226] Wagenaar's *Amsterdam* (1765), ii: 174. | [227] *A True Description*, etc., 2.

amiable and judicious, and the members of one mind with them and with each other. But when differences of opinion were developed, giving rise to hostile judgments, and these again to sharp debates, inflaming personal prejudices and sectional animosities, it became inevitable that the Elders should incline to take more than the membership were willing to give, and that each should strain its supposed prerogative to the utmost.

"By our organic law," the Elders might say, "we are 'Governours.'[228] It is demanded of us that we 'see' that 'the people be in obedience,' and that 'the officers do their dueties.' Nay, we are told that our '*especiall* care must bee, to see the ordinaunces of God truely taught and practized, aswel by the officers in dooing their duetie vprightlie, as to see that the people obey willinglie and readily.'"[229] To which the people might reply: "By that same organic law it is declared that 'thus hath everie one of the people interest in the election and ordination of their officers, as also in the administration of their offices;'[230] that Christ hath given the power to keep his church in order 'to every member'[231] of that church; that 'every member' thereof should have 'an especiall care of offences,' and that excommunication take place never without the concurrence of 'the whole congregation.'"[232]

All this would bring out the fact that however wrong either might be in practice, each was right in law; a state of things — neither being disposed to yield — only to be resolved by revolution.

We have further seen that, from this state of connate incompatibility, in point of fact, the original majority of the church under Johnson emerged on the Presbyterian side,[233] advancing

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[228] *Ibid*, 2. Compare Art. xxvi, *Confession* (1596); *Confessio Fidei* (1598), 27; *Apologie*, etc. (1604), 22; *Confessio Fidei* (1607), 35.

[229] *A Trve Description*, etc., 5; *Apologie*, etc., 49.

[230] *A Trve Description*, etc., 3; *Apologie*, etc., 21.

[231] *A Trve Description*, etc., 6; *Apologie*, etc., 22.

[232] *A Trve Description*, etc., 7; *Apologie*, etc., 62.

[233] There is in the Prince Library in Boston, a little quarto having no title-page, and no minute of date, which is entitled *A Note of some things called into question, and controverted, in the exiled English Church at Amsterdam*. It is bound up with a copy of Johnson's *Short Treatise*, etc., and the internal evidence seems conclusive that it is an authorized statement of the position reached by the majority of the church in the struggle with Ainsworth, and his friends. The pith of it,

in that direction until they stood on the ground[234] that the Presbytery of Elders is the church; that "Tell it to the Church," means "tell it to the Elders;" and that those Elders have the right to admonish any member, and, should he "despise" their admonition, the further right to excommunicate him — not only without consulting the people, but requiring the people, as a matter of duty to consent thereto;[235] their final theory being thus stated: "That the power of the holy things of God given to the Church, is properly and primarily Christs; secundarily and by communication the Churches; *instrumentally and ministerially the Officers, who are the Ministers of Christ and the Church;*" so that all vestige of privilege left to the membership was the barren "liberty to except against and evince wherein the Elders do vnjustly without warrant," as "also in all good order, without disturbance and vnder correction," to "aske resolution of their doubts" — by which means "all popular convusion is avoyded, and liberty in the truth reteyned"[236] — the practical drawback being that the Elders were in all cases final judges as to whether they had done anything "vnjustly" and "without warrant," as of all other matters!

Ainsworth and his people turned their faces in the opposite direction, but they were so hampered by the solicitude with which popular government was then universally regarded, that they did not go far. That solicitude was made the more intense by the conviction that an ineradicable absurdity was involved. Ainsworth had, two or three years before, replied to Bernard's taunt against Brownism, that it laid the government upon the people:[237] "So then for *popular gouernment* (which *Mr. Bern.* would traduce vs by) we hold it not, we approue it not, for if the multitude gouern, then who shal be gouerned?

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under the head of the Eldership, is this [i.]: "That it is the duty of the Elders in the publick administration of government, and in matters brought to the Church, to admonish the sinners and vnrepentant (without requiring the people their consent first): Which admonition of the Elders being despised, the partyes vpon it are to be excommunicated. And all the brethren are bound to consent vnto such just rebuke or admonition given by the Elders, as to the publicke doctrine in the church: And consequently they are to assent to all other the just administration of the Governours, they [i. e. the Elders] being able [of course they themselves being final judges whether the fact be so, or not] to justify the same by the Word of God."

234 See Johnson's *Short Treatise*, etc., and *Note of Some Things*, etc., *passim*.

235 *A Note of some things*, etc., iii.

236 *Ibid*, i.

237 *Christian Advertisements*, etc. (1608), 88.

Christian liberty (which all haue) is one thing, the raynes of gouernment (which some haue) is another thing."[238] John Robinson three years later was almost equally careful to defend his flock from the "reproach" that "the people govern;"[239] and from our own side of the sea, in 1636, we find John Cotton adopting the very language of Ainsworth to express to Lord Say and Seal his judgment that democracy was never ordained of God "a fitt government eyther for church or common wealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed?"[240]

It is easy to see that, disadvantaged by such apprehensions, it must have been exceedingly difficult for Barrowists who leaned towards the more liberal side, so to adjust their philosophy of church-government as to save the rights of the people without incurring the odium, and, as they believed, the danger, of allowing that people to "govern." This the more, that, in the last analysis, their accepted *Confession* did give to the membership some real power of practical government—in the facts: that they elected their Elders; retained the (paper) right to depose them on occasion;[241] and held the keys of admission and of excommunication;[242] so that there always was a look of evasion, and a suggestion of subterfuge, in every attempt which they made to refute such a charge as that of Bernard. Ainsworth's expedient was, in point of practice, to have the Elders rule in the presence of the church, and with its assent; and, in point of theory, to distinguish between government and power: "acknowledging *government* to be by the officers, but *power* in the whole body of the church,"[243] or, as he elsewhere states it: "We give not the people *goverment*, as before I have shewed, but a right and power to observ and doo al the commandements of Christ, touching his prophetical, preistly and kingly office, by the Elders teaching, guiding and governing of them in the Lord."[244]

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[238] *Counterpoyson*, etc., (ed. 1642), 103.

[239] *Of Religious Communion* (1614), *Works* (1851), iii: 138.

[240] Letter (Appendix), Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.*, i: 437.

[241] *A Trve Confession*, etc., Art. xxiii.

[242] *Ibid*, Art. xxiv. "That Christ hath given this povvre to receiue in or to cut off anie member, to *the vvholl body together* of euery Christian Congregation, and not to anie one member aparte, or to moe members sequestred from the vvholl, or to anie other Congregation to doo it for thē: yet that ech Congregation ought to vse the best help," etc.

[243] *Animadversion*, etc., 10.

[244] *Ibid*, 24.

This, too, worked well enough so long as it was under his eye, and controlled by the magnetism of his great heart; although the best that he and his church could at any time have said of the difficulty, would have been to borrow Macbeth's words:

"We haue scotch'd the Snake, not kill'd it."

And, left to take its chance among the indiscriminate influences that surge through the world and sway it, as all theories, however nursed and tended in their infancy, must be left at last; this developed a capacity for mischief and unrest, scarcely inferior to that from which it had seceded. It needed but for Elders or people to become unreasonable, persistent and hateful, to bring about a crisis as disastrous as any within the possibilities of Johnsonism.

The claim made by Ainsworth and his company before the Dutch tribunal, in the suit for the recovery of their former place of worship, that they were the real successors and representatives of the ancient church, as I have already intimated, seems to have been in every way a just one. So that there was in Amsterdam a tolerably fair trial of Barrowism as a working church system, by Johnson and his friends in its High Church extreme, and by Ainsworth and his friends in its medium form, and original intent. In both, with all the good that was in it, and that went out from it, it failed; while it was left for the Leyden men, and through them for others, to experiment with, and equally demonstrate the inadequacy, of the peculiar principle of Barrowism in its most liberalized and popular form — as we shall see hereafter.

It was on a bright and balmy August day, twelve years ago, that for the first time I strolled down the *Oude-zyds Achter-Burgwal* into the *Barndesteeg*, and so on into the narrow and humble *Bruinistensteeg* [Brownists' Lane] to look at what remains of the structure which took the place in later years of Ainsworth and Johnson's meeting-house, when the fire was too much for it in 1662. The building stands with its side to the narrow alley, and its rear abutting upon one of the ever-present canals which reticulate that Venice of the North; and looks like a cross between a church and a model lodging-house.

It is no comelier than the little home among the boughs which the summer songster has deserted, after autumn winds and winter storms have devastated and fouled it. But there is that there which can make thoughtful men think. And as one gazes upon it, and remembers the outgoing and the ongoing of what was long ago associated with that lowly spot, he may be prompted to repeat to himself those sweet, suggestive words of old Henry Vaughan:

> "He that hath found some fledg'd bird's nest, may know
> At first sight if the bird be flown;
> But what fair Dell or Grove he sings in now,
> That is to him unknown."

LECTURE VII.

John Robinson and Leyden Congregationalism.

Our spiritual forefathers may not have been perfect men, but my impression is that, take them for all in all, neither the world nor the church has seen such men elsewhere in modern times. *Dr. Robert Vaughan, English Nonconformity, iv.*

Niet slechts die van zijne partij waren, roemen hem [Jan Robinson] hoog, maar ook die tegen haar waren ingenomen, prijzen even zeer zijn karakter en zijne gaven, als de reinheid zijner bedoelingen. *N. C. Kist, Nederlandsch Archief., etc., viii: 375.*

Secutus est Johannes Robinsonus, Leidensium Separatistarum Minister, vir moderatus, quique suis concessit Communionem cum Reformatis reliquis in verbo sive frequentatione concionum & precibus publicis, quin Reformatos Belgas ad S. Coenam admittebat, ast Arminianorum hostis acerrimus. *Casparis Calvörii, Fissuræ Sionis, etc.* (*1700*), *504.*

To him [J. R.] is the honor due of having introduced into Congregationalism that more catholic spirit, those broader views of the kingdom of Christ, and that more conservative tendency, by which it is distinguished from the strict Independency which held no sort of religious communion with any who had not renounced and forsaken the national churches. *Dr. L. Bacon, Genesis of N. E. Chhs., 245.*

A vertuous and a good man, reuerent in behauiour, and of ſober converſation, well-ſpoken, and one that had bene exerciſed in all poynts of godlineſſe from a childe, holding vp his handes toward heauen, and praying for the whole people. *2 Maccabees, xv: 12* (*Genevan version*).

John Robinson and Leyden Congregationalism.

GENUINE greatness is very apt to lack self-recognition. It keeps steadily at its work — lofty or lowly, as the case may be — with the least possible consciousness that it is making history, or thought that any future is to care for details of its goings-out, or comings-in. Specially may this be true in exigent times, when reticence, if not concealment, easily passes from the stage of convenience to that of duty, and thence, in time, becomes the habit of the man. Serious difficulties of course under any circumstances attend the endeavor after three centuries to exhume from the *débris* of the past, the minute details of any human life; yet it does seem a little remarkable that of the seven prominent leaders of the Scrooby-Leyden-Plymouth movement, we are actually ignorant of the birth-place of four, while Bradford and Winslow are the only ones whose baptismal records have been as yet identified.

It looks as if John Robinson were born in Lincolnshire, and there is some probability that it was in the thrifty seaport and market town of Gainsborough-upon-Trent,[1] in the latter

[1] The place is indicated by two considerations: (1) the Corpus Christi register, which notes the matriculation in 1592 of a John Robinson (supposed to be our John), puts him

portion of 1575, or the early portion of 1576. Of his childhood we know literally nothing, although we may easily conjecture that he was speaking from his own loving memories when in his maturity he said:

"*Children*, in their first dayes, have the greater benefit of good mothers, not onely because they suck their milk, but in a sort, their manners also, by being continually with them, and receaving their first impressions from them. But afterwards, when they come to riper years, good fathers are more behooffull for their forming in vertue, and good manners, by their greater wisdom and authoritie: and oft times also, *by correcting the fruits of their mothers indulgencie, by their severitie.*"[2]

Or was he heaving a sigh out of the receding sorrows of his own youth, when as he was nearing fifty, he wrote:

"*Children* brought up with their grandfathers, or grandmothers, seldom do well; but are usually corrupted by their too great indulgencie."[3]

He must have been in the close neighborhood of seventeen years of age, when, in 1592, he went to Cambridge to become a member of Corpus Christi (or Benet) College.[4] Let us spend a few moments in trying to put ourselves into his position then

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down as of Lincolnshire [Masters's *Hist. Corp. Christ.*, s. d.]; while Mr. Hunter [*Collections concerg. the Chh. at Scrooby*, etc. (ed. 1854), 93] conjectures that he was "originally of Gainsborough, where in the reign of Charles II. Robinsons were chief persons among the Dissenters of that town." The time is indicated by the registers of the University of Leyden where [p. 325] is the following entry:

> *Sept. 5, 1615. Coss. permissu* [after leave by the magistrates] JOANNES ROBINTS[ONUS—evidently subsequently added]; Anglus, *an. xxxix.* Stud. Theol. alit familiam [i. e.: he has a family.]

But if he were thirty-nine years of age 5 September, 1615, he must have been born at some time between 6 September, 1575, and 6 September, 1576.

It must be added as another element of doubt, that Dr. Lamb in his reprint of Masters's work (1831) substitutes — without any reason given for the change — Nottinghamshire for Lincolnshire; but on the other hand, it is to be said that as the narrow Trent here separates the two countries, the mere crossing of a bridge is all that lies between them.

The Gainsborough parish records go back to 1564. But the first volume is so damaged by damp, as to render many entries illegible, in whole or in part. I failed to find under the desired date the record sought, but it was still clear that it might have been there. In two instances in a later year the first name "John" can easily be made out, all else being too much discolored to be deciphered.

[2] *Observations Divine and Morall*, etc. (ed. 1625), 306.

[3] *Ibid*, 308.

[4] It curiously adds to the combination of uncertainties which throngs around this subject, that in the spring of this same year of 1592, *a* John Robinson entered *Emanuel College*, Cambridge, as sizar, who took his M. A. in 1600. An additional item as to him, is however given, which makes it to the last degree improbable that he could have been the Leyden pastor, viz.: that he took the degree of B. D. in 1607. We have every reason to think that the young man in whom our interest centers, had left the Establishment at least three years before that date, so that this record could not be true of him. Inattention to this consideration led so careful a writer as Dr. Young [*Chron. Plym.*, 452] into error.

and there; for, in some important respects, there was never such an England before, or since.

Elizabeth is about entering on the sixtieth year of her life, and the thirty-fifth of her reign. It is four years since the signal destruction of the Spanish Armada had liberated the country from its thirty years' fear, and established it upon sea and land as a great Protestant power. All things conspire together to awaken a new national life. To this date the queen's reign has been brilliant in material achievements, but among the throng of Cecils and Walsinghams and Leicesters and Greshams and Drakes and Frobishers, great in state-craft and commerce and arms and adventure, there has been but one Philip Sidney, and he has fallen gloriously as a chivalric warrior, almost before the world had had time to recognize him as a man of letters. And now, six years only after Sidney's death, — as when a Swiss railway train emerges from the damp, chill, stifling gloom of an interminable tunnel, at once upon the splendor of summer sunshine, and the grandeur of the Helvetian Alps — behold the "golden age of merrie England!" Historians are busy conserving her past. John Stow, at the age of sixty-seven, is impoverishing himself in completing his "Survey of London," and perfecting his great "Chronicle of England." William Camden, prebend at Salisbury, at forty-one, is polishing his "Britannia." Richard Hakluyt, at thirty-nine, is digesting the story of English prowess upon all the seas, for the waiting shelves of the world's great libraries; and Samuel Purchas, born at Thaxtead in Essex, the year after Robinson — to be known to all the wise for his "Pilgrims" — is just matriculating at St. John's College, down the Trumpington road, a little way on the other side from Corpus Christi. In the bookshops of Cambridge, Robinson will find in 1592, fresh from the press, the maiden volumes of three poets whose names — if not in the highest rank of song-writers — have come down to our time, viz.: Samuel Daniel and Michael Drayton, each about thirty years of age; and Henry Constable, who is thirty-seven. George Chapman, at thirty-five, is preparing in London for the work which he did so well, of introducing Homer to the English-reading world.

The sudden impulse which had stimulated the intellectual

activity of the British people seems to have tended strongly toward the drama. As in Italy with Ariosto, and in Spain with Cervantes, in England plays have come suddenly to the front, to represent "the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure," — "to hold as 't were, the mirror up to nature." Sixteen years have scarce elapsed since the first rude theater had been erected in Blackfriars,[5] but John Lyly at the age of thirty-nine, Robert Greene at thirty-two, and Christopher Marlowe at twenty-eight, are all hard at work sending forth plays, of which at the least it may be said that they answered the purpose of their time. Greater than these however there are, at this wonderful and prolific date. Strolling along the wooded banks of the Cam, Robinson may often have met the man then in St. John's College, who though not yet two years his senior, had already studied at Westminster and returned from running away from his step-father's brick-laying of Lincoln's Inn to serve in the army in Flanders; and who was to be the first unquestionable poet laureate of the nation, and to sleep standing at last in the nave of Westminster Abbey, with the quaint epitaph in the Poet's Corner: "O rare Ben Jonson."[6] While, as now and then he goes up to London, our young Lincolnshire lad may in the Strand any day run against the foremost man of that age, if not of all ages, William Shakespeare, now twenty-eight; who for six years has there been working and fighting his way up, until he has just now given his first proof of success in that he has provoked from a brother play-right, "the first and last unkind word spoken of him — spoken in bitterness of spirit and in sickness, by a fallen man;"[7] and who is the next year to publish his "Venus and Adonis," introducing the long succession of his immortal works.

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5 J. R. Green, *History of the English People*, ii: 469; P. Cunningham, *Hand-book of London, Past and Present* (ed. 1850), 58.

6 Dean Stanley, *Hist. Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (ed. 1876), 273.

7 Prof. H. Morley, *First Sketch of Eng. Literature* (3d ed.), 437. It was poor Robert Greene who had said of Shakespeare in an address to brother players, appended to a play called a *Groat's Worth of Wit:* "There is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that, with his *tiger's heart wrapt in a player's hide*, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes-fac-totum, is in his own conceit the only *Shakescene* in a country." The reference is, of course, to the line:

"*Oh Tygres Heart, wrapt in a Womans Hide,*"

found in the first edition (1623), *Histories*, 151, and in the ordinary editions in *3 Henry VI, Act i, Scene 4.*

Nor is even all this all. Three mighty names which the world will never let die, remain to be spoken. Sir Walter Raleigh, at the age of forty, is in the Tower of London, on the Queen's caprice, as if by way of apprenticeship for the dozen years of subsequent incarceration there, during which, among other things, he is to write that great "History of the World" whose closing sentences are so remarkable in their touching eloquence;[8] Edmund Spenser, born in the same year with Raleigh, and who having in 1590 published the first three Books of the "Faerie Queene," is now back at Kilcolman, his Irish home, busily engaged upon three books more, to come to the press in 1596; and, last of all —

"The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind!"

Francis Bacon, scarce turned of thirty-one, is just entering Parliament for Middlesex, while, as convenience serves, pursuing those studies indicated by his *Temporis Partus Maximus* of ten years before, which are to give him — strange compound that he was — undying fame.

There is no constellation of writers in the English Church of that period, in any measure correspondent in ability to those I have named. Launcelot Andrewes and Richard Hooker seem to have been the greatest two; the former, now thirty-seven, being Master of Pembroke Hall, across Downing Street to the left from Robinson's quarters at Corpus Christi; and the latter, now thirty-eight, having just gone South from his disagreable dispute as Master of the Temple in London, to the sheep-folds of Boscomb in Wiltshire, that, in that quietness, he may think out his great work on "the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity." Joseph Hall, who is to win an honorable fame as polemic and ecclesiastic, and with whom Robinson himself is to cross swords, is now a youth of eighteen, three years student in Emanuel College, just at the end of Downing Street, a few steps to the rear of Corpus Christi.

Of Puritans, or Separatists, we can trace the most prominent.

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8 "O eloquent, just, and mightie Death, whom none could advise, thou hast perswaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou onely hast cast out of the world and despised. Thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition, of man; and covered it all over with those two narrow words: *Hic jacet!*" *Hist. World*, book v, chap. vi, sec. 12.

Cartwright, now well on toward sixty, is in the Fleet, whither he had been sent, two years before, by the Bishop of London, for promoting the Presbyterian discipline, and refusing to take the oath *ex officio*. William Perkins, whose profane and prodigal youth had been transformed into a devout and severe young manhood, is now, at thirty-four, preacher at St. Andrews, and catechist of Christ's College. William Ames, who seems to have been Robinson's junior by about one year, is just coming up from Norfolk to matriculate in Christ's College, and be assigned under Perkins. William Bradshaw, by three or four years Robinson's senior, is in Emanuel College. Hugo Broughton, now forty-three, great in Greek and Hebrew and in his own esteem, who has been fellow of this same Christ's College, is just on his way a second time to Germany to ransack libraries, and to dispute with Rabbis. Henry Jacob — inchoate founder of the first Congregational church that shall root itself in English soil, and who is to lay his bones in an unnoted grave on our side of the sea, who has been trained at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford — seems now, at the age of twenty-nine, to have been preparing to leave his native Kent, and cross the German Ocean for conscience' sake. Of those with whom we are already familiar, Robert Browne, now past forty, on the previous September had left the St. Olave's Grammar School in Southwark, to commence his two-score years' ministry, such as it was, at Achurch-cum-Thorpe; John Smyth, who had taken his Master of Arts degree thirteen years before at Christ's College, Cambridge, is at this date, probably, preacher to the city of Lincoln; Francis Johnson, now near to thirty, must be about returning from Middelberg from the burning of the books, to search out their authors; Henry Ainsworth, just coming of age, is most likely in Ireland; Penry, who is thirty-three, is in Scotland, making ready soon to come down to London to join his fortunes with the Separatists there; and Barrowe and Greenwood are about commencing their last year of earthly life, and of incarceration in the Fleet prison.

Corpus Christi — otherwise known as Benet College, Benet Street skirting one side of its quadrangle — although the sixth in age of the sixteen colleges then making up the University (dating back to 1351), is one of the smaller institutions of the

group.[9] If we may fairly judge — and probably we may — of its condition at the period which we are investigating, from the minute account given in a MS. volume in the British Museum of date less than thirty years after,[10] it now ranks in a cluster of a half-dozen, which, decidedly outnumbering the four feeblest, yet fall far below Trinity and St. Johns; below indeed the average of all. There were, in 1621, a total of a little less than three thousand collegians in Cambridge — officers, Fellows, and students — making an average of not far from one hundred and eighty to each college, while Corpus Christi had but one hundred and forty; to wit: one Master, twelve Fellows, fourteen scholars, and one hundred and thirteen students.[11] It has a fair record of eminent graduates, among whom are Nicholas Bacon, father of Francis; Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was Master in his day, Dr. John Copcot, Master as well, and Thomas Cavendish, who came back in 1588 from a voyage round the world with his seamen clad in silk, damask sails, and his top-mast gleaming with cloth of gold.[12] John Jegon — afterward Bishop of Norwich — is its Master, and is also Vice Chancellor of the University, Lord Burghley being Chancellor.

We may delay a little longer in order to make clearer, to our New England curiosity, something of the fashion of this far back and foreign student life. Mr. Masson, with a patient industry and general accuracy which have a lesson for all men who write what it would please them that other men shall value as well as read, has gathered together the materials;[13] and although John Milton was Robinson's junior at Cambridge by a whole generation, there can hardly have been many changes of consequence in that time — the University remaining essentially under the Statutes of Elizabeth.

In the year (which begins on the 10th October)[14] there are

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9 We find some of its Fellows the next year calling it "our poore and too much already disparaged Colledge," but they were writing to Lord Burghley, Chancellor of the University, and were perhaps using a little rhetoric to aid their plea. *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxv: 7.

10 *The Foundation of the University of Cambridge*, etc., by John Scott. *Add. MSS.*, xi: 720.

11 Nineteen years before Robinson's matriculation, in 1573 [C. Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the 18th Century*, etc., 641], its total was 91.

12 *Ath. Cant.*, ii: 137.

13 In the account here given I follow mainly Prof. Masson's *The Life of John Milton*, etc., i: 87–288.

14 Michaelmas Term still begins 10 October at Oxford, but 1 October at Cambridge.

three terms. The first, or Michaelmas term, extends to the 16th December, being followed by the Christmas vacation. The second, or Lent term, begins on the 13th January, terminating with the second Friday before Easter — which day oscillates with the full moon from the 22d March to the 25th April — Easter vacation being three weeks. The succeeding, or Easter term, begins on the eleventh day after Easter, extending to the Friday following Commencement Day, which is always the first Tuesday of July, and after which comes the long, or three months', vacation, separating the University years.

In these days of Robinson's residence the population of Cambridge is probably not far from seven thousand; or from three to four thousand aside from the population of the University. By the peculiar arrangements inherited from a more primitive state of society, the University, while in Cambridge, is hardly of it. The town, with its normal citizens, is governed by its own mayor, aldermen and common council, and has its two burgesses in Parliament. But the University is an *imperium in imperio*, having its special authorities and statutes, and its own two members of the House of Commons. By consequence, there is a substantial, as well as an apparent, distinction between "townies" and "gownies;" while each student is everywhere to be known by the uniform of his scholar's robe and square-topped cap.

London is just inside of fifty miles away, and Thomas Hobson, carrier and jobber, makes his weekly journey over the road — as he has been doing for near thirty years, and is to continue to do for thirty years more, clear down into Milton's time; trudging by the side of his cart laden with parcels, with now and then a passenger, to the Bull Inn in Bishopsgate Street, and back again. While, out of his well-filled stables[15] would come the nag on which those who could afford something easier and faster than the cart, would jog up to the metropolis, with this prudent preliminary caution, taken with

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[15] Steele [*Spectator*, 509] says that Hobson was the first man in England who let out hackney-horses, and that he kept "forty good cattle" in his stables, but would always insist that the applicant, whoever he might be, take the horse standing in the first occupied stall. It was his whim that it should be this, or none. Hence arose the proverb "Hobson's Choice" — sometimes corrupted into "Hopkins's Choice."

the horse: "they would come time enough to London, if they did not ride too fast!"[16]

It would be interesting could we recover the names of those with whom Robinson most consorted in Cambridge. Nearest of all would be his chum, or chamber-fellow — one or more; none, whether student or Fellow, except perhaps a Doctor of Divinity,[17] in those days, having a chamber to himself. In the original statutes of Christ's College it was provided that "the Fellows sleep two and two, but the scholars four and four."[18] The younger two seem usually to have occupied a truckle (or trundle) bed, which in the day time was rolled under the high bed of the others.[19] Milton's chambers at Christ's are reverently remembered and noted,[20] but I know of no trace in history, or literature, by which Robinson's modest quarters in Benet can be identified.

The daily round of duties would be something like this. At five, he would be rung in to the chapel of his college to listen to the morning service of the church, a short homily being sometimes added from one of the twelve Fellows — the service altogether lasting till about six, when they would go to breakfast, and get, most likely, a ha'penny loaf and butter with a mug of beer.[21] For the forenoon there would be the strictly *College* exercises, that is to say, his attendance on his immediate tutors in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Logic, and so on; and the *University* exercises, in which, with students from the other fifteen colleges, he would resort to the general lectures of the University Professors, or take part in some public disputation. At eleven o'clock

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16 *Prof. Masson*, etc., i: 111.

17 "A Doctor of Divinity is to haue a whole chamber to himself." *Eliz. Stat. Trin. Coll., Camb.*, Cap. 26, "De Cubiculorum Distributione," etc.

18 At Trinity, where a chamber contained undergraduates, there were to be four of them if possible, one being a sizar. Wordsworth, *Social Life at the Eng. Univs.*, etc., 89.

19 The Bishops' statutes for St. John's College, Cambridge (1530), specified that there be two beds — *quorum unum sit altius, alterum humile aut rotale pro arbitrio magistri; in altiori cubet socius scholaris si uelit, in altero duo discipuli, aut saltem unus semper. Ibid*, 635.

20 Wordsworth in his *Prelude*, declares that the only time in his life when he transgressed the laws of sobriety, was, when an undergraduate, at a wine-party in "Milton's Chambers."

21 "We go to the Butteries for our breakfast, which is usually five Farthings; an halfepenny loafe and butter and a cize [size: a portion of bread or drink, *Halliwell*, s. v.] of beer. But sometimes I go to an honest House near the College, and have a pint of milk boiled for breakfast." John Strype's Letter to his mother. [Ellis, *Letters of Eminent Men*, etc., 177.] As this was more than half a century after Robinson's time, he probably fared no better.

dinner would be served in the halls of the respective colleges,[22] when they would be fed — except on Fridays and Saturdays with fish — probably with beef or mutton boiled or roasted; and, sometimes, "a fewe porage made of the brothe of the same byefe, wy[th] salte and otemell, and nothynge els."[23] Dinner over, there would be most likely an hour or more of further attendance on some declamation or dispute, after which gownsmen could do as they liked, only that they had supper of (now obsolete) tansy or pudding[24] at seven in the hall; were expected to attend evening prayers at nine; and must be inside the gate of their quadrangle by nine o'clock from Michaelmas till Easter, and by ten o'clock from Easter till Michaelmas.

Theoretically, discipline is strict. Other than to attend the University exercises, it is only lawful to go outside the premises of one's own college by special permission, and (unless a B. A. of a year's growth) then only in the company of a tutor, or Master of Arts. Except in play hours, conversation is to be carried on in Latin, Greek or Hebrew. Without, they can frequent no bear-baitings, boxing-matches nor cock-fights; within, they are forbidden dogs, "fierce birds," cards and dice — except, in moderation, at Christmas. Young offenders become liable to a quasi paternal discipline of birch twigs, while imprisonment, degradation and expulsion wait on worse misdemeanors.[25]

These stringent regulations, however, have worked themselves somewhat loose. On the religious side there has been great relaxation. In the case of Christ's College we have evidence that Edmund Barwell, at this period its Master, has winked at a good deal of Nonconformity. The strict statutes with regard to the partaking of the communion, and public prayers by the prayer-book, are not enforced. Even the academical costume is neglected.[26] In Trinity College "they lean or sit or kneel at prayers, every man in a several posture as he pleases: at the name of Jesus very few will bow; and when the Creed is repeated, many of the boys, by some men's directions, turn to the west door."[27] Two years have scarcely passed since

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[22] Wordsworth, *Social Life*, etc., 123.

[23] T. Lever, *Sermon at Paules*, etc.

[24] Strype, in *Ellis*, as above. A "tansy" was made of eggs beaten with sugar and sack considerably seasoned and fried; much, apparently, like some of the fancy omelets of our time. *Halliwell*, s. v.

[25] *Prof. Masson*, i: 112, etc.

[26] *Ath. Cant.*, ii: 523.

[27] Cooper's *Annals*, etc., iii: 280–283.

the Master of St. John's had thought it needful to write to Lord Burghley in explanation of dangerous rumors, imputing laxness and insubordination to that college.[28] Two years have not elapsed since the Vice-Chancellor and several of the Masters of colleges had written[29] to the same nobleman to deny the rumor that a presbytery had been organized within St. Johns — fortifying their statement by the certificate (offered to be taken under oath) of thirty-eight of its Fellows.[30]

Altogether we may be tolerably sure that our young friend finds Cambridge impregnated with a good deal of Puritanism; if, indeed, he may not have chosen it — or others chosen it for him — over Oxford, for this very reason.

Clearly, Robinson must have remained here seven years, at least, and, as at the end of that time he secured one of the twelve fellowships, it becomes matter of easy inference that they were laborious and successful years. We are of course to understand, however, that a University course was then shaped on a theory largely different from that of our day. It was half a century before Isaac Newton was born, and almost three-quarters of a century before there was such a thing as a Chair of Mathematics in Cambridge. By the Elizabethan statutes the four years preliminary to a Bachelorship of Arts were apportioned, one to Rhetoric, two to Logic, and one to Philosophy; while during the three additional years required for a Mastership, private studies were to be pursued, completing what had been thus begun, and there was to be attendance on public lectures in Philosophy, Astronomy, Perspective, Greek, and perhaps Divinity.[31] Such a course would be apt to make a bright and earnest young man a good linguist in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, if his mind were turned that way; and an expert reasoner after the dryly dialectic fashion of that period.

In the absence of any papers of Robinson's own, or of others, going into those minute particulars which always so much interest us, we may yet, from various remaining records, recover a few of the most striking of the incidents which must have diversified these seven years of his University life. Hardly had he entered Corpus Christi when excitement arose, because of

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[28] *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxiii: 86.
[29] *Ibid*, lxiii: 91.
[30] *Ibid*, lxiii: 92.
[31] Statutes — Dyer's *Privileges*, i: 164.

the "playeinge of enterludes and setting forth of other vaine games and pastimes," with "bearebaytings and bulbaytings, and such like," at the time of Sturbridge Fair, to a degree leading to application to London, and action from the Privy Council for suppression of the same.[32] During his second year his own college was stirred to its depths by a controversy between Master Jegon and the majority of the Fellows, as to who should be proctor.[33] During the same year there was a visitation of the plague, of so alarming a character that the University seems to have sent all its pupils into non-residence from the Christmas vacation till the 20th February next ensuing.[34] In 1594, there was a "notorious ryotte and disorder" in the regent-house, in connection with the nomination and election of a "taxer."[35] Early in 1595 there was a great time in the University in connection with the performance at Trinity — of course it was a different thing when done thus by the Dons, and when done by strollers at "Sturbridge faire" — of "certaine comaedies and one tragaedie," and "auncient princelie attire" seems to have been borrowed for the purpose from "the office of the roabes at the Tower."[36] Nor did our young friend lack plentiful experience during his Cambridge residence of those wrangles between the colleges and the citizens, which have not yet, I am sorry to think, wholly disappeared from our "advanced" civilization. In 1596, 1597, 1598, and 1599, there were complaints and outbreaks, the records of which indicate passion and offence, if not violence, on both sides.[37]

First in importance, however, among Cambridge events, in itself, and in its interest to Robinson, and probable in its influence over him, were the disputes about Puritanism, which waxed hotter as the years went on. William Whitaker, Master of St. John's, died near the end of Robinson's third year, and a struggle was at once begun as to the matter of his successor.

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[32] *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxi: 83; lxxv: 8.

[33] *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxv: 7, 51, 57. The master's candidate was his brother, Thomas Jegon, and the Fellows preferred Anthony Hykman, the senior member of their body.

[34] *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxv: 9. Above 28,000 died at this time in London alone. J. Wade, *Brit. Hist.*, etc., 153.

[35] *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxvii: 6, 87; cix: 39.

[36] *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxviii: 16.

[37] See *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxxii: 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43; ciii: 86; lxxxiii: 31; lxxxiv: 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 96, 97, 99; lxxxvi: 33; lxxxvii: 17, 18, 19; *Sloan MSS.*, 3562, fol. 75, 76, verse, etc. See also *Cam. Univ. Trans. during Pur. Con.*, ii: 87–188.

Twelve of the fifty-four Fellows made haste to write to Lord Burghley, confidentially stating that the late Master, "beinge by nature qyett and tractable," had "suffered conventicles in our colledge, of Cartwrighte and his associates," and that the Puritan party had "chosen into the colledge [i. e. as Fellows] as neare as they could, no other men but suche, rejecting the learned, and so have altered the state of this colledge since the lord byshoppe of Peterboroughe[38] went from us, as is incredible to be tolde." By consequence, "the colledge is so full of suche like men, as they are the greater nomber of the Societie; and so if the newe master be chosen by them, we must needes greetly feare what they will doe." They therefore pray his Lordship to "have that care of us, that our master may not be freely chosen whom they please, but rather one whome youre honour shall thincke good by her majestie to preferre."[39] Burghley at once addressed the President and Fellows, commanding them "uppon paine of your deprivacion and hir majesties indignacion, to forbeare to proceed to anie eleccion, notwithstanding anie locall statut of that howse, wherwith hir majestie hath authoritye to dispence, until hir majesties further roiall pleasure shall be signified unto yowe."[40] Four days later he wrote again, telling them that her Majesty would allow them to choose either Dr. Claiton, master of Magdalen, or Mr. Stanton; especially the former.[41] Three days after they notified the Chancellor that, like free and independent electors, as they were, they had proceeded willingly to choose Mr. Dr. Claiton.[42]

The records of the time contain abundant evidence, however, that even such adroit management as this could not suffice to establish and maintain theological quietness. Complaints of various persons were sent up to Lord Burghley, making it clear that there was a large body of Cambridge men whose consciences were insubordinate.[43]

Curiously, also, Robinson was thrown here — just as he reached the susceptible age of twenty — into the atmosphere of

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38 Richard Howland, admitted Master of St. John's, 20 July, 1577, and elected Bishop of Peterborough, 22 January, 1584–5.

39 *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxix: 69.

40 *Lansdowne MSS.*, ciii: 83.

41 *Lansdowne MSS.*, ciii: 84.

42 *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxix: 65.

43 See *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxix: 61, 64; lxxx: 53; lxxxiv: 95, etc. Also *Cambridge Univ. Transact.*, etc., ut sup.

a controversy, almost precisely foreshadowing that in which he was a quarter of a century later called to take a prominent personal part in Holland. Peter Baro, a Frenchman, a graduate of the University of Bourges, and resident for some time at Geneva, coming over to England, secured Lord Burghley's good graces, and was made Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. For nearly twenty years he had held his place, when he was sharply accused of heresy, and after a short contest resigned his place and went up to London, where he died. His general teaching appears to have been a foreshadowing of some chief features of Arminianism,[44] and in the lively debate in 1595–6 between him and Dr. Goad and Mr. Chaderton, who contested his views, Robinson must have been led to anticipate much of the doctrinal ground gone over in 1619 by the Synod of Dort.

We must infer that at, or about, the time when residence would qualify him to become candidate for a Fellowship, one of the twelve at Corpus became vacant by death or resignation, and that, passing successfully the somewhat rigid required examinations, Robinson was elected into that — in his college — select body.

We do not know whether his religious opinions had been formed when he went to Cambridge. There is a conjecture that he there came under the influence of the distinguished William Perkins — who had been for a few years catechist of Christ's College,[45] and preacher at St. Andrews, and who was one of the most noted Puritan divines of the day — and was largely influenced by him; a conjecture which finds this much of corroboration, that Robinson in after years indicated great regard for him, his opinions and memory.[46] But whether our

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44 See Strype's *Annals*, etc., ii: (1) 568; iii: (1) 68; iv: 322; *Life of Whitgift*, ii: 227, 297; *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxx: 58, 59, 60, 64, 65, 69; lxxxii: 91.

45 Mr. Ashton falls into error in his *Memoir of Rev. John Robinson*, prefixed to his Works (1851) in saying [i: xv], that Perkins was Catechist of Robinson's own college — having confounded Corpus Christi with Christ's College, which was founded more than one hundred and fifty years after Corpus.

46 Perkins died at the age of forty-four, in 1602, when Robinson was twenty-seven, and was just commencing his life-work. Robinson, at some time during his Leyden residence, republished for the good of the young people of his congregation, a catechism which had been made by Mr. Perkins; appending a few pages of questions and answers touching especially the church, and the principles and duties appertaining to, and clustering around it. In the preface he speaks of Perkins's

young student became interested in religion in the progress of his studies, or undertook them with the set purpose of preparing himself the better to perform a service to the Lord already pledged, there can be little doubt that he took orders as soon as the way was open; and almost immediately — still holding his Fellowship — went up into the northeast to begin the work in Christ's stead of persuading men to be reconciled to God.

It has been usual to say that he was beneficed near Yarmouth.[47] He could, as yet, hardly have advanced beyond Puritanism in his opinions, or he would not have been able to go through with the forms necessary to his Fellowship; so that there is no abstract improbability in the way of his having become the incumbent of a living. But all research has thus far failed to discover the record of his institution over any parish in Norfolk; while there are some probabilities pointing toward a different disposal of his labors at this period. We may, perhaps, say that we *know* simply: that he left Cambridge for Norwich or its neighborhood,[48] at some time after 1598–9 when he entered on his Fellowship, and probably not earlier than 1600;[49] that during the next four years he seems to have been laboring near and in Norwich, as a spiritual teacher in some way, as curate or otherwise, in the care of souls;[50] that his conscience more and more accepted the principles of Separation, and more and more rejected those of the Establishment, until he was driven to that degree of practical Non-conformity, as to incur suspension by the Bishop of Nor-

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work, as "fully containing what every Christian is to believe touching God and himself." No copy of this first edition with Robinson's appendix (which must have been previous to 1625) is known to exist. Reprints of 1642, 1642, 1644, and 1655 are known (see appendix), besides that [iii: 421–436] in Ashton's Robinson's *Works*.

47 Neal, who published in 1732, seems [(ed. 1837) i: 422, "a Norfolk divine, beneficed about Yarmouth"] to have first stated this.

48 Great Yarmouth is less than twenty miles a little south of due east from Norwich.

49 I can scarcely comprehend his acceptance of a Fellowship, unless he proposed to be in residence for, at least, some short period. So that it seems most likely that he remained a year or more, which would bring him to 1600, and that he may then have been drawn toward Norwich in much the same way as Robert Browne had been [see p. 69 *ante*] twenty years before.

50 Ainsworth, in his *Counterpoyson* [ed. 1642, 145], says of Robinson, and certain Norwich citizens who were excommunicated for going to hear him after his suspension, "to whome the cure and charge of their sowles, was erewhile committed." I submit that the natural force of this language implies that Robinson had been — though very likely subordinately as curate, and not officially as rector — responsibly in spiritual office over them.

wich;[51] that he made effort to obtain the right still to preach in some leased chapel, or to secure the mastership of some hospital;[52] and that, failing in this, he — it would seem, in 1604 — left Norwich in sorrow, and with the full conviction that, whatever others might do, he could not be faithful to his own notion of duty without carrying out what seemed to him to be the clear teaching of the New Testament to its inevitable conclusions, and separating himself altogether from the church in which he was born and baptized, which he had fondly loved, and long clung to, in the slow-waning hope that it could be transformed into some better thing, without which it could not be perfect. It is evident that his self-distrusting modesty had been the main thing long standing in the way of his reaching this conclusion as to personal duty. We have his own testimony, when, six years after, answering Bernard, he said:

"I do indeed confesse to the glory of God, and myne owne shame, that a long tyme before I entered this way [of separation] I took some tast of the truth in it by some treatises published in iustificatiō of it, which (the L. knoweth) were sweet as hony vnto my mouth; and the very principall thing, which for the tyme quenched all further appetite in me, was the over-valuation which I made of the learning and holynes of these,[53] and the like persons, blushing in my selfe to have a thought of pressing one hayr bredth before them in this thing, behynde whom I knew my selfe to come so many miles in all other things; yea, and even of late tymes, when I had entered into a more serious consideration of these things, and (according to the measure of grace receiued) serched the scriptures, whether they were so or no, and by searching found much light of truth, yet was the same so dimmed and overclouded with the contradictions of these men and others of the like note, that had not the truth been in my heart as a burning fyre shut vp in my bones *Ier. 20. 9*, had never broken those bonds of flesh and blood, wherein I was so streytly tyed, but had suffered the light of God to have been put out in myne owne vnthankfull heart

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[51] If this suspension happened, as in all probability it did, after 20 February, 1602, it was done (and may be the more easily explained in that remembrance) by John Jegon, who — having been Master of Corpus Christi during Robinson's connection with it, and so familiar with his Nonconformist tendencies, and presumably on the lookout to neutralize their spread, if he could not eradicate them — had been on that day consecrated over the See of Norwich, holding it until his death, 13 March, 1617. Strype's *Whitgift*, ii: 465; Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, ii: 811.

[52] Joseph [afterwards Bishop] Hall says, with a mean taunt [*Common Apologie*, etc. (1610), 145], "neither doubt we to say, that the Mastershippe of the Hospitall at Norwich, or a lease from that Citie (sued for, with repulse), might haue procured that this separation from the Communion, Gouernement, and worshippe of the Church of England, should not haue beene made by *Iohn Robinson*."

[53] Bernard, whom he was answering, had cited [*Separatists Schisme*, 31–33] Whitaker, Perkins, Willet, Allison, Cartwright and others, as condemning Brownism.

by other mens darknes. . . . . And to speak that in this case which by dolefull experience I my selfe haue found, many of the most forward professors in the kingdome are wel nigh as superstitiously addicted to the determinations of their guids and teachers, as the ignorant Papists vnto theyrs, accounting it not only needles curiosity, but even intollerable arrogancy to call into question the things receaved from them by tradition." [54]

James had succeeded Elizabeth, and been on the throne a year in the spring just passed. He had been met on his progress from Scotland to London by the famous millenary petition asking for reforms in the English Church: that the sign of the cross be no longer used in baptism; that the rite of confirmation be discontinued; that the superstition of baptism by the midwife in case of impending death to the infant in childbirth be forbidden; that the cap and surplice be not urged; that candidates for communion be examined as to their fitness, and the communion always preceded by a sermon; that the terms "priest," "absolution," and so on, be disused; that the ring be no longer obligatory in marriage; that the church-service be abridged; that the music of the church be made plainer and simpler; that the Lord's Day be hallowed; that the people be not compelled to refrain from labor on holy days; that uniformity of doctrine — in the direction of the papists — be insisted on; that bowing at the name of Jesus be disused; that the Apocrypha be excluded from the calendar of Scripture lessons; that none be made ministers who were unable to preach; that the abuses of non-residence be remedied; and that due reforms be made in the matter of ministerial subscription to the prayer-book, in the maintenance of the clergy, and in the discipline of the church.[55] The two Universities and the Bishops had risen up in wrath to put down this insubordination, and the Hampton Court Conference in the following January, in its melancholy and humiliating issue had revealed the contemptible littleness of the King, the crafty purpose of the Bishops to play upon him for the crushing out of Non-conformity; and the wretched hopelessness of all real reform inside the Church of England, as it was now about to be administered. I have al-

[54] *A Ivstification of Separation from the Church of England*, etc. (1610), 48, 49.

[55] I have mainly followed, in this enumeration of the points of the petition, the summary of Mr. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, in his excellent *History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Disgrace of Chief-Justice Coke*, etc., i: 163, 164.

ready referred[56] to the fact that the result of this negotiation between the new King and his Non-conforming subjects, had been to convince many that no hope of reasonable peace of conscience remained, and that the only resource left them was Separatism and emigration.

Among those persons in the kingdom who had been feeling a very deep interest in these matters, was a company in the North, mostly made up of small farmers and husbandmen, "of sundrie townes & vilages, some in Notingamshire, some of Lincollinshire, and some of Yorkshire, wher they border nearest togeather."[57] They seem to have gathered themselves to formal and visible organic life in the last year of Elizabeth, under the lead of John Smyth (whose end we have seen), at Gainsborough-upon-Trent; and to have been gradually leavening with their earnest influence that neighborhood, until they had gained the sympathy of men as distant as William Brewster, who was keeping post-horses, and looking after the mails for the government, while acting as agent of the Archbishop of York, resident in his ancient and decaying manor-house at Scrooby; and of William Bradford, now scarcely more than a mere lad, an orphan, the ward of an uncle, at Austerfield.[58] The course taken by the new king and his court stimulated the endeavors of these Separatists until they had become not only numerous, but courageous in their faith, and were beginning to look beyond the German Sea for the rest which they needed from persecution for conscience' sake.

Whether we assume Mr. Robinson to have been a native of Gainsborough, or not, it is easy to see that, in all probability, he was familiar with the fact that this church of the Separation was working and growing there. While, to revert to Robert Browne's favorite epithet,[59] it was — so far as we know — then the "forwardest" of such companies in the kingdom.[60]

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[56] See page 310 ante.

[57] Bradford, *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, etc., 9.

[58] See the careful details in Hunter, *Collections*, etc. (2d ed), 102–108.

[59] See page 68 ante.

[60] Assuming Robinson's leaving Norwich for the North to have been in 1604, we have little if any evidence of successful Separatism then anywhere in England except at Gainsborough. The "ancient" church was at Amsterdam in its seventh year since the arrival of its pastor, and was just issuing its *Apologie*, defending itself from the Oxford Divines [see p. 310 ante]. There may have been feeble efforts in the same line contemporaneously in Norwich, London, Chatham, etc., but we know of nothing anywhere comparable to Smyth's company on the Trent.

I conceive of Robinson, therefore, as leaving Norwich now in 1604, only when, in the stress of circumstances and the growth of opinion, he had fully come, in the Providence of God, to the determination to separate from the Establishment, and cast in his lot with the Gainsborough church. Taking Cambridge on his way — geographically an easy, if not a natural thing to do — he resigns his Fellowship. Here he would find "heavenly" Paul Baynes[61] lecturing at St. Andrews in place of his deceased friend Perkins, and the eminent though moderate Puritan, Lawrence Chaderton, Master of Emanuel College, now well on towards his three-score years and ten; who had been one of the four Puritan divines selected by the King to take part in the Hampton Court Conference, and who, when he saw that his Majesty proposed to end all by force, falling upon his knees, implored him that "the wearing of the *Surplis*, and the vse of the *Crosse in Baptisme*, might not be vrged vpō some honest, godly, and painefull ministers in some partes of *Lancashire;* who feared, that if they should be forced vnto them, many, whome they had wonne to the *Gospell*, would slide backe, and reuolte vnto Popery againe, and particularly, instanced the *Vicar of Ratesdale*."[62] Robinson tarried here on his way to the North until he had heard these two men preach, and conferred with them, and others, in regard to the urgent things of the kingdom.[63] While they did not feel bound in conscience to go the way he went, the tone of their general judgment and the depth of their piety, would still tend to make him feel that, with his convictions, but one honorable course was open before him.

It must have been an impressive scene when at Gainsborough, this new comer presented himself to the company which, now for some two years or more, had been testing successfully the ancient promise: "The righteous wil hold his way, and he whose hands are pure, shall increase his strength." They had covenanted together "to walke in all HIS wayes, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeaours, WHATSOEVER IT SHOULD COST THEM, the Lord assisting

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61 S. Clarke, *Lives of Thirty-two Eng. Divines*, etc. (ed. 1677), 23.

62 W Barlow, *The Svmme and Svbstance of the Conference*, etc., *at Hampton Court, Ian. 14, 1603* (1604), 99.

63 *Manumission*, etc. 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* i: 189.

them."[64] John Smyth would preside. There probably would be Helwys and Murton, and Hugo and Ann Bromhead, and "grave and fatherly" Richard Clyfton;[65] and the Scrooby converts, Richard Jackson and Robert Rochester,[66] and here the future pastor of the Pilgrims would almost surely first meet some with whom he was to take loving counsel in the coming years. Francis Jessop would be there leading his young wife Frances,[67] and William Brewster (now 37 or 38), with the manly young Bradford, coming some twelve miles over from the manor-house and from Austerfield, and perhaps George Morton — to be by his own pen, and that of his eldest son, inseparably identified with the earliest historic literature of this Western world.[68] It is my impression, too, that here and now Robinson first came to know that true and loving heart which most intimately shared his joys and sorrows, and made a comfortable English home for him in the Low Countries, till his death.[69]

It would be impossible for much prosperity of this attempt to worship God in England outside of the strait limits by law laid down, to exist for any considerable period without attracting the notice of the authorities. So that, as Bradford graphically says: "They could not long continue in any peaceable

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[64] *Bradford*, 9. I make no doubt that substantially this was the vital and covenanting clause of whatever simple formula was used by the early Congregationalists in mutual agreement to be a church, and in receiving members into that church. Daniel Buck deposed, in 1593, that, when he was united to the "ancient" church "he made ys Protestation, *that he wold walke with the rest of ye congregation so long as they did walke in the way of the Lorde, and as far as might be warranted by the word of God.*" [*Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 399.] *Neal* [(ed. 1837), i: 462] gives the following as the covenant made in London, in 1616, by Henry Jacob's church: "Then standing together they joined hands, and solemnly covenanted with each other in the presence of Almighty God, *to walk together in all Gods ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or should farther make them known to them.*" Edward Winslow, in describing the way in which the Massachusetts men, in some things copied after the Plymouth way [*Hypocrisie Unmasked*, etc. (1646), 92], says: "Which being by them well weighed and considered, they also entred into Covenant with God, and one with another *to walke in all his wayes revealed, or as they should bee made knowne unto them, and to worship him according to his will revealed in his written word onely*," etc.

[65] Young, *Chron. Plym.*, 453.

[66] *Hunter* (ed. 1854), 128.

[67] Jessop was from Worksop, and [Worksop, *Parish Register*, s. d.] there married Frances White, 24 January, 1604–5.

[68] I refer, of course, to what is known as *Mourt's Relation* (1622), which is the primal tract with regard to the Plymouth settlement; and to Nathaniel Morton's *New Englands Memoriall* (1669), the earliest attempt at any set history of the Old Colony.

[69] It is, as yet, only a conjecture, but perhaps not a violent one, which connects Bridget White, who became Mrs. Robinson, as a sister with Frances White who married Francis Jessop; as, clearly, she was of Jane, who [*Leyden MSS. Records*, 21 April, 1611] married Randall Thickins.

condition, but were hunted & persecuted on every side."[70] Before very long, partly for convenience of neighborhood; partly perhaps to avoid the conspicuous assembling every Sabbath of so many in one spot; and partly, very likely, because there were too many, when all together, to find accommodation in any one place at their command, they "became 2. distincte bodys or churches, & in regarde of distance of place did congregate severally."[71] The original body under Smyth emigrated to Amsterdam in 1606, where we have already seen enough of their history to enable us fully to comprehend the justice of the severe as well as simple brevity with which Bradford puts their future on his record: "These afterwards falling into some errours in y^e^ Low Countries, ther (for y^e^ most part) buried them selves, & their names."[72]

The remainder, apparently composed of those who formed the westernmost portion, living in North Nottinghamshire and South Yorkshire, found it convenient to consolidate themselves at Scrooby. The old manor-house had still its chapel, and so long as William Brewster controlled the premises, here was clearly a most desirable place of assemblage; the more that the loneliness and seclusion of a hamlet which half a century before had been described by Leland as a "mene Townlet,"[73] and which is scarcely more than that to-day, would favor their enterprise. It cannot be demonstrated, but to my mind the probability is so great as almost to amount to a certainty, that the original covenanting together of this second company — to be the Mayflower Church — was in this little chapel of the Archbishop of York, some of the rudely carved oak beams of whose roof still humbly survive upon the premises — thus again propounding Samson's riddle: "Out of the eater came meate, and out of the strong came sweetnesse."[74] At all events Bradford's testimony is explicit, that "they ordinarily mett at his [Brewster's] house on y^e^ Lord's Day, ... and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge,"[75] and "continued so to do whilst they could stay in England."[76] With the ample premises in his

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70 *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, etc., 10.
71 *Ibid*, 9.
72 *Ibid*, 10.
73 *Itinerary*, i: 36.
74 *Judges xiv: 14* (Genevan version).
75 *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 411.
76 Plymouth Chh. Rec., as published in *Chron. Plym.*, 465.

control, and his large heart, one fancies Elder Brewster would be very hospitable to John Robinson, and I cannot help thinking that the latter may have passed a considerable portion of the time which intervened between the formation of this church and its emigration, in this old and decayed palace at Scrooby.

That time was not very long. "Some were taken & clapt up in prison, others had their houses besett & watcht night and day, & hardly escaped their hands;" until "y^e^ most were faine to flie & leave their howses & habitations, and the means of their livelihood."[77] Seeing themselves "thus molested, and that ther was no hope of their continuance ther, by a joynte consente they resolved to goe into y^e^ Low Countries, wher they heard was freedome of Religion for all men;"[78] encouraged to the enterprise by news which came to them of the condition of those who, from London and the North, had preceded them there on a like errand.

During 1607 and 1608, this exodus was effected;[79] with what treacheries and outrages on the part of others, and what patience and persistence on their own part, I am sure you do not need to be reminded now and here.

In Amsterdam, as we have seen, their stay was brief. Although they could fight, they were men of peace. I think I may safely say also, not only that their leaders were endowed with broader minds than those of the "ancient" church, or of any other Separatist company known to us as at that time existent, but that the general membership of the church had a better spirit, a wider outlook, and a more thorough culture. So that I fancy they could never have felt thoroughly at home with the great body of the brethren with whom they were thrown into contact in Amsterdam; and that this made it easier for them to consider this question of removal.

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77 *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 10.

78 *Ibid.*

79 In the library of Sir Robert Taylor's Institution at Oxford, is an old family Bible whose memoranda include the register of Richard Clyfton's family, in which is this entry: "Richard Clyfton with his wife and children came unto Amsterdam in Holland, *August*, 1608." If, as would seem, he was with the rear-guard of the company, this fixes midsummer of this year as the exact date when the last members arrived. [See reference to this Bible in *Notes and Queries*, April, 1853, p. 354; also Hunter, *Collections*, etc., 44.] I have in my possession the original transcript of the inscriptions in the book, made by Rev. J. W. Burgon of Oriel Coll. for Mr. Hunter.

The items which can be recovered of their life in that city are few and unimportant. Two couples of their number seem to have been married during the time.[80] While I make no doubt that William Bradford — now in his twenty-first year — formed the acquaintance of the little Dorothy May from Wisbeach, now a girl of only twelve years, whom four years later he came back to marry,[81] and whose tragic death by falling overboard in Cape Cod harbor, was to sadden their landing in the new world.

The only fact which comes to the surface in regard to Robinson in this Amsterdam life, is that he must here have printed his first controversial pamphlet. Joseph Hall, to whom I have referred as by three years Robinson's senior at Cambridge, now rector of Halstead in Essex, and to be Bishop of Exeter in 1627, and of Norwich in 1641, had made a short Continental tour three years before, and at Middelberg in Zeland, seems to have heard of Browne's history there a few years previous, and of the intention of Smyth and Robinson's companies in the North to take refuge in Holland.[82] And so — I know not how otherwise prompted — he, in 1608, published a *Letter to M. Smyth, and M. Robinson, Ringleaders of the late Separation at Amsterdam.* To use his own language, he censured and advised them; and, in truth, neither censure nor advice was spared. The letter breathes a tone of assumption, and of what might be called the conceit of righteousness, which could not but be offensive to its subjects; while doing small credit to the spirit of its author. And it draws toward its close with this remarkable sentence:

"The God of heaven open your eyes, that you may see the injustice of that

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80 These [*Puiboeken*, sub datis] were *Henry Cullandt* [*Leyden Records* say *Crullens* — was it *Collins?*] from Nottinghamshire, aged 20, with *Margaret Grymsdiche* [*L. R.* say *Grimdeyts* — was it *Greenwich?*] from Sutton, aged 30, *m.* 5 July, 1608; and *William Jepson* from Worksop, Notts, aged 26, with *Rosamond Horsfeld* [*L. R.* give it *Heubseyl, Hautseyl, Houtsile, Haubseyl, Hamsveyl*, and *Hamswijl* — was it *Hansill*, which name occurs in a list of recusants in 1603 in Gisbrough, Yorkshire, or *Harpsfield*, or *Hamsfield?*] also from Worksop, aged 23, *m.* 11 April, 1609.

81 This [*Puiboeken*, s. d.] is the marriage record, under date of 9 November, 1613: "*William Bradford*, from Austerfield, fustian-worker, 23 years old, living at Leyden where he was betrothed, and declared to have no parents more; with *Dorothea May*, 16 yrs. from Wisbeach."

82 He describes this tour in his *Observations of some specialties of Divine Providence in the life of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich*, and Mr. Jones quotes largely from it in *Bishop Hall, his Life and Times*, etc. (1826), 23–30.

zeal which hath transported you; and turn your heart to an indeavour of all Christian satisfaction: otherwise, your souls shall find too late that it had been a thousand times better to swallow a ceremony, then to rend a chvrch; yea, that euen whoredoms and mvrders shall abide an easier answer than Separation."

To this Robinson replied by *An Answer to a Censorious Epistle*, in which he began to deal faithfully in the opening paragraph, thus:

"It is a hard thing euen for soberminded men, in cases of controuersy, to vse soberly the aduantages of the times: vpon which whilst men are mounted on high, they vse to behold such as they oppose too ouerlie, and not without contempt; and so are oft times emboldened to roule vpon them, as from aloft, very weak and weightlesse discourses: thinking any sleight and slender opposition sufficient to oppress those vnderlings whom they haue (as they suppose) at so great an aduantage. Upon this very presumption, it commeth to passe, that this Author vndertaketh thus solemnly and seuerely to censure a cause, whereof (as appeareth in the sequel of the discourse) he is vtterly ignorant: which, had he beene but halfe so carefull to haue vnderstood as hee hath beene forward to censure, hee would either haue beene (I doubt not) more equall towards it, or more weightie against it."[83]

A little further on he says — and it is all for which space can here be made:

"To the Title of Ring-leader, wherewith it pleaseth this Pistler to stile me, I answere, that if the thing I haue done be good, it is good and commendable to haue beene forward in it; if it be euil, let it be reproued by the light of Gods word, and that God to whom I haue done that I haue done, will (I doubt not) giue me both to see, and to heale mine errour by speedy repentance: if I haue fledde away on foote, I shall returne on Horse-backe. But as I durst neuer set foote into this way, but vpon a most sound and vnresistable conviction of conscience by the word of God (as I was perswaded) so must my retyring be wrought by more solide reasons from the same word, then are to be found in a thousand such pretty pamphlets and formall flourishes as this is."[84]

In one of those stately folios still in their place on the shelves of the archives in the *Stad-huis* of Leyden,[85] we find the entry, of which the following is a translation, viz.:

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[83] I have met with no trace of the present existence of either of these tracts in their original form. But, in his *Common Apologie*, etc. (1610), Hall, in replying to Robinson's answer to his letter, that the subject may more perspicuously come before the reader, reprints the whole of that Answer, paragraph by paragraph. The original letter is in Hall's *Works* [*Decade*, iii: Epis. 1], so that we have — surely for substance, and, most likely, word for word — the whole of both. Mr. Ashton has extracted and consecutively arranged them with care in his *Works of John Robinson*, iii: 401–420.

[84] *Common Apologie*, etc., 3, 32.

[85] *Gerechts Dagboeck*, G, p. 34.

"To the Honorable the Burgomasters and Court of the city of Leyden: With due submission and respect, *Jan Robarthse*, minister of the Divine Word, and some of the members of the Christian Reformed Religion, born in the kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of one hundred persons, or thereabouts, men and women, represent that they are desirous of coming to live in this city, by the first of May next, and to have the freedom thereof in carrying on their trades, without being a burden in the least, to any one. They, therefore, address themselves to your Honors, humbly praying that Your Honors will be pleased to grant them free consent to betake themselves as aforesaid."

This is without date, or signature, but the action of the authorities upon it, written in the margin, bears date, and is as follows:

"The Court, in making a disposition of this present memorial, declare that they refuse no honest persons free ingress to come and have their residence in this city, provided that such persons behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances; and therefore the coming of the memorialists will be agreable and welcome.

"Thus done in their session at the Council House, 12 February, 1609.

"Signed, I. van Hout."[86]

It must have been a lovely vernal journey by which they changed now their residence. Out along the Haarlem Canal, or possibly by a short cut to the New Sea, their clumsy vessels would creep until they emerged upon the *Harlemmer Meer* — an inland lake, in itself and its adjuncts then stretching within a short distance of the place of their destination; although since pumped dry, and by Dutch industry turned into fruitful fields — then a few hours of broad open water, and they would strike narrowing defiles edged with green, the *Lange Rack*, the *Kagher Meer*, the *Eymers Poel*, and the *Zwey-Landt*, when, turning sharp to the right, they would glide into one of the channels of the Rhine, and so down between its verdant and flower-sprinkled banks within the town; able also so to take advantage of the multitudinous canals as to moor their luggage-laden boats almost or quite by the very side of the dwellings which were to receive them.

Leyden was then a city of some one hundred thousand inhabitants. It was beautiful exceedingly, in its way. One of its French chroniclers described it thus:

"The city of Leiden is, without contradiction, one of the grandest, the come-

[86] Vide *Historical Magazine*, iii: 358; and *Congregational Quarterly*, iv: 61.

liest, and the most charming cities of the world. The cleanness and breadth of its streets; the number of its canals provided with bridges, bordered on either side by lindens [*de Tilleuls*], which during the summer heats cast delightful shadows, where the people make their promenade; the tidiness and elegance of its buildings, and its great number of public places embellished likewise with lindens or elms [*de Tilleuls, ou d' Ormeaux*]; and the extreme neatness of the bricks with which the streets are paved—all this in former times caused Polyander, a celebrated professor who was housed on the *Rapenburg*, to boast that he lived in the most beautiful spot in the world. Which he was wont to prove familiarly, thus: 'Of the four quarters of the world Europe is the noblest and the nicest; the Low Countries are the best part of Europe; of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, Holland is the richest, the most flourishing and the finest; the most beautiful and altogether charming city of Holland is Leyden; while the handsomest canal and the loveliest street in Leyden is the *Rapenburg:*' wherefore, concluded he, 'I am lodged in the most beautiful spot in the world!'"[87]

As Polyander left Dort to be Professor of Sacred Theology at Leyden not quite two years after Robinson and his company arrived, we may understand that his enthusiasm as to the aspect of his new home might be shared by the English, as well. Bradford calls it "a goodly & pleasante citie"—"fair & bewtifull," and "of a sweete situation."[88]

There were three great reformed churches here; the old Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, dedicated in 1121, and enlarged in 1339—whose tower, which could be seen as a landmark far out at sea, had fallen down on the first day of March, 1512, and never been rebuilt; St. Pancras, and St. Mary. There was also a Walloon church.

The University had been established as a reward for the endurance and valor of the people in the long Spanish siege in 1575, and although it was scarcely yet out of its first generation, it had become speedily and widely famous for the learning of its professors; and students had thronged it to that degree that it had already gained for its city, in some quarters, the title of the Athens of the West. Lambert Danaeus had taught in, and Francis Junius seven years before this date had died in, its Professorship of Theology. The famous Justus Lipsius had held its Chair of History. John Drusius, for whom Cambridge and Oxford contended as an Orientalist, was

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[87] *Les Delices de Leide* (ed. 1712), p. 1.

[88] *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 17, 59.

for years in its faculty. Philip Marnix St. Aldegond, whose fame as an exegete was perhaps equalled by his renown as a diplomatist, and whose commentaries were only less thought of than his practical religious works, had worn himself out in its service. The younger Scaliger had lately died in its Professorship of Belles-lettres. Peter Molineus had taught its pupils Natural Philosophy. Francis Gomar, the rigid Calvinist, and James Arminius, whose name suggests to us his faith — yet not without risk of easy injustice, since from our modern standpoint Arminius was not, after all, much of an Arminian — were now joint Professors of Theology, though the latter died within three months after Robinson's arrival. Simon Episcopius, who took up Arminius's sentiments after his death, and first digested them into a regular system, and whose learning and genius made him a formidable champion of the new divinity, held Gomar's chair after his departure. Erpenius, perhaps the most learned Orientalist of his time, after graduating at Leyden as a pupil, travelled in the East to perfect himself for a Professorship here, which he came back to assume. The celebrated geographer Cluverius, who could speak ten languages, gave instruction to the Leyden students. Gerard John Vossius, who was one of the most renowned scholars of that century, taught both Belles-lettres and Chronology. Peter Paaw, who founded the botanic garden, and whose elaborate treatises in physic, anatomy and botany still maintain their place in the best libraries, was Professor here. So was Daniel Heinsius, great as a scholar and a critic, and whose editing of the ancient authors did so much for the new learning; while Hugo Grotius, one of the ablest men of that age of great men, had his name down also on this remarkable list. Add to these Festus Hommius, regent and pastor in Leyden, and one of the scribes of the Synod of Dort; Andrew Rivetus, the learned yet devout controversialist; Anthony Walaeus, one of the canonists of the Synod of Dort, commentator on Aristotle, and the main Flemish translator of the Scriptures, with Anthony Thysius, teacher of Poetry and Eloquence, librarian and famous editor of the Greek and Latin classics; and, altogether, it will not be difficult to comprehend how, to a man like John Robinson, there would be great attractions here over any which Amsterdam

could offer; that indeed neither his own English University nor its great rival, could furnish such a corps of instructors, and such a body of learned associates, as were accessible here.[89]

The library, as was indeed to be expected from the newness of the institution, it must be confessed, was greatly inferior to those of Oxford and Cambridge. We are able to know that, besides classics, Robinson would find there, at this date, 196 volumes of theology, 220 in jurisprudence, 100 in medicine, 106 in philology, and 416 in history and belles-lettres; — 1038 in all. There were also about 500 manuscripts — mainly Latin, Greek and Oriental — and some 300 printed books with MS. annotations.[90] The room was adorned with full-length portraits of William the Silent and the Prince Mauritz, both still in good preservation on the present walls. There was further a botanic garden, and an anatomical museum; views of which, and of the interior of the library, as existent in Robinson's day, are still extant.

The first thing for these exiles to do was to get humbly housed, and to find work of some kind by which they could honestly earn their daily bread. I imagine that they found shelter first mainly over on the newer northwestern edge of the city, in St. Ursula Street and its neighborhood; though I cannot trace them at first to specific dwellings. They put their hands to "such trads & imployments as they best could,"[91] and as the industry of that community exercised itself largely in that direction,[92] many of them became *baai-werkers* and *saai-werkers*.[93] Others found employment as hat-makers, wool-carders, twine-spinners, journeymen masons and carpenters. While some became block-makers, cabinet-makers, wool-combers and stocking-weavers, brewers, bakers, tailors, and even tobacco-pipe[94]

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89 One may learn much of the University, and of its professors, and general condition at this time, from *Joannis Mevrsi Athenæ Batavæ: Sive, De Vrbe Leidensi, & Academia, Virisque claris; qui utramque ingenio suo, atque scriptis, illustrarunt: Libri Dvo. Lug. Bat. A°. cIↃIↃc.xxv*, 4°, pp. xliv, 352, — whose *Epistola Dedicatoria* was dated just twenty days after Robinson's death.

90 Dr. G. D. J. Schotel, *De Bibliotheek Der Hoogeschool te Leyden*, etc., 13, 14.

91 Bradford, *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 17.

92 Leyden appears still to be the great mart of the Netherlands for what are called "rose" blankets, and woolen goods of kindred character.

93 Perhaps our words *baize* and *serge* weavers, fairly convey the idea.

94 One John Ainsworth, "a young man from Amsterdam," and who may have been the eldest son of Henry of famous memory, was registered in Leyden, 24 December, 1636, on his marriage with Elizabeth Keble, as a "tobacco-worker." He became a citizen of Leyden 4 November, 1639, and lived in the *Peter Kerksteeg* in October, 1648. *Leyden MS. Rec.*

makers. Gradually, as their faithful industry prospered, "they came to raise a competente & comforteable living, but with hard and continuall labor."[95] Some few became known as "merchants," while Elder Brewster, from his knowledge of the Latin tongue (he seems in his youth to have studied for a time in the University at Cambridge), had success in teaching English to many students who desired to master it — he drawing rules for them "to learn it by, after the Latin manner," so that "many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, some of them being great men's sons," until "his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentifully."[96] Subsequently having the help of friends, he set up a printing-office, where — by reason of his printing books which would not be allowed to be printed in England — he had employment enough.[97]

The Church remained here eleven years before the departure of its American colony, and Robinson lived nearly sixteen years. I can take space for but the barest outline of his, and their, outward fortunes in that time.

In January, 1611, jointly with William Jepson, Henry Wood, and Randall Thickins, who was about to marry a sister of Mrs. Robinson, Robinson purchased a desirable estate in a very central position — across a narrow street from the cathedral, and within pistol shot of the University — containing a large house, and a garden back of it with a considerable vacant space.[98] The price paid was 8,000 guilders,[99] — 2,000 down, and 500 a

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95 Bradford, *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 17.

96 Young, *Chron. Plym.*, 466.

97 *Ibid.*

98 The house stood in the *Clock-steeg*, where the *Pesyns Hof* now stands, being the third lot toward the University from the *Heerenstraat*. Its front looked from the side directly upon the main entrance of the cathedral, and its rear land touched the wall of the lot in which stood the old chapel of the *Faliede Beguin's Hof*, or *Veiled Nun's Cloister*, whose upper story had been appropriated to hold the library of the University; one of its lower rooms being afterwards occupied by the English Presbyterian Congregation which was founded in the very year in which Robinson and his congregation came to Leyden, and to which Robert Durie ministered till his death in September, 1616, and Hugo Goudgier during the remaining part of Robinson's life, and for more than a generation afterward, till his death in 1661. [Steven, *Hist. Scott. Chh. Rotterdam*, etc., 312–315.] The present Library appears still to include this ancient building within its modern enlargements.

99 A guilder, or florin, is 40 cents, so that the sum paid would now stand at $3,200 in gold; but a guilder in 1611 is estimated to have been worth from three to four times as much as now; so that from $10,000 to $12,000 would more nearly represent the value, in the figures with which we are familiar. This was, of course, a very large sum for them, and one that implied spacious premises.

year thereafter, secured by mortgage. The purchase was completed on the 5th May following, but, the property being under lease, possession was not obtained until 1 May, 1612. Thereafter this place on the *Klok-steeg* became the head-quarters of the church. Sabbath services were held in the house, and Jepson, who was a carpenter, would seem to have built twenty-one little houses on the rear vacant land of the premises, which appear to have been occupied mainly, if not solely, by members of the church.[100]

In the summer of 1615, having obtained the needful permission of the magistrates, Robinson became matriculated as a member of the University.[101] Besides all literary privilege specially to this appertaining, there were also involved, as in England, certain civil immunities. He transferred himself from the jurisdiction of the city police, to that of the University tribunal. He became free from the liability of ordinary citizens to have soldiers billeted upon them in case of siege or other need, and to take their turn in the night-watch, and to contribute to public works and fortifications. Furthermore he became entitled to receive, without payment of duty to the city or the state, a certain quarterly, or monthly, amount of wine and beer.[102]

About the time he had become comfortably settled in his new home, there arose a bitter controversy between the new Arminians and the old Calvinists; and, being urged by Polyander, Festus Hommius and others, he went into a public disputation with Episcopius before the University. Bradford's account of the result is this:

"The Lord did so help him to defend y^e^ truth & foyle this adversarie, as he put him to an apparent non-plus, in this great & publike audience. And y^e^ like he did a 2. or 3. time, upon such like occasions. The which as it caused many to praise God y^t^ the trueth had so famous victory, so it procured him much honour & respecte from those lerned men & others which loved y^e^ trueth." [103]

And Winslow testifies to the same point, thus:

"Our pastor Mr. *Robinson* in the time when Arminianisme prevailed so much, at the request of the most Orthodox divines, as *Poliander*, *Festus Hom-*

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[100] My authority for these statements is found in various MSS. records of Leyden, which it hardly seems important here more fully to particularize.

[101] Refer back to note 1, p. 360, ante.

[102] J. J. Orlers, *Beschrijving der Stad Leyden*, etc. (ed. 1781), pp. 170, 192.

[103] *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, etc., 21.

lius, etc., disputed daily against *Episcopius* (in the Academy at *Leyden*) and others the grand champions of that error, and had as good respect amongst them, as any of their own Divines."[104]

The Synod of Dort was convened by the States General 13 November, 1618, and did not dissolve till 9 May, 1619. It was composed of eighty-four members, and eighteen secular commissioners — of whom fifty-eight were Dutchmen, the rest foreigners. England was represented by Dr. Carlton, Bishop of Llandaff, afterward Bishop of Chichester, John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, Samuel Ward, Professor at Cambridge, Joseph Hall, to be Bishop of Norwich, and Walter Balcanquall, Chaplain to King James. Dordrecht, as the crow flies, is scarcely more than twenty-five English miles from Leyden, and it is safe to think that Robinson's interest in the subject, and his interest in the eminent men there met together, must have led him, probably more than once during the nearly six months' session, over to this distinguished assembly;[105] the more that he was in heartiest theological sympathy with the winning side.

Robinson's church enjoyed in Leyden a steady and healthy growth, until they numbered nearly three hundred communicants.[106] They lived in peace, while the Amsterdam brethren had no rest day nor night. And they were reasonably prospered in temporal things, while they were also "well reported of, euen of them which are without."[107] As Bradford touchingly says:[108]

"Though many of them weer poore, yet ther was none so poore, but if they were known to be of y^t^ congregation, the *Dutch* (either bakers or others) would trust them in any reasonable matter when y^ey^ wanted money. Because they had found by experience how carfull they were to keep their word, and saw them so painfull & dilligente in their callings; yea, they would strive to gett their custome, and to imploy them above others, in their worke, for their honestie & diligence.

"Againe; y^e^ magistrats of y^e^ citie, aboute y^e^ time of their coming away, or a litle before, in y^e^ publick place of justice, gave this comendable testemoney of them, in y^e^ reproofe of the Wallons, who were of y^e^ French church in y^t^ citie.

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[104] *Hypocrisie Vnmasked*, etc., 95.

[105] Dr. Schaff [*Creeds of Christendom*, i: 514] says: "It was undoubtedly an imposing assembly; and, for learning and piety, as respectable as any ever held since the days of the Apostles."

[106] Bradford, in Young, *Chron. Plym.*, 455, 456.

[107] 1 Tim. iii: 7, *Genevan Version.*

[108] *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 19. See also what he says, essentially to the same purport, in *Young*, 456.

'These English,' said they, 'have lived amongst us now this 12. years, and yet we never had any sute or accusation came against any of them; but your strifs & quarels are continuall.'"

But by and by, as some grew old, and some died; and experience began to prove that Holland was not a good place in which to bring up English children; and it became evident that there was little possibility for them in Leyden to rise above a position which, if not one of daily necessity, still required incessant application of the most laborious sort, with small hope of any special improvement in the future — a condition especially severe upon the young and the infirm; the older and the wiser ones began to cast about to see what might most prudently be done. The King would not tolerate their return to their native land; and were they to remain even in Leyden, as they were, the prospect in many respects looked dark.

I think of Robinson and Brewster — who shared between them the entire supreme official responsibility of the church, as it never had elected a Teacher, nor any second Ruling Elder — I think of Robinson and Brewster together as long pondering this gloomy and doubtful condition of affairs, until one, or the other (and in this world we shall probably never know which), throws out the suggestion of a further emigration across the great and wide sea, to a new land; where they may hear and speak their own language; live again with Englishmen under English laws; have some good of their industry beyond bare daily bread, some scope for commerce, and so some light on their temporal future; where they can recover their own old Puritan Sabbath; where they may hope to perpetuate their faith; and where, please God, they may lay "some good foundation, or at least make some way therunto, for y^e^ propagating & advancing y^e^ gospell of y^e^ kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of y^e^ world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for y^e^ performing of so great a work."[109]

Their own minds having worked the subject clear, I seem to see, first of all, good Deacon Doctor Fuller and his fellow Deacon, the prudent Carver, taken into their counsels, and by and

[109] *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 24. See also *Hypocrisie Vnmasked*, etc., 88.

by the matter broached to the two "forwardest" godly and noble youth — then respectively twenty-eight and twenty-two years of age — William Bradford and Edward Winslow; and finally to the assembled company.

This is not the place to go into particulars: of their wearisome correspondence; of their sending agents back and forth to the King and the court; of the hard terms exacted of their necessity by those merchant adventurers who at last consented to have some share with them in the undertaking; of the final decision for part of them to brave all the risks, while the rest remained behind to keep a place for the outgoers, should they be discomfited and driven back; of the conclusion that, since the number deciding to go was a little the lesser, the Elder should lead them forth and the Pastor for the present stay; of the departure and the Delfs-haven farewells, so touching that "sundry of y^e^ Dutch strangers y^t^ stood on y^e^ key as spectators, could not refraine from tears,"[110] and that the scene was remembered there a quarter of a century after.[111]

With the others Robinson went home — and it must have been a lonely and a somber going — he to something less than five years more of earthly life. On the 7th February following it is almost certain that he buried a child in St. Peters.[112] On the 15th October of the next year, a city census enrolls him — his wife Bridget, his children, John, Bridget, Isaac, Mercy, Fear and James, with their servant-girl Mary Hardy — as dwelling together in the *Groenpoert*, on the *Klok-steeg*.[113] On the 27th March, 1623, he seems again to have buried a child in St. Peters.[114] And on the 4th of March, 1625, a great stone in the pavement of the same venerable structure was lifted,[115]

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110 *Ibid*, 60.

111 *Hypocrisie Vnmasked*, etc., 91.

112 "*7 Feb. 1621.* Ein kind van de Engels Predikant, Pieterskerkhoff." *Burial Registers, St. Peters*, iv: 130. Although mentioned by his official rather than his personal name, I know not to whom else this description at this time could apply. Hugo Goudgier was then Pastor of the English Reformed Church, but could hardly have been localized thus.

113 *Cohier van't hooft gelt in de Stadt Leyden*, 1622. *De Bon Zeven Huizen*, p. 39.

114 "*27 Maart, 1623.* Ein kind van de Engels Predikant, bij Clockhuis." *Burial Registers, St. Peters*, iv: 197.

115 "*4 Maart, 1625.* Jan Roelends, Predicant van de Engelsche Gemeente, bij het Klockhuijs — begraven in de Pieter's Kerk." *Burial Register, Stadhuis*, 1625, p. 181. The corresponding entry on the books of the cathedral was made on the 10th March, and is as follows [*Blaffaarden van de Hoofd-Kerken d' a°, 1619–1627*, p. 242 verso]: "Open en huier van Jan Robens, Engels predikant — 9 florins."

that he might himself be laid, with many tears of his own people and much respect from that alien community, beneath it.[116]

Such, in rudest outline, was the outward life of this great and good man. What, now, was the polity which he taught and lived? We need take very little time for answer.

At the setting out of his career John Robinson was a Separatist of the most pronounced description. His first full-grown volume was a *Ivstification of Separation from the Church of England. Against Mr. Richard Bernard his invective, Intitvled; The Separatists schisme;* and as it bears date 1610, it must have been his first serious labor after settling down in Leyden; although, as Bernard had published in 1608, very likely the work had been begun while Robinson was still in Amsterdam. Reference in it is made, moreover, to a second book which, in 1610, Mr. Bernard had sent forth, in criticism of Ainsworth's *Counterpoyson*, and Smyth's *Parallels*, etc.

This treatise is voluminous, and although the 484 quarto pages of its first edition are without a break, there are five main divisions of thought. It begins (1) with the discussion of certain "Counsels of Peace" which Mr. Bernard had urged upon the thought of the Separatists, such as that light faults are to be borne with, evils amended peaceably, persons and sys-

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116 "If either prayers, tears, or means, would have saved his life, he had not gone hence." [Roger White, in Bradford, *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 206.] "He was much beloved of them [his people] and as loving was he unto them, and entirely sought their good for soul and body. In a word, he was much esteemed and reverenced of all that knew him, and his abilities [were acknowledged] both of friends and strangers." [Bradford in Young, *Plym. Chron.*, 452.] He "had as good respect amongst them [the Dutch Christians] as any of their own Divines; Insomuch as when God took him away from them and from us by death, the University, and Ministers of the City accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities; bewayling the great losse that not onely that particular Church had, whereof he was Pastor; but some of the chief of them sadly affirmed, that all the Churches of Christ sustained a losse by the death of that worthy Instrument of the Gospel." [Edward Winslow, in *Hypocrisie Vnmasked*, etc., 95.] Hoornbeek speaks of him as, "Vir supra reliquos probus, atque eruditus," and adds, "Vir ille gratus nostris, dum vixit, fuit, & Theologis Leidensibus familiaris ac honoratus" [*Summa Controversiarum*, 741]; while even the bitter Baylie [*Dissvasive*, etc., 17] concedes him to have been "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever that Sect [Brownism] enjoyed." Caspar Calvœr — the very able and learned Lutheran divine — in his *Fissuræ Sionis*, written before the century in which Robinson's work had been done was closed, said of him [504]: "Vir moderatus, quique suis concessit Communionem cum Reformatis reliquis in verbo sive frequentatione concionum & precibus publicis, quin Reformatos Belgas ad S. Coenam admittebat; ast Arminianorum hostis acerrimus."

tems distinguished, and authority obeyed when not positively sinful; that ancient judgments are to be preferred before modern conjectures, that things that differ should be distinguished, and judgments be charitable. Next (2) it notes and replies to his dissuasions against Separatism on account of its alleged novelty; its resemblance to ancient schisms; assumed Divine displeasure with it; alleged want of success; and so on. It then (3) refutes seven reasons against Separation which Mr. Bernard had advanced, such as its disfellowship of others, its alleged wresting of the Scriptures, and its persistence in schism. The ground being thus cleared, it advances (4) to the confutation of ten allegations of error made against the Separatists, in which the war is carried into Africa by the exposure of some of the manifold inconsistencies of the National Church. All is concluded (5) by an examination of "Certain Positions held and maintained by some godlie Ministers of the Gospel against those of the Separation," which had been appended to Bernard's book.

It is a logical and powerful discussion, and in the general tone of its views of their common system might have been written by Ainsworth — almost by Johnson. His definition of a church is this:

"A company consisting though but of two or three separated from the world whither vnchristian, or antichristian, and gathered into the name of Christ by a covenant made to walk in all the wayes of God knowen vnto them, is a Church, and so hath the whole power of Christ."[117]

His general position on the subject of Separation is thus stated:

"But this I hold, that if iniquity be committed in the Church, and complaint, and proof accordingly made, and that the Church will not reform, or reject the party offending, but will on the cõtrary maynteyn presumptuously, & abet such impiety, that then by abetting that party & his sin, she makes it her own by imputation, & enwrapps her self in the same guilt with the sinner. And remayning irreformable, eyther by such members of the same Ch:, as are faithfull, (if there be any) or by other sister Churches, wypeth her self out the Lords Church-rowl, and now ceaseth to be any longer the true Church of Christ. And whatsoever truthes, or ordinances of Christ, this rebellious rowt still reteynes, it but vsurpes the same, without right vnto them, or promise of blessing vpon them, both the persons and sacrifices are abhominable vnto the Lord. Tit. i: 16; Prov. xxi: 27."[118]

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[117] *Ivstification*, etc., 125. | [118] *Ibid*, 247.

As to the matter of communion with the Church of England, and with other churches similarly conditioned, the position which Mr. Robinson at this time held was this:

"The *8. errour* layd to our charge is, our holding, *That every one of their assemblies, are false Churches.*

"If one of them be, then are they all, for they are all, and every one of them cast in the same mould? We professe we put a great difference betwixt person, and person amongst you, and do not doubt (God forbid wee should) but there are hundreds, and thowsands amongest you, having assurance of saving grace, and being partakers of the life of God, in respect of your persons: but considering you in your Church-communion, & ordinances, we cannot so difference you, but must testify against your apostasie, as wee do."[119]

His view at this period on the question of the rightfulness of personal individual communion, in the way of attendance upon church ordinances, etc., was thus expressed:

"The 8. & 9. errours imputed to us are, that we hold *none of their Ministers may be heard:* & that *it is not lawful to ioyn in prayer with any of them.* . . . . It is not true then which he sayth, that we censure any for hearing the word: we do it [censure them] for *partaking in other mens sinns:* and for *receiving the mark of the beast*, in cōmunicating with the Ministery of Antichrist; as we assuredly know yours to be the office, & enterāce into it (notwithstāding the truthes taught, & personal graces in the teachers) and for obstinacy in the same. . . . It is true you say, we ought to cōmunicate both in prayer & in al the other ordinances of God with all God's children except they themselves hinder it, or put a barre: which we are perswaded they in the Church of Engl. do, in chusing rather the cōmuniō of all the profane rowt in the kingdom vnder the Prelates tyranny, then the cōmunion of Saynts, which Christ hath established, vnder his government. So that it is not we which refuse them, but they vs, binding vs eyther to practise as we do, or to cōmunicate in one spirituall body with all the graceles persons, and vile miscreants in the kingdom."[120]

While such were his convictions, he held them in a spirit open to conviction, as appears from words which follow:

"These thinges I do desire the godly Reader indifferently, and without offence to take knowledge of: and to rest in this our defence, if it be found according to the word of God: if not, to give vs knowledge by the same word of the contrary, wherein we shall willingly rest, and (by the grace of God) so practise."[121]

Apparently in the following year (1611), letters passed

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[119] *Ibid*, 259.

[120] *Ibid*, 433, 436.

[121] *Ibid*, 438. See also [476] the paragraph with which the discussion closes.

between Mr. Robinson and Mr. Ames — then at the Hague — in reference to the subject of communion among believers;[122] and, in 1614, Mr. Robinson published a small treatise *Of Religious Communion Private and Public*, to which was appended some notice of recent publications of Helwys and Piggott.[123] His treatment of the subject in this volume indicates a melioration of judgment. The original Separatist theory, from which he had not departed in his answer to Bernard, maintained the duty of an absolute separation between members of true, and members of false churches — even if, in the judgment of charity, these members of false churches might themselves be truly good people. The first part of this new discussion, however, Mr. Robinson devotes to the establishment of the proposition:

"That we, who profess a separation from the English national, provincial, diocesan, and parochial church, and churches, in the whole former state and order thereof, may notwithstanding lawfully communicate in private prayer, and other the like holy exercises (not performed in their church communion, nor by their church power and ministry), with the godly amongst them, though [the said godly are] remaining, of infirmity, members of the same church, or churches, except some other extraordinary bar come in the way, between them and us."[124]

This position he defends with much strength of argument, insisting that while it is unscriptural and wrong to join in public and official communion with a false church like the Church of England, it is Scriptural and right to join in private and unofficial communion with members of such a church, who in the judgment of charity are esteemed to be personally Christian men. And, following the lead of this liberal and liberalizing principle, he, with his church, emerged from the narrowness and bitterness of the original Separatism into a practical charity and fraternity, which "allowed" even "hearing the godly Ministers preach and pray in the publick Assemblies" of the Church of England.[125] He favored full communion with the Reformed churches of France and Holland, received members from them and welcomed their members to the

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[122] Printed by Lawne *et al.* See Appendix, no. 402, pp. 47–54.

[123] See Appendix, nos. 406, 413.

[124] *Works* (1851), iii: 105.

[125] *Hypocrisie Vnmasked*, etc., 93. See also *A Manvmission to a Manvdvct.* etc. (1615) *passim.*

Christian ordinances. He went so far as to offer church communion to the Church of Scotland.[126]

And in the last of his life he wrote *A Treatise of the Lawfulnes of Hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England*, which his church published, "according to the copie that was found in his studie," nine years after his decease. In this he reached this conclusion:

"For myself, thus I believe with my heart before God, and profess with my tongue, and have before the world, that I have one and the same faith, hope, spirit, baptism, and Lord, which I had in the Church of England, and none other; that I esteem so many in that church of what state, or order soever, as are truly partakers of that faith, as I account many thousands to be, for my Christian brethren, and myself a fellow-member with them of that one mystical body of Christ scattered far and wide throughout the world; that I have always, in spirit and affection, all Christian fellowship and communion with them, and am most ready in all outward actions, and exercises of religion, lawful and lawfully done, to express the same: and withal, that I am persuaded, the hearing of the Word of God there preached in the manner, and upon the grounds formerly mentioned, is both lawful and, upon occasion, necessary for me, and all true Christians, withdrawing from that hierarchical order of church government and ministry and appurtenances thereof; and uniting in the order and ordinances instituted by Christ, the only king and Lord of his church, and by all his disciples to be observed; and, lastly, that I cannot communicate with or submit unto the said church order, and ordinances there established, either in state or act, without being condemned of mine own heart, and therein provoking God, who is greater than my heart, to condemn me much more." [127]

In this connection the testimony of so intelligent and well-informed a witness as Edward Winslow, will be interesting:

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[126] "A godly Divine comming over to *Leyden* in *Holland*, where a Booke was printed, *Anno* 1619, as I take it, shewing the nullity of *Perth* Assembled, whom we judged to bee the Author of it, and hidden in *Holland* for a season to avoid the rage of those evill times (whose name I have forgotten;) This man being very conversant with our Pastor Mr. *Robinson*, and using to come to hear him on the Sabbath, after Sermon ended, the Church being to partake in the Lord's Supper, this Minister stood up and desired hee might, without offence, stay and see the manner of his administration, and our participation in that Ordinance; To which our Pastor answered in these very words, or to this effect, *Reverend Sir, you may not onely stay to behold us, but partake with us, if you please, for wee acknowledge the Churches of Scotland to be the Churches of Christ, &c.* The Minister also replyed to this purpose, if not also in the same words; *That for his part hee could comfortably partake with the Church, and willingly would, but that it is possible some of his brethren of Scotland might take offence at his act;* which he desired to avoid in regard of the opinion the English Churches which they held communion withall had of us: However he rendered thanks to Mr. *Robinson*, and desired in that respect to be onely a spectator of us." *Hypocrisie Vnmasked*, etc., 96.

[127] *Works*, iii: 377.

"'Tis true, we professe and desire to practise a separation from the world, & the works of the world, which are works of the flesh, such as the Apostle speaketh of, *Eph.* v: 19, 20, 21; I *Cor.* vi: 9, 10, 11, and *Ephes.* ii: 11, 12. And as the Churches of Christ are all Saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of God shining forth, (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, & to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God, nor the communion of the Saints may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if any joyning to us formerly, either when we lived at *Leyden* in *Holland*, or since we came to *New England*, have with the manifestation of their faith and profession of holinesse held forth therewith separation from the Church of *England*, I have divers times, both in the one place, and the other, heard either *Mr. Robinson* our Pastor, or *Mr. Brewster* our Elder stop them forthwith, shewing them that wee required no such things at their hands, but only to hold forth faith in Christ Jesus, holinesse in the feare of God, and submission to every Ordinance and appointment of God, leaving the Church of England to themselves, and to the Lord before whom they should stand or fall, and to whom wee ought to pray to reforme what was amisse amongst them." [128]

The ultimate position of Robinson's mind on this subject, I think it very likely, was fairly hinted by John Bastwick—in 1617 matriculated in the Leyden University—who said:

"I can speake thus much in the presence of God, that Master Robinson of Leiden, the pastor of the Brownist Church, there told mee and others, who are yet living to witnesse the truth of what I now say, that if hee might in England have injoyed but the liberty of his Ministry there, with an immunity but from the very Ceremonies, and that they had not forced him to a subscription to them, and impressed upon him the observation of them, that hee had never separated from it, or left that Church." [129]

Aside from this mellowing of the spirit in which the general principles of Separatism were held and taught, the Congregationalism of John Robinson and the Leyden Church differed from that prevalent in Amsterdam—whether in its High or Low Church form—in its practical view of the Eldership.

As the church for a considerable time had had only its Pastor;[130] and never at Leyden more than one Ruling Elder, whose place seems to have remained unfilled after the Speedwell sailed; it was never managèd on Barrowe's plan. Such control would have been absurd. Nominally the office existed.

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[128] *Hypocrisie Vnmasked*, etc., 98.

[129] J. Bastwick, *The Utter Routing of the whole Army of all the Independents & Sectaries*, etc. (1646), cxvii.

[130] "Any more then M. Robinson himself was for a good space, when hee had no elder joigned with him, etc." W. Ames, *Manvdiction*, etc., vii.

Practically, since matters were handled and settled by free discussion in the presence of all, and by the Elders exerting a merely moral leadership, such as belonged to them unofficially as strong men and wise men and godly men, rather than officially as Elders; the Barrowism of the church was reduced to its minimum of the element of the Eldership, and exalted to its maximum of the element of the choosing and consenting action of the membership.

The Leyden church, moreover, in five particulars departed from the Amsterdam Separatists, and from the Reformed, in its theories as to this office. (1) It required that all Elders should be "apt to teach, and able to exhorte with sound doctrine, and convince gainsayers, and that not onely privately, or in the consistorie, but in the publick assemblie also, as the nature of their publique office requireth." (2) It insisted that theirs be a life-office in place "of annuall, or tryennuall or temporarie."[131] (3) It forbade the Elders to transact business in their private consistory — they might, indeed, *prepare* business there — but took the ground that the office "being publique, requires answerable, and publique administration." (4) It repudiated the idea that the Elders are in any sense the church. As to this Robinson says:

> "If the Elders in their consistorie represent the church, then whatsoever they either decree, or do agreeing to the word of God whether respecting faith or manners, that also the church decreeth and doth, though absent, though ignorant both what the thing is, which is done, and upon what grounds it is done by the Elders: this being the nature of representations, that what the representing doth within the bounds of his commission, that the represented doth primarily, and much more, as but using the other for his instrument. Now how dissonant this is to true faith and pietie, how consonant unto the Papists implicit faith, no man can be ignorant: and I had rather wise men should consider, then I aggravate."[132]

(5) It therefore relegated the function of the Eldership to the purely moral one of leading the mass ot the church in its action, and so instructing and guiding its members that church-action should always be the intelligent acceptance and practice by all, of that course of conduct which the Elders were convinced —

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[131] *Iust and Necessarie Apologie*, etc., 25. | [132] *Ibid*, 27, 31.

and were able to convince others — must be most pleasing to God.

This, in point of fact, so nearly reverted to original Brownism on the one hand, and so nearly advanced toward modern Congregationalism on the other, that it gave a type of Barrowism so mild and purely nominal as to exist only in name, and restored to the body of the church nearly the advantages of which incoming Presbyterianism had deprived it. Its disadvantage was that it retained a name which had mischief in it, and bequeathed to New England a hundred years of confusion over the supposed necessity of a Ruling Eldership, which was an enigma and a stumbling-block, and a constant occasion to fall.

Of Mr. Robinson's four principal remaining treatises, one, *The Peoples Plea for the Exercise of Prophesie*, as did *Of the Lawfulnes of Hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England*, urges liberty and charity — in the senses indicated by their titles. One, the *Ivst and Necessarie Apologie*, not published in English until the year of his death, is a clear, manly and courteous statement of the general positions held by those "no lesse contumeliously then commonly called Brownists or Barrowists;" in which the portion on which most labor was spent, is that which so defines the ecclesiastical Presbytery as to take out of it altogether the notion, which Johnson had advanced to advocate, that "tell it to the church" means "tell it to the Elders."

A volume of *Observations Divine and Morall. For the Fvrthering of knowledg, and vertue*, came out in the year of Robinson's death, and probably the reading of its proof sheets may have been among his last labors. They remind one of Lord Bacon's similar volume. Dr. Johnson praised Bacon's essays because they are "the observations of a strong mind operating upon life." I think we may value Robinson's as exhibiting much of strength of mind, and more of graciousness of heart. They are surely good for the use of edification to any devout thinker. I am almost certain that he had preached most of them to his own people, and that they suggest his pulpit style.

The most distinctively theological treatise which Mr. Robinson left behind him, was one which he put to press the year

before his death; which was called out by the attack made by John Murton, and the Arminian followers of John Smyth, upon the Calvinistic Articles then in the ascendant in Holland;[133] and was entitled *A Defence of the Doctrine Propovnded by the Synode at Dort: against Iohn Mvrton and his Associates*, etc.[134] I call your attention briefly to this, and to three or four collateral passages in the *Observations*, or *Essayes*, because they will aid us fairly to comprehend his famous Farewell Address to the departing Plymouth men; in which, as I must think, he has been persistently put wrong by those who, never having much studied his writings and unfamiliar with the real judgment, doctrine and spirit of the man, have interpreted him too much in the light of their own temper and times, and too little in that of those which were actual with him; and who are therefore censurable, as, for substance (and almost in his exact words), he censures Murton and his fellows for what they had done in:

"both wronging therin that lawfull and helpfull learning in others, which themselvs want, and corrupting the Lords words, which they ought religiously to keep; and obtruding another meaning then ever came into his mind: which they doe usually by neglecting the main scope of the place cited, and catching at a word or phrase in it; which is the highest way, that can be, to all heresie."[135]

I need hardly remind you that the theology of the Synod of Dort was Calvinism in its strict and stern form, or that the spirit in which it was conceived and carried out, had in it the opposite of toleration — had in it, indeed, hardly the possibility of so much as the conception that the good men of any future age could see things in any form essentially different from that in which it conceived of them. We are to remember, moreover, that there were circumstances which especially tended to heighten in the Orthodox mind the impression that a statement of doctrine so perfect as to be complete and unalterable, had been reached at Dordrecht.

The Synod is conceded to have been unsurpassed for learn-

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[133] Murton's book was styled *A Description of what God hath predestinated concerning Man, In his Creation, Transgression & Regeneration. As also an Answere to Iohn Robinson, touching Baptisme, in a Dialogue*, etc. 1620, 16mo, pp. viii, 172.

[134] 1624, 4to, pp. iv, 204.

[135] *Defence*, etc., iii.

ing.[136] It produced on its own members the impression that it was, in an extraordinary manner and degree, under the guidance of divine power.[137] It was therefore — most of all in that age of the world — natural for the body, and for all its friends, to conceive that it had tabulated an ultimatum in theology for the world, and for all time. While Mr. Motley says some other things about it which seem quite too strong for the truth, this which he says does not appear to overstate the facts:

"On the 23d April, 1619, the canons were signed by all the members of the Synod. Arminians were pronounced heretics, schismatics, teachers of false doctrines. They were declared incapable of filling any clerical or academical post. No man thenceforth was to teach children, lecture to adolescents, or preach to the mature, unless a subscriber *to the doctrines of the unchanged, unchangeable, orthodox church.* On the 30th April, and 1st May, the Netherland Confession, and the Heidelberg Catechism *were declared to be infallible. No change was to be possible in either formulary. Schools and pulpits were inexorably bound to the only true religion.*"[138]

The orator at the high festival, which followed the Synod on the 6th May, beyond question, gave voice to the then universal feeling of the triumphant Orthodox party, when he declared that "both Creed and Catechism had stood the test of several criticisms, and come out unchanged by a single hair."[139]

Mr. Robinson gave his treatise, to which I now refer, the shape of an elaborate defence of this doctrine of this Synod. Besides baptism in especial, in it he discusses (1) predestination, (2) election, (3) falling away, (4) free-will, and (5) the original state of man, as they had been affirmed by the body, and modified or denied by Murton and his associates; in a manner to indicate his unreserved conviction that the Synod had spoken the mind of Christ. Nothing in its Calvinism

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136 Even Paolo Sarpi, the Catholic historian, recognizes this, and Vitringa said of it: "So much learning was never before assembled in one place, not even at Trent." Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, i: 515.

137 "Breitinger, a great light of the Swiss Churches, was astonished at the amount of knowledge and talent displayed by the Dutch delegates, and says that if ever the Holy Spirit were present in a Council, he was present at Dort. Scultetus, of the Palatinate, thanked God that he was a member of that Synod, and placed it high above similar assemblies. Meyer, a delegate of Basle, whenever afterwards he spoke of this Synod, uncovered his head and exclaimed, '*Sacrosancta Synodus!*'" *Ibid*, i: 514.

138 *Life and Death of John of Barneveld*, etc., ii: 310.

139 *Ibid.*

staggers him. He is even prepared to say under the fifth head, and he does say: "Infants therefore bring sin properly into the world with them."[140] And I conceive it to be quite impossible for any candid person to read carefully this volume, without reaching the conclusion that the Leyden pastor was in entire agreement with the Synod, not merely in the articles of faith which it had formulated, but in that *animus* of infallibility, and inexposure to essential future modification, in which it held them.

Such being the fact, it is impossible that he should have spoken to the Plymouth men in the sense in which he has been commonly reputed to have spoken. Nothing short of insanity could have made *him* teach after the fashion of the self-styled "advanced thinkers" of to-day.

We do well to consider, in this connection, further, that there are not a few passages in his *Essayes* which indicate a habit of mind irreconcilably at variance with the fundamental principles of modern rationalism. Of which let us note a few:

"Some ambitious and curious wits, but not able (& no marvail) to raise up & advance their notions to *God* his infinitenesse, for the comprehending of it; have laboured to depresse, & pull him down to their dwarfish conceptions of him: . . . as though God could not be that, which they cannot conceive of him. . . . The understanding of man, though glorified, cannot possibly comprehend Gods infinite being." — *Of Mans knowledg of God.*[141]

"As he that makes a bridg of his own shadow, cannot but fall in the Water; so neither can he escape the Pit of Hell, who layes his own presumption . . . in the place of Gods promise. — *Of Gods promises.*[142]

"Vain men are readie to deem God like themselvs, imagining, that the things which please them, please him as well. . . . But if we will give God his due in *Religion*, we must have him both for the Object, and Appointer of our worship." — *Of Religion, and the differences, . . thereabout*, etc.[143]

"The *Scriptures* are not only authentique in themselvs, as having *the Spirit of God* for the Authour both of matter, and manner, and writing; but do also (as they say) *carrie their authoritie in their mouthes*, binding both to credence, and obedience, all whomsoever, unto whom they come, by what means soever. . . . When the *Law* written in mans heart by creation was almost worn out, God gave it written in tables of stone. But *life, and freedom from sin, and death*, being *impossible to the Law in that it was weak, through the flesh*, and all men by it (whether considered as written in tables of stone, or of the

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[140] *Defence*, etc., 139.
[141] *Observations Divine, and Morall*, etc., 2.
[142] *Ibid*, 12.
[143] *Ibid*, 38.

heart, by creation) *comming short of the glory of God;* it hath pleased the same God *by the Gospell* of his son Christ to provide a gracious remedy. . . . And other remedy besides, and beyond this, for the obteyning of salvation, God hath not revealed." — *Of the holy Scriptures.*[144]

"The ground in *Authoritie* is, in a sort personall: in *Reason*, reall. It is a kind of impeachment of *Authoritie*, to examine the *Reasons* of things: so is it a prejudice to *Reasons* work to call *Authoritie* to counsell; save onely when God speaks; for then the *Authoritie* justifies the *Reason;* and *Reason* bids receav the *Authoritie*, and *do all things* commanded *without reasonings*. . . . The testimonie of God in his Word . . . is therefore by us to be beleeved as true, because he so testifies in his Word.

"Divine *Authoritie* is to sway with us aboue all *Reason:* yea *Reason* teacheth that God is both to be beleeved and obeyed in the things for which man can see no *Reason.*" — *Of Authoritie, and Reason.*[145]

"To some things we assent by *Sense*, and naturall light: to some, for certain proof of *Reason:* but the assent of *Faith* rests upon the fidelitie of the speaker, and not upon the *Sense* or *Reason* of the thing, how agreeable to either soever it be. . . . Divine *Faith* assents to the revealed will of God, for the authoritie, and truth of God, which cannot deceav.

"This *Faith*, if it be not grounded upon Gods Word, is fancie: if it receav not the same Word in everie part, but where it lists, it is sawsinesse." — *Of Faith*, etc.[146]

In the light of such revelations of the ethical and theological position of Mr. Robinson's mind, in fairness, his tenderly eloquent words to the emigrating portion of the church should be interpreted. Singularly, the careful and accurate Bradford does not record this address. We are not informed on what particular occasion in connection with their leave-takings it was delivered.[147] For what we know of it we are

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[144] *Ibid*, 55, 64.

[145] *Ibid*, 65.

[146] *Ibid*, 73, 77.

[147] Bradford [58] says: "being ready to departe, they had a day of solleme humiliation, their pastor taking his texte from Ezra, viii: 21. *And ther at ye river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance* [Genevan version]. Upon which he spent a good parte of y^e^ day very profitably, and suitable to their presente occasion." Winslow does not intimate whether the counsels which he recalls formed a part of that sermon, or not. In the absence of all external evidence, there seems to be a fair internal probability that it might have been so. Cotton Mather [*Magnalia*, i: 14] describes the address vaguely as "at their parting from him [Robinson] in Holland," and puts Winslow's version into the first person, as if a verbatim report. Neal [*Hist. Puritans*, i: 476; *Hist. N. Eng.*, i: 78] declares the address to have formed the conclusion of the Fast-day discourse, and mainly follows Mather in the language. Belknap [*Amer. Biog.*, ii: 172] does the same. Steele [*Chief of the Pilgrims*, 208] copies Winslow's version, but affirms the connection of the "address" with the fast sermon. Dr. Sprague [*Annals of Amer. Pulpit*, i: 4], Mr. Barry [*Hist. Mass.*, i: 76], and Dr. Felt [*Eccl. Hist. of N. Eng.*, i: 37], do likewise. Mr. Ban-

indebted to some account which Edward Winslow, more than twenty-five years after, inserted in a communication which he addressed to the Earl of Warwick and the Commissioners of the Plantations, and which he printed in 1646, under the suggestive title of *Hypocrisie Vnmasked*, in reply to charges which Samuel Gorton had made against the colonies. He does not pretend to give the whole address, nor even the exact language of any part. His reminiscence of it was this:

"In the next place, for the wholsome counsell Mr. *Robinson* gave that part of the Church whereof he was Pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great worke of Plantation in *New England*, amongst other wholsome Instructions and Exhortations, hee used these expressions, or to the same purpose; We are now ere long[148] to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again: but whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed Angels, to follow him no further then he followed Christ. And if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministery: For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewaile the state and condition of the Reformed churches, who were come to a period in Religion, and would goe no further then the instruments of their Reformation: As for example, the *Lutherans* they could not be drawne to goe beyond what *Luther* saw, for whatever part of Gods will he had further imparted and revealed to *Calvin*, they will rather die then embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the *Calvinists*, they stick where he left them: A misery much to bee lamented; For though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them: And were they now living, saith hee, they would bee as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our Church-Covenant (at least that part of it) whereby wee promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word: but withall exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth, before we received it; For, saith he, *It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darknesse, and that full perfection of knowledge should breake forth at once.*

"Another thing hee commended to us, was, that wee should use all meanes

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croft [*Hist. U. S.*, i: 3] is non-committal. Mr. Masson [*Life of Milton*, etc., i: 379] describes the address as given at Delfs-haven. Mr. Punchard [*Hist. Cong.*] says nothing about the address. Prince [*N. E. Chron.*, 89], Dr. Palfrey [*Hist. N. E.*, i: 156], and Dr. Bacon [*Genesis N. E. Churches*, 392] state the facts as they were.

[148] May not this "ere long" imply a date previous to the actual Delfs-haven parting; so that we may more naturally connect the occasion with the fast, than the embarkation?

to avoid and shake off the name of *Brownist*, being a meer nick-name and brand to make Religion odious, and the professors of it [odious] to the Christian world; and to that end, said hee, I should be glad if some godly Minister would goe over with you, or come to you, before my comming; For, said hee, there will bee no difference between the unconformable [Nonconformist] Ministers and you, when they come to the practise of the Ordinances out of the Kingdome: And so advised us by all meanes to endeavour to close with the godly party of the Kingdome of *England*, and rather to study union then division; *viz.* how neare we might possibly, without sin close with them, then in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loath to take another Pastor or Teacher, saith hee, for that flock that hath two shepheards is not indangered, but secured by it.

"Many other things there were of great and weighty consequence which he commended to us, but these things I thought good to relate, at the request of some well-willers to the peace and good agreement of the godly, (so distracted at present about the settling of Church-government in the Kingdom of *England*) that so both sides may truly see what this poor despised Church of Christ now at *New-Plymouth* in *New-England*, but formerly at *Leyden* in *Holland*, was and is; how far they were and still are from separation from the Churches of *Christ*, especially those that are Reformed." [149]

The first thing to be considered for the fair interpretation of this "wholsome counsell" is the purpose for which, after a quarter of a century, it was recalled and such reference to it thus made. It has its place neither in annals, nor in a history, nor a memoir, but in an argument. The general purpose of Mr. Winslow in the *Briefe Narration* which concludes his plea, was that of refuting three charges which, hē says, were often brought against the New England settlers; viz.: (1) that a division or disagreement in the church at Leyden was the cause of the original colonization of Plymouth; (2) that "the Church of Plymouth, which went first from Leyden, were Schismaticks, Brownists, rigid Separatists, &c., having Mr. Robinson for their Pastor, who made, and to the last professed separation from other the Churches of Christ; and the rest of the Churches of New England holding communion with that church, are to bee reputed such as they are;" [150] (3) that the New Englanders would not suffer any that differed from them, though by never so little, to reside among them, etc.

In answering the first, he takes up nearly five quarto pages

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[149] *Hypocrisie Vnmasked*, etc., 97, 98. | [150] *Ibid*, 93.

in the denial of its truth, and the affirmation of the remarkable unanimity and cordial affection which, on the contrary, characterized the church; so that "the foundation of our *New-England* Plantations was not laid upon Schisme, division, or Separation, but upon love, peace and holinesse; yea, such love and mutuall care of the Church of *Leyden* for the spreading of the Gospel, the welfare of each other, and their posterities to succeeding generations, as is seldome found on earth."[151]

To the second charge — of the rigid Separatist and schismatical character of the Leyden Church and its pastor — four replies are made. (1) As to Mr. Robinson himself, Winslow says he lived three years under his ministry, and that his teaching was always against separation from the Reformed churches, while urging great caution in separating from any church: "that till Christ the Lord departed wholly from it, man ought not to leave it, onely to bear witnesse against the corruption that was in it;" and that, as to the Church of England, "hee allowed hearing the godly Ministers preach and pray in the publick Assemblies; yea, hee allowed private communion not onely with them, but all that were faithfull in Christ Jesus in the Kingdome, and elsewhere upon all occasions;" that he honored their godliness; that "his spirit cleaved unto them," and that it was no small motive with him toward the New England emigration, that it would enable his people not only to continue English, but to "have and maintain such sweet communion with the godly of that Nation." He says further:

"Tis true, I confesse he was more rigid in his course and way at first, then towards his latter end; for his study was peace and union so far as might agree with faith and a good conscience; and for schism and division, there was nothing in the world more hatefull to him: But for the government of the Church of *England*, as it was in the Episcopall way, the Liturgy and stinted prayers of the Church then; yea, the constitution of it as Nationall, and so consequently the corrupt communion of the unworthy with the worthy receivers of the Lords Supper, these things were never approved of him, but witnessed against to his death, and are by the Church over which he was to this day."[152]

(2) He refers to Mr. Robinson's *Apology*, which, he says, has

[151] *Ibid*, 92.

[152] *Ibid*, 93.

been published both in Latin and English, and is "easie to bee had," in further support of the same position.

(3) He declares that the Leyden church, so far from the intense and bitter Separatism charged upon it, was always in the habit of occasional communion with the Reformed Churches from whom yet it differed in some particulars; and fortifies his statement by a number of specific instances where this had occurred with the approval of the body.[153]

(4) His last and culminating argument in proof of the liberal character of the polity enjoined by Mr. Robinson upon the Church at Leyden, and practiced by them, is that "Farewell Address," the precise significance of which is now under consideration. To interpret it as referring to theological doctrine, is to empty it of all relevance to the logic in which it has its place. On the other hand, to understand it as referring primarily and especially to church government, is to make it an effective link in the chain of reasoning. When Robinson was speaking, the order of his church, so far as its modern history was concerned, could by no possibility have been dated back more than two-score years, while in the public eye it had hardly half that age. It was still indefinite and unadjusted, in many of its important particulars. Browne, Barrowe, Johnson, Ainsworth and he himself, each had held some of its main features in different combinations, while Cartwright and his Nonconformist successors in England, had been pushing the rival claims of State-church Presbyterianism to be the system for which the godly world waited and fainted. It was yet far short of a century since Luther had completed the adjustment of his reformed church government of Superintendents

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153 He says John Jenny and his family, members with them, communed often with the Dutch "without any offence;" as also "any that had occasion to travell into any other part of the Netherlands, they daily did the like." He says Moses Symonson and Cuthbert Cuthbertson, being members of the Dutch Reformed Churches, and going over to New England, were admitted to church fellowship at Plymouth, and to have their children baptized by communion of churches; and that Samuel Terry, the wife of Francis Cooke, and Philip Delano — all Walloons — had been received to the communion of the church at Plymouth by virtue of its communion with the French churches; the latter having been received also to the communion of Mr. Partridge's church in Duxbury. He adds that Mr. Robinson offered to a visiting Scotch minister the communion of the Leyden church, although the man scrupled at receiving it, "in regard of the opinion" of the English churches — a case to which we have made previous reference. *Ibid*, 95-97.

and Consistories; and hardly fifty years since Calvin had perfected his ecclesiastical aristocracy at Geneva. The followers of each held sturdily on their own separate way. While differing in minor points, all were in theology essentially one; but in the theory of the true methods of church life, they differed as widely and zealously from each other as they did from the church establishment of England, and as they all together did from the Church of Rome.

Now — urged Mr. Robinson — this discord is to be bewailed. It is not to be supposed that, so soon after the Christian mind of many nations has been turned toward the need of ecclesiastical reform, the Lord should so have revealed, either to Lutheran, Calvinist, Nonconformist or Separatist, His ultimate and perfect will with regard to the form of His church on earth, as to make a final end of the matter. More light on these questions of Bishops and Elders and Synods and Presbyteries, must be expected to break forth, as, guided by Providence and experience, humble piety shall further interpret the Word. No faithful Christian will close his mind against that light, because good men who are gone have died without the sight. Remember that in your church covenant you have promised to walk according to your best endeavor, "in all his wayes *to be made known*," the Lord assisting; and follow me in what I have said in my many writings upon Separatism, and its duties and responsibilities, no further — I adjure you — than I shall seem to you to have followed Christ. Let no man's name come in to divide you from those who are essentially one with you in church affairs, for when you and the devout Nonconformists of England shall find yourselves together, with the great and wide sea between you both and the Bishops, if you but cherish the desire and spirit of union, and not of separation, you will discover yourselves to be so nearly one that "there will bee no difference" between you.

Such a rendering of the pastor's language gives sense and force to this culminating clause of Winslow's reasoning, and strongly helps toward his conclusion "how far they were, and still are, from separation from the Churches of Christ, especially those that are Reformed." And — taken in connection

with the facts: that no theological difference, or discussion, was then abroad in the circles which his language naturally touched, of a character to explain or justify it; that he himself was, in his theology, a satisfied and ardent Calvinist, to the extent of warmly defending a limited atonement;[154] that he fully shared the fond conviction of the Synod of Dort that the perfect symbol of the faith, to endure unchanged, since God and Christ and the Bible and man abide through the ages in essence the same, had been reached in its deliverance; and that all the fundamental principles of his faith were as far removed from those of modern rationalism as the east is from the west — it becomes impossible to entertain a reasonable doubt that simple justice at once to John Robinson, and to the truth, exacts a conclusion which makes polity, and not dogma, the key-note of this still noble farewell.

I am quite aware that by as much as I may have succeeded in establishing this proposition, by so much I have surely pulled down the pastor of the Pilgrims from that high pedestal whereon the late generations — and more especially the heterodox among them — have delighted to exalt him as the apostle of a thought so progressive as to be quite out of sight of his own times, and the prophet of a liberalism having unlimited capacity to "embrace further light."

John Robinson needs no such spurious renown. His honest soul would abhor it. "When a man speakes against his knowledg, his own heart tels his tongue it *lyeth;*" . . . "neyther doth the goodnes of the meaning, though never so good, excuse the evill of the doing, when as a *ly* is told,"[155] were the ethics by which he would judge this judgment; and very emphatic was he that good men should make it "their first and greatest care," that "their *appearances* be not above their existences; and that they make shew of no more then they have."[156]

That he was a good man, whose lustrous character was dimmed by no stain of indiscretion, and roughened by no

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[154] "I here acknowledge, that the death of Christ (being *God*) is in it selfe sufficient for all, and every person in the world; and so might haue been an effectuall price for all, if it had pleased the Father, and him so to haue ordained. But that it was the Fathers purpose in giving his Son, or his in giving himself to the death, to pay the price of the sins of the whole world, and of every particular person therein, and to satisfy Gods justice for the same, we deny, and they in vaine go about to prov." *Defence of Doc.*, etc., 59.

[155] *Observations*, etc., 93.

[156] *Ibid*, 233.

hardness of spirit; who forsook all to follow what to him was Christ; who had large faculties and used them, at his best discretion, well for God and for his fellows; and who deserves the world's grateful and unqualified respect, no faithful student of his life and writings will deny. "He that walketh with the wise shall be wise," says the wise man, and John Robinson had remarkable associates. Steele said of Lady Hastings that "to love her was a liberal education," and, while we do not know William Brewster, and William Bradford, and John Carver, and Samuel Fuller, and their associates in the Leyden company, as we wish we knew them; we are yet able to conclude that to teach and love and lead such men into the path of great enterprise, could be possible to no small soul. Piety, learning, energy, catholicity, and faith in the future, in the first generation of the seventeenth century, would have saved any man from mediocrity. The final judgment of devout scholars must decide that — even without the false laurels of the misinterpretation of his "Farewell Address" — they made John Robinson great.

LECTURE VIII.

Early New England Congregationalism.

Lord, as silver purified,
Thou hast with affliction tried;
Thou hast driven into the net,
Burdens on our shoulders set.
Trod on by their horses hooves —
Theirs whom pity never moves —
We through fire, with flames embraced,
We through raging floods have passed
Yet by Thy conducting hand
Brought into a wealthy land!

Ps. lxvi. · *George Sandys* (1636).

Let vs now commend the famous men, and our fathers, of whom we are begotten.

The Lord hath gotten great glory by them, and that through his great power from the beginning.

They haue borne rule in their kingdomes, and were renowmed for their power, and were wise in counsell, and declared prophecies.

They gouerned the people by counsell, and by the knowledge of learning meete for the people, in whose doctrine were wise sentences.

Ecclesiasticus [*Genevan Version*], *xliv: 1–4.*

For the Lordes portion is his people: Jackob is the lot of his inheritance.

He found him in the land of the wildernes, in a waste, and roaring wildernesse: he led him about, hee taught him, and kept him as the apple of his eie.

As an Eagle stereth vp her nest, flootereth ouer her birdes, stretcheth out her wings, taketh them, and beareth them on her wings,

So the Lorde alone ledde him, and there was no strange god with him.

He carried him vp to the hie places of the earth, that he might eate the fruites of the fields, and he caused him to sucke hony out of the stone, and oyle out of the hard rocke:

Butter of kine, and milke of sheepe with fat of the lambes, and rammes fed in Bashan, and goates with the fatte of the graines of wheate, and the redde licour of the grape hast thou drunke.

Deuteronomie [*Genevan Version*], *xxxii: 9–14.*

Early New England Congregationalism.

THE ecclesiastical beginnings of New England were mainly of a tentative and provisional character. For eight years and seven months the Leyden-Plymouth Church stood alone. Ten years after the Mayflower came to her moorings inside of the Gurnet Point, there were but five Congregational churches on the continent,[1] and twenty years after there were but thirty-five.[2]

Brewster and his company remained faithful to the extremely mild type of Barrowism in which Robinson had trained them,

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1 (1) Plymouth; (2) Salem, constituted 6 August, 1629; (3) Dorchester, June, 1630; (4) First Church, Boston, 30 July, 1630; (5) Watertown, 30 July, 1630.

2 (6) Roxbury, July, 1632; (7) Lynn, 1632; (8) Duxbury, 1632; (9) Marshfield, 1632; (10) Charlestown, 2 November, 1632; (11) Cambridge, 11 October, 1633; (12) Ipswich, 1634; (13) Scituate, 1634; (14) Newbury, 1635; (15) Weymouth, July, 1635; (16) Hingham, September, 1635; (17) Cambridge, 1 February, 1636; (18) Concord, 5 July, 1636; (19) Dorchester, 23 August, 1636; (20) Springfield, 1637; (21) Taunton, 1637; (22) Sandwich, 1638; (23) Salisbury, 1638; (24) Dedham, 8 November, 1638; (25) Hampton (N. H.), 1638; (26) Dover (N. H.), 1638; (27) Exeter (N. H.), 1638; (28) New Haven (Conn.), 22 August, 1639; (29) Milford (Conn.), 22 August, 1639; (30) Quincy, 17 September, 1639; (31) Yarmouth, 1639; (32) Scituate, 1639; (33) Rowley, 3 December, 1639; (34) Sudbury, August, 1640; (35) Stratford (Conn.), 1640.

Of these the First Dorchester Church had removed, in 1635, to Windsor, Conn., the First Cambridge, in June, 1636, to Hartford, Conn., and the Scituate Church (which in 1616 had been formed in London), in 1639, to Barnstable.

but the fact that, providentially, they had but one Elder, and, for nearly or quite ten years, no present Pastor,[3] thrust them upon the practical development of a church government of the people, by the people, and for the people, to a degree beyond their philosophy, and beyond their original intent; and having so long the field entirely to themselves, they were undisturbed from without in this their trend.

The company which came over to Salem in 1629 was Nonconformist, but not Separatist, in its tastes and intentions. So rigid, in fact, on this point was the policy of the New England Company, that the Rev. Ralph Smith, who afterward became the first Pastor on this side of the sea of the Church at Plymouth, having desired passage in the ships with the Salem people, and his request having been granted, and it afterward coming to the knowledge of the Governor and Council of the Company, that his views inclined toward Separatism, or, as they phrased it, that he had a "difference of judgm^{t} in some things from o^{r} ministers," it was at first thought well to forbid his coming, but afterward judged better to let him come, with the order that "vnless hee wilbe conformable to o^{r} governm^{t}, yo^{w} suffer him not to remaine wthin the limitts of o^{r} graunt."[4] Higginson and Skelton fancied on leaving England that they were coming over to be and to do some wiser and better third thing than to be like the Church of England on the one hand, or like the Leyden men on the other; as the former is said to have phrased it:[5]

"We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewel Babylon! Farewel Rome! But we will say, Farewel Dear

3 The theory was that the company remaining, as was supposed and intended temporarily, at Leyden, and the emigrants under Brewster, should constitute but a single church, of all of which Robinson remained Pastor; so that no letters should be required for those who should go or return; yet so as that each portion should be "an absolute church of them selves," competent for all church work. Bradford, *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 42.

4 Letter of Gov. Cradock, and the Deputy of the New Eng. Co., to Gov. Endecott, *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, i: 390.

5 These words are given as those of Higginson by Cotton Mather, in the *Magnalia* [Book iii, 74]. Dr. Palfrey [*Hist. New Eng.*, i: 297] casts a doubt on the exactness of the narrative, mainly because Mather was writing, in 1697, words said to have been uttered on the other side of the water in 1629. But Judge White [*New England Congregationalism*, etc. (1861), 4], referring to the fact that John Higginson aided Mather in his book, and prefixed to it his attestation of its truthfulness, concludes that Mather's statement as to the First Church of Salem and its founders "is entitled to the same degree of credit as if it had been recorded by Mr. Higginson himself." Judge White seems to have the reason of the case.

England! Farewel the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the Corruptions in it: But we go to practise the positive Part of Church Reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America."

When the wilderness was reached, however, and the intensely practical question as to what should be done in order to effect and perfect church organization pressed for decision, there seemed to be but one answer that could naturally be given. Every obstruction being taken out of the way, thousands of miles of weary ocean on the one hand separating them from all the constraint of the past, and on the other freeing them from much possibility of persecution; what had they but the Bible for their guide, and why should they not walk in simplicity and godly sincerity along the simple paths which it outlined before their waiting feet? Only one obstacle seems to have presented itself, and that was a bitter prejudice against the "Brownism" of that way which they understood to have been already established at Plymouth — breeding a great unwillingness to do anything which should even look like alliance with that.

We have already seen that John Robinson had led his church to a position substantially the same with that which the Salem colonists occupied.

It so happened, moreover, that the advance guard of settlers at Salem, under Endecott, were suffering severely with the scurvy and with an infectious fever, and sent to Plymouth for the help of Doctor Samuel Fuller, who went to their relief, and was of great service to them, as it would seem, a few weeks before the arrival of the ships with the ministers, as well as after that date.[6] Fuller was one of the two Leyden Deacons of the church, and fully competent to administer to mental and spiritual, as well as bodily ailments; and he improved his opportunity to satisfy Endecott in regard to whatever was distinctive in their views, and lead him to acknowledge their general position as a church as "being farr from y^e^ commone reporte that hath been spread of you touching

[6] Letter from Gov. Endecott to Gov. Brad- | ford, *Letter Book*, 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii: 66.

that perticuler."[7] How much was due to this influence we cannot decide. But within about a month after the ships had arrived, we find the Salem company uniting to form a church by covenant, and electing and ordaining their Pastor and Teacher — regardless of the fact that both had received the established ordination in the father-land — and, more than all, "notice was given of their intended proceedings to the church at New Plymouth, that so they might have their approbation and concurrence, if not their direction and assisttance, in a matter of that nature, wherein themselves had been but little before exercised."[8] The Plymouth Church sent Governor Bradford and others as delegates, but they going "by Sea, were hindred by cross winds that they could not be there at the beginning of the day [6–16 August, 1629], but they came into the Assembly afterward, and gave them *the right hand of fellowship*, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success unto such good beginnings."[9]

When Winthrop's company were leaving England, in the spring of 1630, they took the pains to publish in London "The hvmble Reqvest of his Majesties loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company late gone for New England; to the rest of their Brethren in and of the Church of England; for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of suspicions, and misconstructions of their Intentions;" in which they beg their fathers and brethren to take notice:

"of the principals and body of our Company, as those who esteem it our honour to call the *Church* of *England* from whence wee rise, our deare mother; and cannot part from our native countrie where she specially resideth, without much sadnes of heart and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, wee have received in her bosome, and suckt it from her breasts."

They go on to say: "Wee leave it not therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith wee were nourished there;" they style themselves "a weake colony from yourselves;" and beg faithful remembrances in their prayers, "for a church springing out of your owne bowels;" reciprocally promising that their

7 Letter in *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 264.

8 Hubbard's General Hist. New Eng. 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v: 119.

9 N. Morton, *New Englands Memoriall: or, A brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God manifested to the Planters of New-England*, etc. (ed. 1669), 75.

heads and hearts shall be "as fountaines of tears" for "the everlasting welfare" of the church at home, when they shall be in their "poore cottages in the wildernesse."[10] The Rev. George Phillips was one of the signers of this "Humble Request,"[11] and he acted as a chaplain, preaching twice on Sunday and catechising on board the *Arbella* during the voyage over;[12] and yet, within sixteen days after his landing, we find him privately telling Deacon Doctor Fuller, who had been again summoned from Plymouth to attend the sick among these new comers, that "if they will have him stand minister, by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he will leave them;"[13] and Winthrop — another signer — hoping that the Plymouth Church will "not be wanting in helping them" toward their necessary church organization;[14] and four weeks later we find Fuller, who had been at Mattapan, letting blood and talking polity till he was weary,[15] writing from Salem to Bradford and Brewster that, after counseling with Winslow, Allerton and himself, and with the Salem brethren, Winthrop's company had decided to form a church by covenant on the next Friday, and that that company do "earnestly entreat that the church at Plymouth would set apart the same day," for fraternal prayers that God would "establish and direct them in his ways."[16] And seven days thereafter we find Fuller again writing Bradford, giving account of the formation of the church — now the First Church in Boston — and adding:[17]

"here are divers honest christians that are desirous to see us [of Plymouth]; some out of love, which they bear to us, and the good persuasion they have of us; others to see whether we be so evil, as they have heard of us. We have a name of love and holiness to God and his saints; the Lord make us answerable, and that it may be more than a name, or else it will do us no good."

Fuller, in one of these letters, adds the curious information that "one Mr. Cottington, a Boston man" [Mr. William Coddington, another signer of the "Humble Request[18]], told him that Mr. Cotton's charge was "that they should take advice of

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[10] T. Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, etc., i: 431.

[11] R. C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, etc., ii: 12.

[12] *Ibid*, ii: 17.

[13] Letter of Fuller to Gov. Bradford, *Letter Book, 1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii: 74.

[14] *Ibid*, iii: 75.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Ibid*, iii: 76.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, etc., ii: 12.

them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them;" to which he appends his own judgment that Endecott is "a second Barrow."[19] Rathband said, in 1644, that "Mr. W.,[20] an eminent man of the Church at *Plimmoth*," told him "that the rest of the Churches in *New Eng.* came at first to them at *Plimmoth* to crave their direction in Church courses, and made them their pattern."[21]

How all this looked at the time to unsympathizing eyes, both here and in England, we are assisted to know. Nathaniel Morton tells us that two brothers of the name of Brown, "the one being a Lawyer and the other a Merchant, both of them amongst the number of the first Patentees, men of Estates, and men of Parts and port in the place," observing that the order of things was different from that at home, gathered a company by themselves, and used the Book of Common Prayer, with such as resorted thither.[22]

"The Governour Mr. *Endicot* taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he convented the two Brothers before him. They accused the Ministers *as departing from the Orders of the Church of England, that they were Separatists, and would be Anabaptists, etc., but, for themselves, they would hold to the Orders of the Church of England.* The Ministers answered for themselves, *They were neither* Separatists *nor* Anabaptists; *they did not separate from the Church of* England, *nor from the Ordinances of God there, but onely from the Corruptions and Disorders there;* and *that they came away from the Common-Prayer and Ceremonies, and had suffered much for their Non-Conformity in their Native Land, and therefore being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful Corruptions in the Worship of God.* The Governour and Council, and the generality of the people, did well approve of the Ministers Answer."

In letters from the home authorities of date some months later, we find alarm expressed at "some innovacions attempted by yo^{w}," with the intimation that they "vtterly disallowe any such passages," and entreat them to look back upon their "miscarriage wth repentance;" while they add that they take "leave to think that it is possible some vndigested councells haue too sodainely bin put in execucion w^{ch} may haue ill con-

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[19] *1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii: 75.

[20] Edward Winslow, or Roger Williams?

[21] W. Rathband, *Briefe Narration of some Church Courses held in . . . the Churches lately erected in N. Eng.*, etc., 1.

[22] *New Englands Memoriall*, 76.

struccion w^th^ the state heere, and make vs obnoxious to any adversary."[23] The plain English of all which was that the patentees in England were surprised and offended that the colonists should so suddenly and so widely have departed from the church as by law established; and were apprehensive of the royal displeasure therefor, and of consequent harm to the secular interests they were seeking to promote.

In the formation of churches, for a time, each company acted its own preference, so that amid general unity there was slight variety. For example, when the Pigsgusset or Watertown Church was gathered and Mr. Phillips ordained,[24] it would seem that hands were laid on him, as ignoring his former ordination in England;[25] but when, less than a month after,[26] Wilson was ordained at Charlestown over the Boston Church, that ceremony was performed, but "with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."[27]

We get further light upon the curious change which the New England air wrought upon some of the ministers, from a letter written out of England by John Cotton — soon to become a great light of Congregationalism in the Colony — to Rev. Mr. Skelton, of Salem,[28] when there had just been time for the news of what had been done here to reach father-land. It complains because Skelton had denied the Lord's Supper to Winthrop, Johnson, Dudley and Coddington, and had refused to baptize Coddington's child, because, although they were in good standing in the Church of England, they had not yet become members of any particular "Reformed Church." Cotton was "not a little troubled." And it "added wonder to my [his] grief," that Skelton had welcomed to communion one who was a member of Mr. Lathrop's Separatist congregation in Southwark, and baptized *his* child. Cotton says: "You went hence of another judgment, and I am afraid your change hath sprung from New Plymouth men, etc."[29]

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23 Letters from the Gov. & Company, etc. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, i: 407, 408.

24 30 July–9 August, 1630.

25 J. B. Felt, *Eccl. Hist. N. Eng.*, i: 138, 141; *Magnalia*, iii: 83.

26 27 August–6 September, 1630.

27 Winthrop, *Hist. N. Eng.*, i: 39; *Felt*, i: 141.

28 2–12 October, 1630.

29 Felt, *Eccl. Hist. N. Eng.*, i: 143.

When, in the spring of 1631, John Wilson embarked for home, to bring over his wife and children, he advised his church to listen in his absence to the lay preaching — they called it prophesying — of Winthrop, Dudley and Nowell, their chiefest three members.[30]

On the 18th–28th May, 1631, the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony adopted a regulation which came to have considerable influence upon ecclesiastical affairs, and which has been the subject of no little misconception and misrepresentation. Its terms were these:[31]

"to the end the body of the commons may be p.serued of honest & good men, it was likewise ordered and agreed that for time to come *noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of this body polliticke, but such as are members of some of the churches within the lymitts of the same.*"

It has been usual to assume that the Colony was then the State of Massachusetts, and this order equivalent to the declaration that no man should be a voter therein, who was not first a church-member. The fact was that Massachusetts was then a little private trading corporation, so to speak, camping out upon land which it had received by grant; trying the experiment whether a permanent settlement could be effected, and the seeds of a plantation successfully germinated. There was room enough outside for other people, and they simply wished to be by themselves, left in peace to work out their own experiment; and they had as much right, and the same right, to do what they did, as a Lodge of Freemasons going on an excursion into the Adirondack woods would have to say, distinctly, that "tickets will be issued to none but members of the Order, their families and invited guests" — of which nobody but a fool would complain. The corporation must fix some condition of membership. As situated, nothing seemed to them more natural or suitable than this.[32]

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[30] Winthrop, *Hist. N. Eng.*, i: 60.

[31] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, i: 87.

[32] "By charter from the English crown, the land was theirs as against all other civilized people, and they had a right to choose according to their own rules the associates who should help them to occupy and govern it. Exercising this right, they determined that magistracy and citizenship should belong only to Christian men, ascertained to be such by the best test which they knew how to apply. They established a kind of aristocracy hitherto unknown. Not birth, nor wealth, nor learning, nor skill in war, was to confer political power; but personal character — goodness of the highest type — goodness of

Nearly four years afterward another regulation was adopted, the logical consequence of that already made — for if church membership were to be the prerequisite to membership of the Company, then surely the Company must have a vital interest in knowing the quality of the churches — to the effect that no churches were to be recognized by, and none of their members were to be admitted to the freedom of, the corporation, without they acquainted the magistrates, as well as the Elders of the churches already existing, with their intention of being organized, and gained their approbation thereto.[33] When, by and by, the gristle of this trading association had matured and hardened into the bone and muscle of a political corporation, there were developed complications of Church and State — whose effects in the Parish system we have not yet ceased to have cause to lament — which were due to these well-meant blunders of our fathers.

By 1633 the processes of the New England way would seem

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that purity and force which only the faith of Jesus Christ is competent to create.

"The conception, if a delusive and impracticable, was a noble one. Nothing better can be imagined for the welfare of a country than that it shall be ruled on Christian principles; in other words, that its rulers shall be Christian men — men of disinterestedness and integrity of the choicest quality that the world knows — men whose fear of God exalts them above every other fear, and whose controlling love of God and of man consecrates them to the most generous aims. The conclusive objection to the scheme is one which experience had not yet revealed, for the experiment was now first made.

. . . . . .

"They were in error in supposing that, by the application of a religious test, they could exclude all but good men from their counsels. They were not so far from the truth, when they expected, by the application of such a test, to shut out from their counsels the emissaries of Wentworth and Laud; and in their early weakness, nothing was more indispensable than this for their protection. They had lately set up a religious polity. The hopes and aims with which they had established it were of vital consequence to them. They knew that they could not maintain it, and the momentous interests, civil and religious, with which it seemed to them connected, should the council-chambers of their infant community admit the creatures of the English court and church." Dr. Palfrey, *Hist. N. Eng.*, i: 345, 347.

33 This order [3–13 March, 1635–6] was: "Forasmuch as it hath bene found by sad experience, that much trouble and disturbance hath happened both to the church & civill state by the officers & members of some churches, w^ch^ have bene gathered within the limitts of this jurisdiccion in an vndue manner, & not with such publique approbacion as were meete, it is therefore ordered that all p.sons are to take notice that this Court doeth not, nor will hereafter, approue of any such companyes of men as shall henceforthe ioyne in any pretended way of church fellowshipp, without they shall first acquainte the magistrates, & the elders of the great^r^ p.te of the churches in this jurisdiccion, with their intencions, & haue their approbacion herein. And ffurther, it is ordered, that noe p son, being a member of any churche which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbacion of the magistrates, and the greater p.te of the said churches, shalbe admitted to the ffreedome of this commonwealthe." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, i: 168.

to have become reasonably well settled, and we find John Cotton himself — he had largely changed his mind since he wrote to Skelton, inasmuch as he would not baptize in the ship the baby which was added to his family on the passage over, and which he named *Sea-born*, "(1) because they had no settled congregation there; (2) because a minister hath no power to give the seals but in his own congregation"[34] — ordained Teacher of the First Church in Boston, after this manner:[35]

"First, he was chosen by all the congregation testifying their consent by erection of hands. Then Mr. Wilson, the pastor, demanded of him if he did accept of that call? He paused, and then spake to this effect: that howsoever he knew himself unworthy and unsufficient for that place; yet, having observed all the passages of Gods Providence, (which he reckoned up in particular) in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the pastor and the two elders laid their hands upon his head, and the pastor prayed, and then, taking off their hands laid them on again, and, speaking to him by his name, they did thenceforth design him to the said office, in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and did thereby (as by a sign from God) indue him with the gifts fit for his office; and lastly did bless him. Then the neighboring ministers, which were present, did (at the pastor's motion) give him the right hands of fellowship, and the pastor made a stipulation between him and the congregation."

Two considerations made it wise that as soon as possible there should be some public statement of the New England way. One, for the satisfaction of inquirers and the confutation of slanderers in England; the other for the culture of some general common agreement at home. Robinson's lamented death in Holland robbed the Plymouth Colony of the inestimable benefit of his counsels here, and the whole New England movement of the clear exposition and cogent defence of the church-method by it accepted, which he would have been so well prepared to furnish. Nor was the place left vacant by him for many years filled by any person in the Old Colony able and willing to be the exponent and champion of the New England way.[36] So that it was left for the willing as well as

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34 Winthrop, *Hist. N. Eng.*, i: 131.

35 *Ibid*, i: 136.

36 Elder Brewster practically filled the place of Pastor as well as Teacher for nearly nine years, when Ralph Smith "exercised his gifts" until during 1636, when he "layed downe his place of ministrie, partly by his owne willingnes, as thinking it too heavie a burthen, and partly at the desire, and by ye perswasion of others." He was followed by John Rayner, who labored until, in 1654, he resigned, to be followed, three years after-

able men of the Bay to do the work. As early as 1634 — the year following that of his arrival — we find Mr. Cotton issuing the first of a long and valuable series of statements and discussions from his pen touching the general question of church life and order. It was entitled *Questions and Answers upon Church Government.* Its general tone is that common to all publications of the sort by the Separatists, teaching that the church is composed of congregations of faithful men, officered by Pastors, Teachers, Ruling Elders, Deacons and Widows. As to the questions at issue at Middelberg, Amsterdam and Leyden, it is made very clear that the Ruling Elders are to do the business of the church, and that one of the greatest privileges of the membership is that of "submission to all Gods Ordinances."[37]

The order of worship as herein suggested is (1) Prayer; (2) a Psalm; (3) to "read the Worde and with all Preaching to give the sense, and applying the use, in dispensing whereof the Ministers were wont to stand above all the people in a Pulpit of wood, and the Elders on both sides, while the People hearkened to them with Reverence and Attention;"[38] (4) if there be more prophets besides the Elders, they may then prophesy two or three, if time permit, the Elders calling to them if they have any word of exhortation to say on (and they may do this to members of other churches present); (5) any, young or old, (save only women) may ask questions "at the mouth of the Minister;" (6) the seals of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are administered; (7) they sing a Psalm; (8) collection is made for the support of the ministry, the need of poor saints, and the furthering of all outward service of the church; (9) the minister or any of the Prophets is "to dismisse the Assembly with a word of Blessing, offering Blessing unto the Lord, and puting a Blessing upon his People."[39]

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ward by John Cotton, Jr. Roger Williams preached at Plymouth for a time during Smith's ministry, and John Norton ministered there also "aboute a year" before he went to Ipswich, with the view on their part of his becoming Smith's successor. Felt, *Eccl. Hist. N. E.*, i: 149; Bradford, *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 263, 343, 351.

37 *A Treatise* (1) *of Faith;* (2) *Twelve Fundamentall Articles of Christian Religion;* (3) *A Doctrinall Conclusion;* (4) *Questions and Answers upon Church Government, etc., taken from written copies long since delivered by the late Rev. Mr. John Cotton, Teacher of the First Church in Boston in New England.* [These Questions and Answers are dated "25, 11 m. 1634;" probably they may not have been printed for some years afterward.] p. 24.

38 *Ibid*, 26.

39 *Ibid*, 26–28.

These *Questions and Answers* were issued, with additions, in 1643, which additions were mainly devoted to the statement of points touching upon the processes of church government. In these it is laid down that the royal government of the churches is in Christ, the stewardly or ministerial in the churches themselves; that Christ has committed government partly to the body of the church, but principally to the Presbytery of Ruling Elders:—to the body power to choose and call her own officers and members, to send forth any upon service, and to inquire, hear and assist in the judgment of all public scandals; to the Presbytery power (1) to call the church together, (2) to deliver the counsel of God to it with all authority, (3) to prepare matters for its hearing, (4) to propound and order the assembly, (5) to administer ordination, (6) and censure, (7) and to dismiss the people in the name of the Lord.[40] The next question with its answer makes it very plain what kind of Congregationalism this was which John Cotton was setting up in Boston seven generations ago:[41]

"*Qu. But hath not Christ committed some power of Government to every private Member of the Church?*

"*A.* Yes, verily, there is a power of edification which the Lord hath given to every Member of the Church, to exercise mutually one over another, to save some with compassion, others with feare, by a word of instruction, Admonition, Exhortation and Comfort."

One thing more will interest us in this, perhaps, oldest document which carries with it any authority, as shewing what the system of our fathers here was at its earliest elaboration by them, five years or more previous to the framing of the Cambridge Platform.[42]

"*Qu. Having seen what power of Government the Church hath received and exercised within it selfe: tell me now whether any Church hath power of government over another?*

"*Ans.* No church hath power of Government over another, but each of them hath chief power within it selfe, and all of them equall power one with another, every Church hath received alike the power of binding and loosing, opening and shutting the Kingdome of heaven. But one to another, all of them are Sisters, all of them *Sarahs*, all of them Queens, none an *Hagar*, none of them Concubines, but by their own corruption or usurpation of others;

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[40] J. Cotton, *The Doctrine of the Church*, etc. (1643), 8–10.

[41] *Ibid*, 10.

[42] *Ibid*, 11, 12.

finally, all of them are Candlesticks of the same precious mettall, and in the midst of them all Christ equally walketh.

"*Qu. But if one Church have no power of Government over another: what course then is there best to reform such corruptions as may arise in any Church, whether in Doctrine or practise?*

"*Ans.* The corruptions that are found in any Church do either infect part of the Church, or the whole body: if part only, then the part remaining sound may either convince and reform their Brethren themselves, if they be able, or if they be not able, they may at least prevaile so farre with them, as to send for light from some other Church, as they of *Antioch* did to the Church of *Hierusalem:* But if the corruptions found in a Church do infect the whole body, yet still there is hope in *Israel* concerning this. For though one Church hath not power of Government over another, as subordinate to them: yet every Church hath equall power one with another, as coordinate with them. And therfore look what power one Brother hath over another in the same Church, the same power hath one Church over another in Brotherly communion. As, if one Church shall heare of any offence in another, they may enquire the certainty of it, and therupon send letters and messengers to convince and admonish them of it. If the Church offending doe heare the Church admonishing, they haue gained their Brethren and their desire: if the Church heare them not, then that other Church may take one or two Churches mōe to assist them in the conviction of that sinne. If yet the Church heare them not, then upon due notice therof given, all the Churches thereabout may so meet together; and after judicious inquirie into the cause, may by the Word of God confute and condemne such errours in doctrine or practise, as are found offensive, to prevent the spreading either of the gangren of Heresie, or of the leprosie of sin. And if the Church offending shall not yet hearken to their Brethren, though the rest of the Churches have not power to deliver them to Satan, yet they have power to withdraw from them the right hand of fellowship, and no longer hold them in communion of Saints, till they approve their *repentance.*"

In 1643 was printed in London *An Answer of the Elders of the severall Chvrches in New-England unto Nine Positions sent over to them (By divers Reverend and Godly Ministers in England) to declare their Judgements therein. Written in the year 1639*, etc. One point of inquiry was whether the body of the church could excommunicate, though the Pastors, Elders and part of the church, were of another mind; to which it was answered, No: "that the power of Excommunication is not sealed in the Congregation, neither ought it to be in any of the Churches of the Lord Jesus, who ought not to carry matters by numbers of votes against God . . . but by strength of rule and reason according to God."[43] Another

[43] *Answer to nine Positions about Church | Government*, etc., 72.

point was thus answered: "We have no such indeliable character imprinted upon a Minister, that he must needs be so for ever, because he once was so: his ministery ceasing, the Minister ceaseth also."[44] And still another was replied to in this manner: "We deny that he [a minister] can so perform any ministeriall act to any other Church but his own; because his office extends no further then his call. For that solemn charge in *Acts xx: 28*, is not to feed all flocks, but that flock onely over which the holy Ghost hath made them over-seers."[45]

In this same year came out also a volume entitled *Church-Government and Church-Covenant discussed in an Answer of the Elders of the severall Churches in New-England to two and thirty Questions sent over to them by divers Ministers in England, to declare their judgments therein*, etc. This had been written four years before (1639) by Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, but had the general consent, as it would seem, of the Elders, in the Bay.[46] It becomes, therefore, of the greatest value as evidence of what the earliest Congregationalism of New England actually was. And it can only require a moment's consideration of the state of things contemporaneously existing in England, to make it clear why such questions should have been then sent over into this wilderness for answer. The 15th question was this:[47]

"*Whether do you give the exercise of all Church power of Government to the whole Church, or to the Presbiters thereof alone? and if to those, then we desire to know what act of Government, and Superior authority (properly so called) may the Presbiters doe, more then any other member may doe, or without the particular consent of the rest, wee crave to have those particular Acts mentioned: and how, and over whom in those Acts the Presbiters doe rule (in propriety of speaking) more then the rest of the Congregation doe?*"

We can get the gist of their answer from a very few of its paragraphs.[48]

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44 *Ibid*, 77.

45 *Ibid*, 78.

46 "There is a Book which bears the Title of, *An Answer of the Elders*, etc., printed in the year 1643. Of which Book my father [Richard] *Mather* was the Sole Author. And he wrote it in the Primitive Times of these Churches (*viz.* in the year 1639) as himself assured me. What he wrote was approved of by other Elders, especially by *Mr. Cotton*, unto whom he Communicated it." Increase Mather, *Order of the Gospel*, etc. (1700), 73.

47 *Answer of the Elders*, etc., 4.

48 *Ibid*, 47, 48, 57.

"Wee doe believe that Christ hath ordained that there should be a Presbytery or Eldership,[49] And that in every Church, whose worke is to teach and rule the Church by the Word and lawes of Christ, and unto whom so teaching and ruling all the people ought to be obedient and submit themselves. And therefore a Government meerly Popular or Democraticall (which Divines and Orthodox Writers doe so much condemne in *Morillius* and such like) is farre from the practice of these Churches, and we believe farre from the minde of Christ. . . .

"Neverthelesse a Government meerely Aristocratical, wherein the Church government is so in the hands of some *Elders*, as that the rest of the body are wholly excluded from entermedling by way of power therein, such a government we conceive also to be without Warrant of the Word, and likewise to be injurious to the people, as infringing that liberty which Christ hath given to them in choosing their owne Officers, in admitting of Members, and censuring of offendors, even Ministers themselves when they be such.

"We give the exercise of all Church power of government . . . neither all to the people excluding the Presbytery, nor all to the Presbytery excluding the People. For this were to make the government of the Church either meerly Democraticall, or meerly Aristocraticall, neither of which we believe it ought to be."

These Presbyters may preach, pray, administer the sacraments, order speech and silence of the people, put questions to vote, pronounce sentence of censure, receive penitents, and bless the people in the name of the Lord — which are acts of government belonging to their office, which "another member may not do without breach of Order and presuming above his place."[50]

As to what they may do without consent of the people, the answer is, nothing; because, when they do their duty, the people ought to consent to it, and "if any man should in such case willfully dissent, the Church ought to deale with such an one, for not consenting," or else "they shall all be guilty of the sinfull dissent of such an one."[51]

And, finally, they rule more than the rest of the congregation: "even as acting is more then consenting, and as it is more to be a Steward over the House then one of the household, or to be a guide or leader, then to be guided or led."[52]

The 17th question was this:[53]

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49 I group here the proof-texts, which in the original are inserted in their places in the answer, viz.: I Tim. iv: 14; Tit. i: 5; Acts xiv: 23; I Cor. xii: 28; I Tim. v: 17; Heb. xiii: 17.

50 *Ibid*, 57.

51 *Ibid*, 58.

52 *Ibid*, 60.

53 *Ibid*, 4.

"*Whether in Voting doe the Major part alwayes, or at any time, carry Ecclesiasticall matters with you, or in what things doth it, in what not?*"

To which it was replied that:

"Church matters ought not to be determined meerly by multitude or plurality of Votes, but by rules from the word of Christ, whose will (and not the will either of the Major or Minor part of men) is the onely rule and Law for Churches."

They assume that there will be unanimous assent to the judgment of the Elders, and the rule requires it. In case, however, of a divided vote — "through the corruptions & distempers of men" — their course was this:[54]

"If the Elders and Major part of the Church consent in one conclusion, yet if any brother dissent, he is patiently heard, and his alledgements of Scripture or good reasons are duely weighed: If it appeare that his judgement is according to the rule, the whole Church will readily yeeld, though before they were otherwise minded. But if it appeare they who dissent from the Major part are factiously or partially carried,[55] the rest labour to convince them of their error by the rule. If they yeeld, the consent of all comfortably concurreth in the matter; if they still continue obstinate, they are admonished, and so standing under censure, their vote is nullified.[56] If they without obstinate opposition of the rest, doe dissent still, yet referre the matter to the judgement of the Major part of the body, they are not wont to proceed to sentence (if the matter be weighty, as in Excommunication) till the reasons on both sides have bin duly pondered, and all brotherly means have been used for mutuall information and conviction. If the difference still continue the sentence (if the matter be weighty) is still demurred, even till other Churches have beene consulted with, who in such a case will send their Elders to communicate their apprehensions and light, which they do not *pro imperio*, binding the Church to rest in their dictates, but by propounding their grounds from the Scriptures. These Courses with Gods presence and blessing (which usually accompanieth his Ordinance) faithfully taken and followed, will prevaile either to settle one unanimous consent in the thing, or at least to preserve peace in the Church by the dissentors submission to the judgement of the Major part, though they see not light sufficient to warrant them to act in the businesse."

It is impossible to mistake this. Stripped of its verdant festoonings of fine and pleasant language, it is the intense Barrowism of Francis Johnson, with the single redeeming trait that it welcomes the fraternal advice of sister churches as an aid in all important decisions, and troublesome passages.

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54 *Answer of the Elders*, etc., 60–62.

55 Of course, in the judgment of that Major part.

56 See Mr. Cotton's statement of this, *Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England*, etc., 95.

Ainsworth and Robinson may have confidently expected that in all cases of difference of judgment, God would lead all at last to one conclusion; but I know of no evidence that they made provision for manufacturing unity among the democracy of the membership, to the order of the aristocracy of the Elders; while they required "the people of faith" to "give their assent" only "to their Elders *holy and lawfull* administration,"[57] leaving it to the people to judge whether it were "holy and lawfull," or not. Our fathers laid it down — and with perfect truth — that the will of Christ, and not the will of the major or minor part of a church, ought to govern that church. But somebody must interpret that will. And they quietly assumed that Christ would reveal His will to the Elders, but would not reveal it to the church-members; so that when there arose a difference of opinion as to what the Master's will might be touching any particular matter, the judgment of the Elders, rather than the judgment even of a majority of the membership, must be taken as conclusive. To all intents and purposes, then, this was precisely the aristocracy which they affirmed that it was not. For the Elders were to order business in the assurance that every truly humble and sincere member would consent thereto. If any did not consent, and after patient debate remained of another judgment, he was "partial," and "factious," and, continuing "obstinate," he was "admonished" and his vote "nullified;" so that the Elders could have their way in the end by merely adding the insult of the apparent but illusive offer of coöperation, to the injury of their absolute control. As Samuel Stone of Hartford no more tersely than truly put it, this kind of Congregationalism was simply "a speaking Aristocracy in the Face of a silent Democracy."[58]

The last question but two of the two and thirty was:[59]

"*Whether all and every of your Churches* (*including* Plimouth, &c.) *do precisely observe the same course both in Constitution and Government of themselves?*"

To which Mather and his associate Elders replied:[60]

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57 *Iust and Necessarie Apologie*, etc., 38.
58 *Magnalia*, iii: 118.
59 *Answer of the Elders*, 6.
60 *Ibid*, 82.

"For ought we know there is no materiall point, either in constitution, or government, wherein the Churches in *N. E.* (viz: in the bay, in the jurisdiction of *Plymouth*,[61] at *Connectacute*, and *Quilipiake*) do not observe the same course."

I am not aware that testimony exists which can settle the precise manner of voting maintained at Plymouth, but I have always supposed that Goodwin and Nye referred especially to them as those "Brownists," who "in effect put the chiefe (if not the whole) of the rule and government into the hands of the people, and drown the Elders votes (who are but a few) in the major part of theirs."[62] While it seems to be clear that Rathband, speaking in 1644, had at least colorable ground for representing that the New England Churches were not as much at one on this question as on others.[63]

"Some affirme," he says, "that the major part carries it against the lesser part, yea, though the officers be in this lesser part. . . . Others, that the whole body must agree else nothing proceeds. . . . Some, that things are not carried by voyces at all, but by truth and right and according to God."

The disturbances connected with the speculations and uneasinesses of John Wheelright and Mistress Anne Hutchinson led to the calling of a Synod, as they called it — a Council, as we should call it — in August, 1637, at New Town.[64] It was composed of all the teaching Elders in the country (about twenty-five) with messengers from the churches; it had Revs. Peter Bulkley and Thomas Hooker for moderators; it was in session from the 31st August–10th September, to the 22d September–2d October, and it examined and condemned fourscore and two "erroneous opinions." It further "resolved:" (1) that although female meetings for prayer and mutual edification were unobjectionable, a set assembly, where sixty or more women met every week, and one woman "took upon her the whole exercise," was "disor-

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[61] I should be glad to see the evidence on which it can be shown that the six churches then existing in the Plymouth Colony — Plymouth, Duxbury, Marshfield, Scituate, Taunton and Sandwich — had perfected any arrangement like that suggested; by which, for example, William Brewster and Ralph Smith acquired the power to out-vote the majority of the Plymouth Church. I do not believe such power was claimed, or attempted, by them.

[62] "To the Reader," *Keyes*, etc. (2d ed.), vii.

[63] *Briefe Narration*, etc., 27.

[64] This name of New Town was changed to Cambridge, when what was intended to be a university had been founded there.

derly and without rule;" (2) that while private members might, for information, ask questions after sermon, yet it ought to be done wisely and sparingly, and "with leave of the Elders," but adverse, bitter, and reproachful criticism was to be utterly condemned; (3) that a member refusing to come to the assembly might be proceeded against, though absent; (4) that a member differing from the rest of the church in an opinion not fundamental, ought not for that to forsake its ordinances, nor to be dismissed to another church in sympathy with him on the matter in question.[65]

One circumstance which finds mention in this connection has special significance as indicating that the new New England way was at this early stage not strongly inclined toward the Genevan leaven which was fermenting at home. Winthrop thus narrates it:[66]

"The assembly brake up; and it was propounded by the governour [Winthrop] that they would consider, that, seeing the Lord had been so graciously present in this assembly, that matters had been carried on so peaceably, and concluded so comfortably in all love, etc., *if it were not fit to have the like meeting once a year, or, at least, the next year*, to settle what yet remained to be agreed, or if but to nourish love, etc. This motion was well liked of all, *but it was not thought fit to conclude it.*"

The growing Presbyterianism of England did not long remain, however, without representation and advocacy in the Massachusetts Colony. Thomas Parker and James Noyes — *par nobile fratrum* — who came over in 1634, and became Pastor and Teacher of the church in Newbury,[67] were strongly inclined toward some of the views afterward held by the majority of the Westminster Assembly, and they did not hesitate to teach them. Difficulties arose, in consequence, in their own church, which, after years of inharmony, compelled the calling of council after council, and the interference of the civil au-

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[65] See *A Short Story of the Rise, reign and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines that infected the Churches of New England; and how they were confuted by the Assembly of Ministers there*, etc. (1644), for a full account of the matter. See, also, *Winthrop*, i: 284–287; *Felt*, i: 311–319.

[66] *Winthrop*, i: 287.

[67] Thomas was only son of Robert Parker, the learned Puritan, who was author, among other treatises, of *A Scholastical Discourse*, etc., and *De Politeia Eccles. Christi.*, etc. [nos. 317, 444, Appendix]. Noyes was the son of Robert Parker's sister, and, of course, the two men were cousins. Their intimacy was close and uninterrupted until death parted them for a time — the Pastor outliving the Teacher twenty-one years.

thorities, before peace could be obtained.[68] By the summer of 1643, when the Assembly was commencing its long session,[69] there were other Elders in the Colony whose views inclined in the same direction, and another Synod was called to consider the subject. Winthrop's account of it is this:[70]

"There was an assembly at Cambridge of all the elders in the country (about 50 in all), such of the ruling elders as would were present also, but none else. They sat in the college,[71] and had their diet there after the manner of scholars commons, but somewhat better, yet so ordered as it came not to above sixpence the meal for a person. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker[72] were chosen moderators. The principal occasion was because some of the elders went about to set up some things according to the presbytery, as of Newbury, etc. The assembly concluded against some parts of the presbyterial way, and the Newbury ministers took time to consider the arguments, etc."

What, after further consideration, the "Newbury ministers" thought of "the arguments," we are assisted to know by the treatise published by one of them four years later in London, entitled *The Temple Measured*, etc. The friend who introduced this to the public says Mr. Noyes had "drawn up and published these short notes," for the reason that he found himself still unsatisfied "upon conference had" with "the Reverend Presbyters of that countrey." Mr. Noyes's idea of the church of the Gospel, was of one which is to be kept in good order by the power of the Presbytery within, and of Synods and Councils without. He differed with the Presbyterians, however, in teaching that "governing Elders are not distinct

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[68] See, for details of the long difficulty, J. Coffin's *Sketch of the History of Newbury*, etc. (1845), pp. 72–115.

[69] The Westminster Assembly had its first meeting on Saturday, 1–10 July, 1643, and its last, on Tuesday, 22 February–3 March, 1648–9; holding in all 1,163 sittings, or an average of four each week for the whole period.

[70] *Hist. N. E.*, ii: 165.

[71] The author of *New Englands First Fruits*, etc., issued in London, in this same year, thus describes the building [24]: "The Edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall; (where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures, Exercises) and a large Library with some Bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their Chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the Students, and all other roomes of Office necessary and convenient, with all needful Offices thereto belonging: and by the side of the Colledge a fair *Grammar* Schoole, for the training up of young Schollars, and fitting of them for *Academicall Learning*, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge." etc.

[72] Mr. Hooker had removed to Hartford in the summer of 1636 — seven years before this date; proving that this was not a mere Massachusetts assemblage, but a general Synod, although usually overlooked as such, and unnamed in the preliminary sketch of "Previous Synods," in the *Debates and Proceedings* of the Boston Council of 1865.

officers in the Churches,"[73] so that his Presbytery within the Church was composed of its Pastor or Pastors, and Teacher or Teachers. This "Presbyterie," he says, "is to govern with great condescendencie, and to labour for the *consent* of the Church *in cases of moment*."[74] That is, the ministers are to rule the Church as the rule, while in matters of importance, it is well for them to seek, but not essential for them to gain,[75] the approval of the body for their decisions. That this author had formed a very distinct conception of the inherent difficulties and absurdity of the Barrowistic plan, will be seen by the following extract:[76]

"If all members young and old, children and men; if thousands together must judge and govern upon conscience, together with the Presbyterie: 1. It must needs interrupt the work. 2. It is work enough, a double labour for the Elders to instruct the Church how to judge. There is more time spent in informing the Church, then in determining the case. Must Elders hold the hands of the common members (as the master teacheth Scholars to write) and act onely by them? 3. Pride is an epidemical disease in Democratical Government. Who is sufficient to hold the reins of authority! Where there are no standing Magistrates in the Common-wealth, and in the Church no Governours at all, or none but Governours, the off-spring is like to be an *Ichabod*.[77] 4. Confusion and disorder is inevitable. *Turba ruunt.* The Church ought to be a patern of punctual order. A Democracie is called by *Plato, Nundinæ populares.* 5. As Church-work must needs be too long a doing by so many, when it is easie; so it must needs be done too soon by such as are precipitant, when it is difficult. Some are conscientious and scrupulous, others unseasoned, ignorant, youthful. This is a Pedocracy as well as a Democracy. The seat of Government is the seat of Wisedom."

John Cotton's famous book entitled *The Keyes Of the Kingdom of Heaven*, etc.—which John Owen undertook to confute, but which conquered and made an Independent of him,[78] as Barrowe and Greenwood's *Plaine Refutation* had served Francis Johnson a little more than half a century before[79]—went to the press in England in the year following the printing of the *Answer of the Elders*, and seems to have been generally accepted as the most complete and influential statement of

73 *Temple Measured*, etc., 21.

74 *Ibid*, 29.

75 "A *necessity* of the members consent doth constitute church-government *excessively Democratical*." *Ibid*, 35.

76 *Ibid*, 33.

77 1 Samuel, iv: 21, 22.

78 *Magnalia*, v: 21. But see Owen's own extended account of the matter, in his *Review of the true Nature of Schisme*, etc. (1657), pp. 33–37.

79 See p. 264, ante.

the actual early New England Congregationalism; a position which, I may say, it has never lost. Two or three editions were issued within the year, with the general endorsement of the leaders of the Independent party in the Assembly, as setting forth "that very Middle way (which in our *Apologie* we did in the generall intimate and intend) between that which is called *Brownisme*, and the *Presbyteriall-government*, as it is practised."[80]

We need dwell upon but very few passages from it to complete the view already taken. Mr. Cotton says, approaching the old subject from a slightly different point of view:[81]

"The Gospel alloweth no Church authority (or rule properly so called) to the Brethren, but reserveth that wholly to the Elders; and yet preventeth the tyranny and oligarchy, and exorbitancy of the Elders, by the large and firme establishment of the liberties of the Brethren, which ariseth to a *power* in them."

He adds, in the way of further explanation:

"The whole Church may be said to bind and loose, in that the Brethren consent, and concurre with the Elders, both before the Censure in discerning it to be just and equall, and in declaring their discernment, by lifting up of hands, or by silence: and after the censure, in rejecting the offender censured from their wonted Communion. And yet their discerning or approving of the justice of the censure beforehand, is not a preventing of the Elders in their work. . . . . The Presbytery cannot excommunicate the whole Church (though Apostate) for they must tell the Church, and joyn with the Church in that Censure: so neither can the Church excommunicate the whole *Presbytery*, because they have not received from Christ an office of rule, without their Officers. . . . But neverthelesse, though the Church want authoritie to excommunicate their Presbytery, yet they want not libertie to withdraw from them." And once again: "No act of the peoples power or liberty doth properly bind, unlesse the authoritie of the Presbytery concurre with it."

In 1645 a manuscript which Mr. Cotton had written several years before he wrote the *Keyes*, and a copy of which some person had carried over into England, was printed there without its author's privity, and to his regret;[82] being entitled *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England*, etc. In this I think of nothing which requires mention as adding to, or

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[80] *Keyes*, etc., vii.

[81] *Ibid*, 12, 14, 16, 36.

[82] See Cotton's own statement of the facts *ad cal.* of Owen's *A Defence of Mr. John Cotton, From the imputation of Selfe Contradiction*, etc. (1658), pp. 36–38.

specially modifying, the views already propounded, if we except his remark that "Satan hath been very busie to set the wits of men awork, both to confound the severall Functions of the *Pastor* and *Teacher*, and utterly to abandon the office of a *Ruling Elder;*"[83] which I interpret as favoring the (from our point of view) extremely natural conclusion, that practice began very early to develop the inherent contradictions, and the essential want of common sense, which were involved in their general theory of Church power; with the impossibility of permanently maintaining such antagonistic principles between the membership and the eldership — in which case the latter, as the weaker, must give way. Probably, also, the shadowy line which distinguished between pastoral and teaching functions tended to become more indistinct, as, in their narrow finances, they found the support of *two* ministers a somewhat expensive luxury for each nascent church in the wilderness.

And now the time had come when, as Cotton Mather says, it was "convenient" that "the churches of *New England* should have a *System* of their *Discipline*, extracted from the Word of God, and exhibited unto them, with a more effectual, acknowledged and established Recommendation: And nothing but a *Council* was proper to compose the *System*."[84] This convenience was manifold. The Church of England had become Presbyterian. And a little cabal of Presbyterians and others in Massachusetts — undertaking to work with the aid of the very large number who by this time were in the country resident, who were not members of the churches, and so were debarred from the privileges of freemen — had just petitioned the General Court to give them relief, and to open their way to the ballot-box and the ordinances; giving notice that, should their petition be denied, they should be "necessitated to apply our humble desires to the honorable houses of parliament, who we hope will take our sad conditions into their serious considerations."[85] To have a Presbyterian Parliament undertake to revolutionize the ecclesiastical condition of New England

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[83] *The Way of the Churches*, etc., 38.

[84] *Magnalia*, v: 21.

[85] See the petition in full in Hutchinson's *Collection of Original Papers*, etc. (1769), 188–196. Compare Winthrop, *Hist. N. E.*, ii: 320, 346–359.

would be a very serious matter indeed. Nor can it be denied that there was not a little of actual weakness consequent upon the utterly unintegrated condition of the New England churches in their absolute independence and unmitigated isolation; while large opportunity was given — in spite of all the treatises of Mr. Cotton and others — for English misconception and misrepresentation, since no even semi-authoritative statement had ever been consented to, which might stand witness and sponsor for the general faith. Under these circumstances, the Court, in May, 1646, passed an order expressing a "desire" that the churches of the Massachusetts send their Elders and Messengers to sit in Synod in Cambridge on the 1st September next ensuing, "to discusse, dispute & cleare up, by the word of God, such questions of church governm^t^ & discipline" in certain points before suggested, and others, "as they shall thinke needful & meete;" and requested the churches "w^th^in y^e^ iurisdictions of Plimoth, Connectecott, & Newe Haven, to send their elders & messeng^rs^ to y^e^ Assembly, . . . who, being so sent, shall be received as pts. & members thereof, & shall have like lib^rty^ & pow^r^ of disputing & voting therein, as shall y^e^ messeng^rs^ & eld^rs^ of y^e^ churches w^th^in y^e^ iurisdiction of y^e^ Massachusets."[86]

As a matter of course, many people queried, more feared, some stoutly objected. The liberties of the churches must be looked to: would the Court undertake to rule them through a Synod?

Tuesday, the 1st–11th of September, however, found all except four of the churches of the Massachusetts, with a few from the other colonies, assembled by representatives at Cambridge, in reponse to the "desire" of the Court. Concord was absent, their Elder being unable to come, and no other fit. Hingham favored Presbyterianism.[87] Boston and Salem at first were jealous and would not send.[88] A long time was wasted in trying to mollify Boston, but at last Mr. Norton of Ipswich was able, in a sermon on Moses and Aaron meeting in the

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[86] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, ii: 155–156.

[87] *Winthrop*, ii: 329. "Mr. Hubbert, [Peter Hobart] the pastor there, being of Presbyterial spirit, did manage all affairs without the church's advice," etc. *Ibid*, ii: 288.

[88] *Ibid*, ii: 329. *Palfrey*, ii: 171.

mount and kissing each other, to soften their flinty hearts to a vote of the major part — they had to be content without being unanimous, this time — to send the Elders, and three brethren as messengers.[89] Salem seems to have followed suit.[90]

This Synod was a grave, learned and pious body. It had, because it deserved to have, the respectful confidence of the colonies.[91] It sat now, however, but about a fortnight, and, appointing John Cotton, Richard Mather of Dorchester, and Ralph Partridge of Duxbury, each a committee of one to draw up the plan of a Scriptural Model of Church Government, so that the three might be compared,[92] adjourned over till Tuesday, the 8th–18th June, 1647.

An epidemical sickness[93] soon dispersed this re-gathering, with which Gov. Bradford was present as the messenger of the church in Plymouth;[94] and where Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley took occasion to bear a testimony against private members making disturbing speeches in the public assemblies, long hair, and "other things amiss;"[95] and it was not until Tuesday the 15th–25th August, 1648, that the Synod was able to begin a solid fortnight upon its real work. While Mr. Allen of Dedham on this day of re-assembling was preaching a very godly and learned discourse before the company, it fell out about the midst of his sermon that there came a snake into the seat where many of the Elders sat behind the preacher. One of the Elders of Braintree, a man of much faith, and apparently a

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89 *Winthrop*, ii: 331. *Felt*, i: 577. *MS. Records First Church of Boston*, s. d. 6–16 September, 1646.

90 *Felt*, i: 579.

91 "We that saw the Persons, who from Four Famous Colonies, Assembled in the *Synod* that agreed on our *Platform of Church-Discipline*, cannot forget their Excellent Character. They were Men of Great Renown in the Nation, from whence the *Laudian Persecution* Exiled them; their Learning, their Holiness, their Gravity, struck all men that knew them with Admiration. They were *Timothies* in their Houses, *Chrysostomes* in their Pulpits, *Augustines* in their Disputations. The *Prayers*, the *Studies*, the Humble *Enquiries*, with which they sought after the mind of God, were as likely to prosper as any mens upon Earth. And the *Sufferings* wherein they were *Confessors* for the Name and the Truth of the Lord Jesus Christ, add unto the Arguments which would perswade us, that our Gracious Lord would Reward and Honour them, with Communicating much of His Truth unto them." J. Higginson and W. Hubbard, *Testimony to the Order of the Gospel in the Churches of N. Eng., etc.*, 2.

92 *Magnalia*, v: 22.

93 "It took them like a cold, and a light fever with it. Such as bled or used cooling drinks died; those who took comfortable things, for most part recovered, and that in a few days. . . . Such was the mercy of God to his people, as few died, not above forty or fifty in the Massachusetts, and near as many at Connecticut." *Winthrop*, ii: 378.

94 *Ibid*, ii: 376.

95 *Ibid.*

heavy pair of shoes, trode upon the head of it, and so held it, with his foot and staff, until it was killed. They surmised that it might be the devil, and concluded that the seed of the woman had for once fulfilled prophecy concerning him.[96] They went on comfortably, and after many "*filing* thoughts upon it,"[97] settled down substantially upon Mr. Mather's draught of a Platform;[98] after which they broke up with singing the Song of Moses and the Lamb, in the fifteenth chapter of the Revelation, "adding another sacred *Song* from the nineteenth Chapter of that Book; which is to be found metrically paraphrased in the *New England* Psalm-Book."[99]

I suppose — after the last three years, and their discussions[100] — I may take it for granted that you are all familiar with the Cambridge Platform.

It is a terse, clear, and well-balanced summary of the general system which had been already outlined in the treatises of the New England Elders; enlarged by being carried to its logical conclusions on a few points which had never been fully developed. Portions of it strongly resemble the exact language of one or other of the books to which I have referred. I do not think it uncharitable to surmise that the Synod, while at its work, kept one eye upon Presbyterian facts, tendencies and demands, as then existing, or supposed to exist, in the mother-country; and that the strings of the harp were strained a little tighter than they might have been had the Independents controlled Parliament and the Westminster Assembly — in the view to bring them as nearly as possible up to concert pitch with the Genevan music. It would surely be a great point gained for them if, with a good conscience, matters could be so adjusted that there should be no excuse for home interference with the religious affairs of New England.

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96 *Ibid*, ii: 402.

97 *Magnalia*, v: 22.

98 "And when the *Platform of Church Discipline* was agreed by a Synod of these Churches, in the year 1647, Mr. Mather's Model was that out of which it was chiefly taken." [*Magnalia*, iii: 128. See, also, *The Life and Death of that Reverend man of God, Mr. Richard Mather*, 32.]

99 *Magnalia*, v: 22.

100 Should this book happen to fall into the hands of any person not minutely familiar with the recent Ecclesiastical history of New England, I may explain that the reference is here to that revival of interest in the Symbol in question, which was connected with debates growing out of Councils held in Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Platform has seventeen chapters. The first four affirm that the Word of God prescribes one immutable form of church government; define the nature of the Catholic Church in general, and of a particular visible church — "since the coming of Christ, only Congregational: (The term Independant we approve not);"[101] clear up the matter of the visible church in respect of quality and quantity, as including "the children of such [saints] who are also holy;" and expound its form and the use and fashion of its Covenant. The fifth assigns the source of church power, thus:[102]

"*Ordinary* Church-power, is either the power of Office, that is, such as is proper to the Eldership: or Power of Privilegd, such as belongs unto the Brotherhood: The latter, is in the Brethren formally, and immediately from Christ; that is, so as it may according to order be acted or exercised immediately by themselves: the former, is not in them formally or immediately, and therefore cannot be acted or exercised immediately by them, but is said to be in them, in that they design the persons unto Office, who only are to act, or to exercise this power."

The sixth chapter makes officers essential, not to the simple being, but to the well-being, of churches; and declares that Elders — of whom some are Pastors, some Teachers, and some especially Rulers — and Deacons, are the only ordinary officers.

The seventh is devoted to Ruling Elders — explaining that the Pastor and Teacher bear rule as well — and Deacons. As, in view of related questions, the matter has special interest, we shall do well to examine in full what is said as to the exact office of these Ruling Elders.[103]

"The *Ruling Elders* work is to joyn with the *Pastor* and *Teacher* in those acts of Spiritual *Rule*, which are distinct from the ministry of the word and Sacraments committed to them, of which sort, these be, as followeth.

"I. To *open and shut* the dores of Gods house, by the *Admission* of members approved by the Church; by *Ordination* of officers chosen by the Church: and by *excommunication* of notorious and obstinate offenders renounced by the Church: and by *restoring* of penitents, forgivē by the Church.

"II. To call the Church together when there is occasion, and seasonably to dismiss them again.

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[101] "A Congregational-Church, is by the institution of Christ a part of the Militant-visible-Church, consisting of a company of Saints by calling, united into one body, by a holy covenant, for the publick worship of God, and the mutuall edification one of another, in the Fellowship of the Lord Jesus." *Platform*, etc. (ed. 1653), 3.

[102] *Ibid*, 7.

[103] *Ibid*, 8.

"III. To *prepare* matters in private, that in publick they may be carried an end with less trouble, and more speedy dispatch.

"IV. To *moderate* the carriage of all matters in the Church assembled; as, to *propound* matters to the Church, to *Order* the season of speech and silence; and to *pronounce* sentence according to the minde of Christ, with the consent of the Church.

"V. To be *Guides and leaders* to the Church, in all matters whatsoever, pertaining to Church administrations and actions.

"VI. To *see* that none in the Church live inordinately out of rank and place; without a calling, or Idlely in their calling.

"VII. To *prevent* and heal such offences in life, or in doctrin; as might corrupt the Church.

"VIII. To *feed* the flock of God with a word of *admonition*.

"XI. And as they shall be sent for, to *visit*, and to *pray* over their sick brethren.

"X. And [to do the same] at other times as opportunity shall serve therunto."

It was made a part of the Deacon's duty to provide for "the table of the *ministers*, and of such as are in *necessity*, to whom they are to distribute in simplicity." While it was held that "the Lord hath appointed *ancient widdows* (where they may be had) to minister in the Church, in giving attendance to the sick, and to give succour unto them, and others, in the like necessties."[104]

The eighth chapter lays it down that the calling to office must be by the Church, but is *Mediate* from Christ himself; that officers must first be tried and proved possessed of Scriptural qualifications before election; that officers "are to be called by such churches whereunto they are to minister," rather than by any general calling; that, while a Church is so free that it can become subject to none but by a free election, when it has chosen it must "most willingly submit to their Ministry in the Lord, whom they have so chosen;" that, having power to choose, churches have also power to depose their officers, because "to open and shut; to chuse and refuse; to constitute in Office, and remove from Office; are acts belonging unto the same Power;" and, finally, it is judged "much conducing to the well-being and communion of Churches, that where it may conveniently be done, *Neighbor-Churches be advised withal*, and their help made use of in the tryal of Church-officers, in order to their choise."[105]

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[104] *Ibid*, 9, 10. | [105] *Ibid*, 11.

The ninth chapter treats of Ordination, which is "nothing else, but the solemn putting of a man into his place and Office in the Church whereunto he had right before by election, being like the installing of a Magistrate in the commonwealth;" and is to be done by prayer and the imposition of hands. In churches which have any Elders already, such ordination of a new officer is to be performed by those Elders. In churches which have none, it may be performed by some of the brethren [*i. e.*, of the same Church] orderly designated for that purpose by the Church; yet, if it be desired, in such a case "we see not why *Imposition of hands* may not be performed by the *Elders of other Churches.*" Such officers, so constituted, are officers only of the Church so choosing and qualifying them; while:[106]

"Hee that is clearly loosed from his office-relation unto that Church whereof he was a minister, cannot be looked at as an officer, nor perform any act of *Office* in any other Church unless he be again orderly called unto *Office:* which when it shall be, wee know nothing to hinder, but *Imposition of hands* also in his *Ordination* ought to be used towards him again. For so *Paul* the Apostle received *Imposition of hands* twice at least, from *Ananias*. [Acts ix: 17, and Acts xiii: 3.]"

The tenth chapter discusses the crucial topic of the power of the Church, and of its Presbytery of Elders. The following principles are laid down with regard to this:[107] (1) Supreme power belongs solely to Christ. (2) Subordinate Church-power, under Christ, is delegated to every "Company of professed believers Ecclesiastically Confederat." (3) This results in a mixed government:—so far as Christ is concerned, it is a monarchy; so far as the brotherhood of the Church is concerned, it "resembles a *Democracy;*" while in respect of the Presbytery and the Elders' power, it is an aristocracy. (4) Christ's sovereign power calls the Church out of the world unto holy fellowship with Himself; institutes His ordinances and appoints His ministers; gives laws for action; gives life to His institutions; and protects and delivers His people. (5) The power of the brotherhood is "a priviledge:" (i) of choosing Elders and Deacons; (ii) of admitting and removing members —the latter involving the right of admonition, excommunica-

[106] *Ibid*, 12.

[107] *Ibid*, 12–15.

tion and restoration. (6) The Church has power — the counsel of other churches being had, where practicable — to remove an incorrigibly offending Elder from his office, and, if he remain contumacious, of casting him out of fellowship. (7) Ruling, under Christ, belongs to the Elders, "wheras the work and duty of the people is expressed in the phrase of obeying their Elders; and submitting themselves unto them in the Lord: so as it is manifest, that an organick or compleat Church is a body politick, consisting of some that are Governors, and some that are governed, in the Lord." (8) This power of the Presbytery is further declared, in detail, to be: to call together the Church on any weighty occasion, when the members, without just cause, may not refuse to come; nor depart before the Elders dismiss them; nor speak without the Elders' leave; nor keep on speaking when the Elders require silence; nor oppose nor contradict the Elders "without sufficient and weighty cause" — of course, the Elders being judges. (9) It is the duty of the Elders: to examine any — officers or members — before they be received of the Church; to entertain accusations, and prepare them for Church action; to declare and publish the will of God concerning offences; with consent of the Church to pronounce sentence; and to bless the people in the name of the Lord when they dismiss them. (10) This power of government in the Elders, and this power of privilege in the brotherhood, do not prejudice each other, but "they may sweetly agree together." (11) Such being the relation of Elders and brethren (with the power of privilege), as governing and governed, it followeth that all Church acts "proceed after the manner of a mixt administration, so as no Church act can be consumated, or perfected without the consent of both."

The next four chapters refer to the maintenance of church-officers; to the admission of members; to their transfer from one Church to another, and to excommunications and other censures.

The fifteenth, is devoted to the intercommunion of churches; seven ways in which such communion may be had being specified, viz.: (1) in mutual care for each other's welfare; (2) in mutual consultation; (3) in admonition, "in case any publick offence be found in a Church, which they either discern not, or

are slow in proceeding to use the means for the removing and healing of," — the steps to be taken being the following: (i) any Church offended by its conduct may "without usurpation" admonish it; (ii) if the offending Church do not hearken, the admonishing Church is to acquaint other neighbor-churches with the facts, and they are "to joyn in seconding the admonition formerly given;" (iii) the offending Church continuing obstinate, the others may "forbear communion" with it, and should proceed to make use of the help of a Synod or Council; (iv) should the erring body remain obstinate and hear not the Synod, such churches as approve and accept the judgment of the Synod, are to declare non-communion, and withdraw from all participation with the offending Church in Church-acts or recognition of its Church-estate — any minority of members of such offending Church who do not share its guilt and contumacy, being excepted. Another way of inter-communion (4) is by partaking with each other at the Lord's table; another (5) is by transfer of members; another (6) is by way of relief and succor; and still another (7) is by way of propagation, "as Bees, when the hive is too ful, issue forth by swarms, and are gathered into other hives, etc."[108]

As to Synods, which form the subject of the sixteenth chapter,[109] it is held (1) that "orderly assembled, and rightly proceeding," they are an ordinance of Christ, necessary many times to the well-being of churches. (2) Their power is the power of the Churches which send their Elders and messengers to constitute them; (3) Magistrates have power to call Synods by requesting the churches to convoke them, yet the constituting of a Synod is a Church-act, and may be perfected though civil magistrates be hostile; (4) their function is to debate and determine controversies of faith, and cases of conscience, from the Word, and to witness against corruption and mal-administration, and give directions for the reformation thereof; but not to undertake Church censure in the way of discipline, or any act of Church authority or jurisdiction. (5) Their results are to be received "with reverence & submission" so far as consonant with the Word of God, and as being themselves an ordinance which

[108] *Ibid*, 23–26.

[109] *Ibid*, 26–27.

God may be expected to bless; (6) they should be composed, since the churches cannot assemble in the mass, of their elected delegates, or messengers, "to consist both of Elders, & other church-members, endued with gifts."

The concluding chapter, in defining the power of the civil magistrate in matters ecclesiastical, teaches that needed churches ought to be formed, although magistrates withhold consent, or even persecute; that Church government, so far from weakening, tends rather to strengthen lawful magistrates, and their authority; that the coöperation of the civil power should be sought, and where possible obtained; that as no intermeddling is tolerable on the part of Church-officers with the function of the magistrate, so none should be permitted on the part of magistrates with churches and their proper work; that the civil magistrate ought to "improve his civil authority for the observing of the duties commanded in the first, as well as for observing of the duties commanded in the second table"—godliness as well as honesty being to be promoted by him; that he ought to exercise himself to command the performance and chastise the neglect of "such acts as are commanded & forbidden in the word;" that he ought "to restrayn and punish" idolatry, blasphemy, *heresy*,[110] and the venting of opinions that destroy the foundations, open contempt of the word preached, the profanation of the Sabbath, disturbance of public worship, and so on; and that he should "put forth his coercive power as the matter shall require" in case a Church become schismatical, or "walke incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word."[111]

I have said that Mr. Mather's draught of the Platform was, for substance, adopted by the Synod. That drawn up by Mr. Partridge of Duxbury — nearly or quite the only representative present from the teaching Elders of the Plymouth Colony — still exists in manuscript,[112] and I have carefully read it with

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[110] Of course, in the last analysis, the civil magistrate (aided by that counsel of the Elders which in such a case he would naturally seek) must be the judge as to what "heresy" is; and it is easy to see that such a principle must have sowed the quick-germinating seeds of fearful possibilities of social, civil and ecclesiastical disturbance and wrong.

[111] *Ibid*, 27–29.

[112] At the annual meeting, 21 Oct., 1873, of

some curiosity to see whether it sheds any further light upon the temper of the assembly, or the time. It may be one-fifth shorter than the model adopted, and is not so rigidly systematized. Perhaps its language, on the whole, is less apt. But it is clear and able, and states some points with great precision and beauty. The matter of Ruling Elders is not put quite as strongly as in the Platform, but I find no essential difference; Mr. Partridge himself epitomizing his doctrine on that subject into these words:[113]

"The sume of all that wee say heerin amounteth ūto this, that, as wee doe not hould that the gouernmēt of the church is Democraticall or meerly popular, so neither doe wee beleeue that it is by the lords appoyntment meerly Aristocraticall, wherin the church gouernm.t should bee so in the hands of som elders, as that the rest of the body should bee wholly excluded frō intermedlinge by way of power therin: such power we cōceive hath no warāt from the word, & is iniurious to the people, as infringing that libertie which Christ hath giuen them."

His philosophy of Councils is very lucid:[114]

"When a church wanteth light or peace to [it should] seeke the help of an other church, or churches, not to doe that for them wch belongeth not to them to transact, but to helpe thē wth advise & counsell wherein they want ability to doe that wch they might & should doe, yf they had sufficient strength, there beinge som cases more difficult & intricate then others, & som churches of lesse spirituall abilitie then other, the lord not dispensinge his gifts alike to all churches, nor alike to any at all times, wherein one church ought to bee helpfull to an other, as one mēber to another: as the church at Jerusalem was to the church at Antioch, yett wee doe not reade that the church at Antioch was subiect to the church at Jerusalem, nor the church at Ephesus subject to

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the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, the librarian, S. F. Haven, Esq., brought to my notice an ancient document which relates to Church Polity, and which bears the late Dr. Felt's pencil endorsement, conjecturally attributing it to Rev. John Rayner, the second pastor on this side of the sea of the Mayflower Church. On examination I became impressed with the conviction that it was not by Mr. Rayner, but might be Mr. Partridge's manuscript. Happening a few days after, in the perusal of Increase Mather's *First Principles of New-England Concerning the Subject of Baptisme & Communion of Churches*, etc., to come upon a passage of some ten lines [p. 23] avowedly by him extracted from that "Model of Church Discipline" which was by "Mr. Ralph Partrich composed and presented to the Synod at Cambridg, *Anno 1648*, and which is still extant under the hand writing of the Reverend Author;" I at once wrote to Mr. Haven asking him to see if these lines were in the manuscript he had shown me. They were found there, and it became clear that this lost "Platform" was recovered. The Antiquarian Society is fortunate enough to have also among its MSS. treasures, in Richard Mather's hand-writing, his original draught of a Platform, as well as the revised copy from which the document, as adopted by the Synod, was printed.

[113] *Autograph MS.*

[114] *Ibid.*

the authority of the church at Corinth, nor of any subiection or subordinatiō of any one church to an other in any way of authority or superiority; for the visible churches are sisters."

I make two citations further. One touches a matter not in the Platform, which indicates the strong feeling of our fathers in their reaction from the abominations of the Prelacy — a feeling which now seems strange to us.[115]

"We do further cōceive that the celebratiō of mariage, & buriall of the dead, bee no ecclesiasticall actiōs propper to the ministrie, but are civil acts, & so to be p.formed, because those things are such as in the very nature of them belonge not to the church alone, but to all people, whether Christians or Pagans.[116] Agayne yf they bee ecclesiastical actiōs perteyninge to the ministrie, then are they parts of gods worship cōprized in the first table of the law, for they are actiōs of that nature.[117] Whereas the nature of these things themselves, & maner of usinge thē in former ages amonge the people of god (beside the practise of others) doe playnly show them to be actiōs p.taininge to the 2d table. Beside the tying of these things ūto the ministers as ministeriall duties, is a meane to confirme the popish error in the one, that marriage is a sacrament, & in the other that prayer is to bee used for the dead, or over the dead."

The other has reference to the only point in which Partridge seems to fail to come up to the general tone of the model which secured the adoption of the body. This was — and since he was an Old Colony man, it was very natural that it should be so — in the matter of the relation of the civil magistrate to religion. The Platform requires the magistrate to see that his subjects are obedient to the first, as well as the second table, and to take cognizance "of Idolatry, Blasphemy, Heresy and venting corrupt and pernicious opinions."[118] Partridge, on the contrary, seems inclined to stop far short of this. He says:[119]

"They [the civil and ecclesiastical power] may both stand together & flourish, the one beinge helpfull to the other in their distinct & due administratiōs, the one beinge of this world, the other not, & the superiority of the one above the other in different respects no way hindering it, the power of the magistrate over the Church beinge temporall & not spirituall, & all the power of the Church ouer magistrates beinge spirituall & not temporall, both wch jurisdictiōs as they have one comon end, which is gods glory in mans

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[115] *Ibid.*

[116] I Cor. vii: 2; xii: 13; Luke ix: 60; Heb. xiii: 4.

[117] I Cor. iv: 1; Eph. iv: 11, 12.

[118] Chap. xvii: 6, 8.

[119] *Autograph MS.*

prosperity: so they haue their proper ends, distinct & different, as also the meanes for the atteyninge of those ends.

"The propper end of the civill magistrates iurisdictiō, is the procuringe, preservinge & increasinge of temporal & eternal peace & prosperity, of those that are under their gouermēt, in all godlines and honestye.[120]

"The propper end of church power is the begettinge, preservinge and increasinge of internall & spiritual peace & prosperity of the church in holiness & righteousness.[121] So that the civil magistrate hath power comitted to him frō the lord in matters of relligion (beinge the keeper of both tables) & is boūd to see that outward peace bee p.served wth.n his jurisdictiō, in all godlines and honestye, not in ungodlines or dishonesty, for such a peace is not cōcord but cōspiracy agaynst god & his truth."

He proceeds to set forth four methods by which the civil magistrate must labor toward his ends, and five, by which the Church should seek to compass hers; viz.: the former, by (1) setting up, with the popular consent, some civil government; (2) making and enforcing laws for it, "regulated by the laws of God, which are of moral and eternal veritie;" (3) maintaining officers to execute those laws; (4) bearing arms against the enemies of the state: the latter (1) by setting up the right form of Church government; (2) by acknowledging no law-giver but Christ; (3) by electing and ordaining officers according to the Word; (4) by receiving to fellowship them "that carry y^{m}selves holilie and religiouslie," and inflicting spiritual censures on the "scandalous and impenitent;" and (5) by "prayer unto God for grace, by act of obedience, to adorn y^{e} Gospel of Christ, and for patience in suffering evil for well-doing, when called therunto."[122] This is as far as Mr. Partridge carried it, which — as one may readily see — is far short of the doctrine of the majority.

It was not until the next year that the result of the Synod, having been put into print, was "presented to the Churches, and Generall Court, for their consideration and acceptance, in the Lord."[123] In October, 1649, the Court judged:[124]

"it meete to cōmend it to the judicyous and pious consideracōn of the seuerall churches wthin this jurisdiccōn, desiring a retourne from them at the next Gennerll Courte hou farr it is suitable to their judgments and app.bacōn, before the Courte p.ceeds any farther therein."

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[120] I Tim. ii: 1, 2.

[121] Isaiah ii: 3, 4; ix: 7.

[122] *Autograph MS.*

[123] See title of first edition, Cambridge, "The Eight Moneth Anno 1649."

[124] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, iii: 178.

The churches, apparently in their majority, responded favorably to this request, while "diuerse" of them presented "some objectjons and doubts against some particculars in the sajd draught," which were commended to the Elders "to be cleared and remooved." And in October, 1651, the Court thankfully acknowledged the "learned pajnes" with which the subject had been handled, and voted "to give their testimony to the sajd booke of discipljne, that, for the substance thereof, it is that wee have practised and doe believe."[125]

It may be worth our while to pause here long enough, in addition to what has already been said more particularly to glance, with some detail, at the working aspects of the polity thus established in New England in its earliest years.[126]

A Church was formed — after permission had from the magistrates — by the public covenanting together, usually on a day of fasting and prayer, of such persons in any town desiring membership as satisfied each other of their mutual fitness; other churches coöperating by their delegated presence, with some formal expression of fellowship. Thus organized, it elected from its own number — if able fully to officer itself — a Pastor, whose function was intended to be practical and pastoral; a Teacher, especially to instruct in doctrine; two or more Ruling Elders, to constitute, with the Pastor and Teacher, the Presbytery of Elders, ruling the Church in the Lord; two or more Deacons, who, in addition to the care of the communion table, and the general temporalities of the body, usually were to see that the Elders had suitable support;[127] and, to

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[125] *Ibid*, iv(1): 57, 58.

[126] I largely follow Lechford here [*Plaine Dealing*, etc.], supplementing, and sometimes correcting, him by other contemporary authors.

[127] Some idea of the relative salaries of Pastor, Teacher and Ruling Elder (when the latter was in whole or in part dependent upon the Church for support) may be gained from the following extract from the Records of the Second Church in Boston [C. Robbins, *History of Second Chh.*, etc., 11.]: "*21st day of ye 6th mo. 1662.* The Church of ye North end of Boston met at Bro. Collicotts, and there did agree yt Mr. Mayo [Pastor] should have, out of what is given to ye church annually £65; Mr. [Increase] Mather [Teacher] £50, and Mr. Powell [Ruling Elder] £25; and this annually, provided they that have engaged perform their engagement. And of ye *contribution*, Mr. Mayo to have s. 20, weekly, and Mr. Mather s. 20, and Mr. Powell s. 15, weekly — provided the contribution hold out; and if it abate, each one of the above-said to abate according to proportion; and if ye contribution superabound, then ye overplus to be kept, till occasion call for it, and then to be disposed of by the churchs order. And to this we are all agreed."

care especially for the sick, and look after the decorum of the little folks in the house of God, one or more matronly Deaconesses.

Persons wishing to join such a Church made known that desire to the Ruling Elders and were examined — sometimes in presence of members of the Church — by them[128] as to "the worke of grace upon their soules, or how God hath beene dealing with them about their conversion." The Elders being satisfied, one of them on some convenient occasion would give notice that the applicant wished to unite with them, desiring any who might be aware of objection from any cause, to notify the Presbytery. If objection were made, it was duly considered. Then, usually on a Sunday after afternoon service, but sometimes upon a week-day (all the Church having notice to be there), the candidate being present, a Ruling Elder would give notice that nothing (or nothing which had not been fairly explained) had been alleged against the party thus duly propounded, and call once more upon any person present knowing any thing in the way of the proposed admission, to give testimony thereof.[129] No response being made to such appeal, the Elder would then desire any parties who have "any thing to speak for his receiving" to testify as briefly as they may. The way being thus prepared, the candidate, if a man, "in a solemne speech, sometimes a quarter of an houre long, shorter or longer, declareth the work of grace in his soule, to the same purpose, as that before the Elders formerly mentioned;" and "by questions and answers, if the party be weake, or else in a solemne speech," made profession of his doctrinal faith and personal experience of God's grace. If a woman, this confession was usually read by the Pastor,[130] although sometimes she was received on the testimony of the Elders of their satisfac-

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128 "At Boston, the man declareth usually standing, the woman sitting." *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 5.

129 "Sometimes, men do speak to the contrary, in case they have not heard of the propounding, and so stay the party for that time also, till this new offence be heard before the Elders, so that sometimes there is a space of divers moneths between a parties first propounding and receiving; and some are so bashfull, as that they choose rather to goe without the Communion, then undergoe such publique confessions and tryals — but that is held their fault." *Ibid*, 6.

130 "At *Salem* the women speake themselves, for the most part, in the Church; but of late it is said, they doe this upon the week dayes there, and nothing is done on Sunday, but their entrance into Covenant." [*Ibid*, 7.] Compare Welde, *Ans. to Rathband*, etc., 48.

tion before gained, "without any more adoe."[131] This being finished, the Elder asked any who might remain dissatisfied to use their liberty and declare their minds, and, none doing so, requested those who were ready to receive the candidate to manifest it by the "usuall signe, which is erection and extention of the right hand." The covenant was then proposed to the neophyte: "the summe of which" was "to this effect:"[132]

"To give up our selves to the Lord in all duties of holinesse; then to the Church, and the Officers, in all love and submission, according to the will of God; and this they doe not trusting in their owne strength, but in the name and by the grace of Christ himselfe."

Then the Elder in the name of the Church responded, covenanting also with the new confessor to perform the like duties back again. Prayer followed, after which "they depart away with a blessing."

Discipline proceeded on this wise. Offence arising, and personal labor failing to adjust the same, the case was taken to the Elders,[133] and by them to the Church; which, if unsatisfied, admonished, and in the end excommunicated;[134] but this grew to be done by silent assent to the expressed judgment of the Elders; to use Mr. Hooker's words, on the theory that "the consent of the people gives a causall vertue to the compleating of the sentence of excommunication."[135] The sentence

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[131] T. Welde, *Answer to W. Rathband*, 19.

[132] *A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New-England*, etc. (1645), 9.

[133] "The Brother first offended telleth the Church of it, to wit, in God's way: he telleth the Elders, who are the mouth of the Church," etc. [Cotton, *Way*, etc., 90.] "When there be Elders in a Church, all the complaints *must* be made to them, and the causes prepared and cleared, and then by their means they must be complained of to the Church." [Hooker, *Survey*, etc., i: 134.] "When offences are brought to the Church in the third step, as the Elders do propound the case, so it must first be notified to them, that they may try whether the Rule hath been attended in the two former steps, and that they may clear all difficulties, and then propound the case, when it is found to be fit for publick cognizance, according to Rule." [J. Davenport, *Power of Cong. Churches Asserted and Vindicated*, etc. (1672), 109.] "If yet he remaines impenitent, they enforme the Elders, and they tell the Church," etc. *Brief Narration*, etc., 11.

[134] "The admonished must, in good manners, abstain from the Communion, and must goe on to satisfie the Church, else Excommunication follows." *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 12.

[135] *Survey*, etc., xviii. "Near thirty years since, at a Synod at Cambridge it was proposed, and it was consented unto by them, that if the ministers thought it most convenient to vote by speech and silence rather than by lifting up the hand, they had nothing against it, seeing the one was a testimony of consent as well as the other, so this kind of voting began and continued in practice without difference or interruption for a good season." *Memorial of Members of Newbury Church* (1669). J. Coffin, *Newbury*, etc., 78.

it was thought should be "denounced" by the Teacher when the offence was one of doctrine, and by the Pastor when it was one of practice.[136] Christ's direction to treat the excommunicated "as a heathen man and a publican," was usually construed as tolerating ordinary, social and family intercourse, and modest attendance upon the Word and prayer;[137] but sometimes was interpreted (as strictly as in England) as remitting the subject of it to the outside of the Church door.[138] If the excommunicate had been in a state of candidacy for admission as freeman, he would be now debarred; but, if already admitted, his Church censure would not work exclusion from civil privileges.[139]

I have already intimated,[140] that the Boston Church began by undertaking to require unanimous assent to all action, and secured the same — in difficult cases — by placing the minority under censure, and so depriving them of the right to vote.[141] The usual course was, however, that pursued by Salem: "you that are so minded hold up your hands; you that are otherwise minded, hold up yours."[142]

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[136] *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 12. Different churches, however, had different practices, and Hooker [*Survey*, etc., iii: 38] distinctly says: "*the sentence*, thus compleately issued, is to be *solemnly passed and pronounced* upon the Delinquent by the *ruling Elder*, whether it be the censure of *admonition* or *excommunication*." On the other hand Gov. Winthrop says [*Journal*, i: 310] of Mrs. Hutchinson's excommunication: "The sentence was denounced by the Pastor, matter of manners belonging properly to his place." The *Brief Narration* [13] states that "the Pastor or Elder" pronounced sentence.

[137] After Mrs. Hutchinson's expulsion it had been laid down at Boston by John Wilson, that in the general, "with excommunicate persons no religious communion is to be held, nor any civil familiar connexion, as sitting at table. But . . . such as were joined in natural or civil near relations, as parents and children, husband and wife, etc., God did allow them that liberty which he denies others." [J. Cotton, *Letter to F. Hutchinson*, *2 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, x: 186.] Compare Cotton's *Way*, etc., 93; Hooker's *Survey*, etc., iii: 39, [who puts it on the ground that they may "discountenance him in his course, and cause him to be ashamed];" *Platform*, xiv: 5, ["that he may be ashamed];" S. Mather, [*Apology*, etc., 107]; who suggests a very mild view.

[138] "At *New-haven*, alias *Quinapeag*, where Master *Davenport* is Pastor, the excommunicate is held out of the meeting, at the doore, if he will heare, in frost, snow and raine." [*Plaine Dealing*, etc., 13.] Compare L. Bacon, *Historical Discourses*, etc., 48, 307–9, and *Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc.*, i: 29, 44.

[139] "It is dangerous to bring in civill Authority immediately upon Church-censure: A warning to us here, that if men be excommunicated, not to deny them civill Commerce, or to say such as stand out excommunicated so long, shall no longer enjoy the priviledges of the State." [J. Cotton, *Exposition upon The Thirteenth Chapter of the Revelation*, 238.] It must be remembered, however, that the Plymouth Colony never restricted its full civil freedom to Church members.

[140] See p. 428 ante.

[141] An instance of this occurred in 1637, when the notorious Mrs. Hutchinson was vexing their righteous souls: "the church (all but two of her sons) agreed she should be admonished, and *because her sons would not agree to it, they were admonished also.*" [*Winthrop*, i: 306.] Compare W. Rathband, *Briefe Narration*, etc., 28, and *Answer of the Elders*, etc., 58, 61, also Cotton's *Way*, etc., 94.

[142] *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 14.

In cases of difficulty which proved too severe for successful treatment within any Church, other churches were sent to for their counsel; which "being faithfully done, by God's ordinary blessing and presence," they "found it conclusive and availe."[143]

The order of public worship was on this wise. Sabbath morning service began about nine o'clock; in Boston and some other places, the people being called together by the "wringing of a bell,"[144] but usually by the beating of a drum, or the blowing of a shell, or horn — sometimes by the hoisting of a flag.[145] The meeting was opened by the Pastor "with solemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an houre,"[146] after which the Teacher read and expounded a chapter of the Bible.[147] One of the Ruling Elders next "dictated" (that is to say "lined-off") a Psalm, which was sung.[148] The Pastor then preached, and the

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[143] *Brief Narration*, etc., 16.

[144] *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 16.

[145] "Hearing the sound of a Drum he [a Sunday traveler] was directed toward it by a broade beaten way, following this rode he demands of the next man he met what the signall of the Drum ment, the reply was made they had as yet no Bell to call men to meeting; and therefore made use of a Drum." [*Wonder-Working Providence*, etc., Bk. i: c. 43.] The drum was used for calling the people to the house of God for worship in West Springfield, until 1743 — or nearly half a century after the formation of the Church there. [J. G. Holland, *Hist. West. Mass.*, ii: 149.] South Hadley, in 1749, procured a *conch shell* as "a sign for meeting on the Sabbath," and paid one John Lane for blowing it. [*Ibid*, ii: 269.] As late as in 1759, Montague paid £1, s.10, for a *conch*, and s.20 for blowing it for a year. [*Ibid*, ii: 395]. Haverhill, in 1652, arranged with Abraham Tyler to *blow his horn* in the most convenient place every Lord's day, about half an hour before the meeting begins, and also on lecture-days; for which he is to have one peck of corn from every family for the year ensuing." [G. W. Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill*, 78.] Sunderland, in 1720, voted s.20 for sweeping the meeting-house, and "*tending the flagge* at all public meetings the year ensuing" [*Hist. West. Mass.*, ii: 442], which indicates a third method. Northfield made a like arrangement in 1734 [*Ibid*, ii: 411]. Salem had a church bell as early as 1638, Boston by 1641, Cambridge and Watertown by 1648, Charlestown in 1657, and Agawam [Ipswich] by 1659. E. H. Goss, *Early Bells of Mass.*, 11, 15, 21, 22.

[146] *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 16. In Cotton Mather's time [*Ratio Dis.*, 45.] "Bills . . . desiring a Remembrance in the Publick Prayers, or Praises, on their special Occasions" were often put up, and were read before the opening prayer.

[147] To expound the Scripture [*Ratio Dis.*, 64] was hardly thought "to belong unto the Work of a Pastor," and where there was no Teacher, reading the Scripture as a part of the service went out of custom, and only came into general use in New England in the first half of the eighteenth century. In Cotton Mather's time singing a psalm only separated the opening prayer and the sermon, *Ibid*, 52–55.

[148] There was no instrumental accompaniment [thought to be condemned by Amos v: 23, and Daniel iii: 5, 7, 15, etc.]. Henry Ainsworth's version of the Psalms was employed at Salem for forty years [Palfrey, *Hist. N. E.*, ii: 41], and at Plymouth for seventy. Sternhold and Hopkins seems [Felt, *Hist. Ipswich*, etc., 212] to have been introduced at Ipswich soon after 1634, and continued in use till 1667. The Bay Psalm-Book, which was the second book printed here (1640), was most generally employed. Not more than ten tunes, five of which are those now known as *York*, *Hackney*, *Windsor*, *St. Mary's* and

Teacher concluded with prayer and a blessing.[149] At afternoon worship (which in Boston was about 2 P.M., in sparser settlements the intermission being shortened so as to allow those who came long distances to remain to the second service without inconvenience), the Pastor began with prayer, and after a Psalm the Teacher — sometimes first reading and expounding a chapter and praying — made a sermon, the Pastor concluding with prayer and the benediction.[150]

The Lord's Supper was usually administered once a month at the close of the morning service, "all others departing save the church;" the Elders, both Teaching and Ruling, sitting at the table, and the members in their seats. Lechford describes the scene from personal observation, thus:[151]

"The one of the teaching Elders prayes before, and blesseth, and consecrates the Bread and Wine, according to the words of Institution; the other prays after the receiving of all the members: and next Communion, they change turnes; he that began at that, ends at this: and the Ministers deliver the Bread in a Charger to some of the chiefe, and peradventure gives to a few the Bread into their hands, and they deliver the Charger from one to another, till all have eaten; in like manner the cup, till all have dranke, goes from one to another. Then a Psalme is sung, and with a short blessing the congregation is dismissed."

Spectators desiring it, were not refused permission to be present. Members of sister churches wishing to commune, were required to make known their desire to one of the Ruling Elders, and on being personally authenticated by any member of the body, or on presentation of a "Letter testimoniall," their names were propounded to the Church "before they goe to the Sacrament."[152]

Martyrs [Coffin, *Hist. Newbury*, 185], are said to have been in common use in New England before 1700. Cotton Mather said in 1726 [*Ratio Dis.*, 55], "more than a Score of Tunes are heard Regularly Sung in their Assemblies."

149 *Johnson* [Bk. i: c. 43] speaks of a hearer as "having stayed while the glasse was turned up twice," which implies a considerable longitude of prophesying; and [Bk. ii: c. 22] represents "*Mr. Syms*," as continuing "in preaching and prayer about the space of four or five houres," on the occasion of the formation of the Woburn Church. The *Ratio* says [57] they "generally limited themselves unto about an Hour."

150 "In sundry Churches, the other, (whether Pastor or Teacher,) who expoundeth not, he preacheth the Word; and in the afternoone, the other who preached in the morning, doth usually (if there be time) reade and preach, and he that expounded in the morning preacheth after him." Cotton, *Way*, etc., 67.

151 *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 17.

152 *Ibid.* Compare Cotton, *Way*, etc., 68; *Way Cleared*, etc., i: 69; *Keyes*, etc., 17; Hooker, *Survey*, etc., i: 295; Welde, *Answer to Rathband*, 53.

It was held that baptism might be administered wherever the Church was assembled, and the Word was preached,[153] but it was long usually done at the close of Sabbath worship. The administrator (who might be either the Pastor or the Teacher) stood in the Deacon's seat, and made a short exhortation to the parents and the Church, and baptized by sprinkling or washing the face, praying before and after, and there were no sponsors.

Our fathers, from conscience, called their houses for worship "meeting-houses."[154] As buildings, they were spacious but simple. The Ruling Elders occupied a seat in front of the pulpit and a little further down; the Deacons a similar seat on a still lower level — all facing the congregation. The people sat — the men on the one side and the women on the other — in an order of civil and social dignity scrupulously arranged from year to year.[155] The children appear also to have been placed by themselves, under care of a tithing-man.[156]

The method of supporting the gospel was different in different places. In Boston there was a contribution at the close of afternoon service, which Lechford thus describes:[157]

"The Magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen first, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the Church, all single persons, widows and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it bee money or papers; if it be

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153 Hooker, *Survey*, etc., iii: 28. *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 18. "Every first day of the week Baptisme may be administered if it be required." J. Davenport, *Answer . . . unto Nine Positions*, etc., 14.

154 C. Mather, *Ratio Dis.*, 5.

155 I do not know when specific arrangements for "dignifying" the people as to their Sabbath sittings began, but Mr. Felt says it lasted till 1710, and probably later. [*Hist. Ipswich*, 244.] It was a frequent cause of hard feeling, but to estimate it rightly one must remember that democratic ideas were then eschewed. For an illustration of the process, with a list, see L. Bacon, *Historical Discourses*, etc. (1839), 310; and for a good description, F. M. Caulkins, *Hist. Norwich, Conn.*, 127.

156 Palfrey, *Hist. N. E.*, ii: 41.

157 *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 18. Compare Cotton, *Way*, etc., 69. John Dunton, who was in Boston in 1686, describes the practice at that time, as follows [*Letters from New England* (Prince Soc.), 70]: "On Sundays in the After-noon, after Sermon is ended, the People in the Galleries come down and march two a Brest, up one Isle and down the other, until they come before the Desk, for Pulpit they have none: Before the Desk is a long Pew, where the Elders and Deacons sit, one of them with a Money-box in his hand, into which the People as they pass put their Offerings, some a shilling, some two shillings, and some half a Crown, or five shillings, according to the Ability or Liberality of the Person giving. This I look upon to be a Praise-worthy Practice. This money is distributed to supply the Necessities of the Poor according to their several wants, for they have no Beggars there," etc.

any other chattle, they set it or lay it downe before the Deacons, and so passe another way to their seats againe. This contribution is of money, or papers, promising so much money: I have seen a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the Communion.[158] Which moneys and goods the Deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the Ministers, and the poore of the Church, and the Churches occasions, without making account, ordinarily."

Gov. Winthop mentions a scene which occurred on his visit to Plymouth, in 1632, which shows what the custom of the Mayflower Church at the same date was. He says:[159]

"On the Lord's day [in the forenoon] there was a sacrament, which they did partake in; and, in the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams, (according to their custom) propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied;[160] and after[ward] the Governour [Bradford] of Plimouth spake to the question; after him the Elder [Brewster]; then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the Elder desired the Governour of Massachusetts [Winthrop] and Mr. [Rev. John] Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the Deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon the Governour and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the box, and then returned."

In Salem, however, only church-members offered in public, the rest giving by collection at their houses; and there were places where taxation was resorted to, "which was very offensive to some."[161]

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[158] It is believed that this cup is still in the valuable collection of silver vessels owned by the First Church, Boston, and used, in full by them at Easter. The Winthrop cup, presented by the Governor, is surely still in their possession.

[159] *Journal*, i: 109.

[160] The confession of 1596 made provision for teaching "in the exercise of Prophecie" by any who were competent thereto [Art. 34]; and Ainsworth [*Counterpoyson* (ed. 1642), 102] lays it down — from I Cor. xiv: 31 — that male members of the church "may all prophecie one by one." Robinson [*Apologie*, etc., 50] restricted this to those only who were qualified, "which to perform conveniently, and as becomes the church-assemblie, we make account comes within the compasse but of a few of the multitude; happily [haply] two or three in each of our churches, considering their weak and depressed estate." [See also *Peoples Plea*, etc., 6, 33.] Bradford [*Dialogue* in Young, *Chron. Plym.*, 419] makes it clear that what was meant by the term prophesying, was that "men *out of office*, having gifts, may upon occasion edify the Church publicly and openly, and applying the Scriptures." That the term was used of the teaching of a minister when not in office over the Church addressed (although strictly they held him to be no minister) is clear from Winthrop's saying [*Journal*, i: 139] that Roger Williams at Salem, in 1633, being not in any office," exercised "by way of prophecy."

[161] *Winthrop*, ii: 112. See a long discussion of the legal aspects of the question whether the major part of the inhabitants of a town had a right thus to tax a minor and unconsenting part, in the records of the case of George Giddings, *et al.*, of Ipswich, about Mr. Cobbet, in 1657, in Hutchinson [*Coll. of Orig. Papers*, etc., 287–309]. In 1637, in Newbury, £60 having been expended "for the benefit of all such as do or

Weekly meetings for social prayer and conference, in the sense of the words now common, were unknown; although private assemblies were sometimes held for religious discussion and communion, which were opened and closed with prayer. A notable instance of this, which, by the way, illustrates the spirit of popular discussion, and general thoughtfulness which accompanied, and presided over, the settlement of New England, found mention upon the Dedham Church Records, and is worth notice here.[162]

"The towneship of Dedham, consisting of about 36 families residing ther 1637, being come together, by Divine Providence, from severall parts of England, few of them knowne to one another before, it was thought meete and agreed upon, that all ye inhabitants yt affected church communion, or pleased to come, should meete every fifth day of ye weeke [Thursday] at ye seuerall houses, in order louingly to discourse and consult together such questions as might further tend to stablish a peaceable and comfortable ciuill society, and prepare for spirituall communion in a church society; partly that we might be further acquainted with ye spirit, temper and guifts of one another, and partly yt we might gaine further light in ye waies of Christs kingdome and government of his church, which we thought might much conduce to this end. The order of which meetings was this:

"Ye question being propounded and agreed upon ye weeke before, ye Mr. of ye family wher ye meeting was, begun and concluded with prayer; and he first speaking as God assisted to ye question[ed], others yt pleased spake after him, as they saw cause to ad, inlarge, or approue what was spoken by any, or purposely to treate of ye question, or else to propound any questions pertinent to ye case, or any objection or doubts remaining in any conscience about ye same, so it were humbly and with a teachable hart, not with any mind of cavilling or contradicting; which order was so well obserued as generally all such reasonings were very peaceable, loving, and tended much to edification."

That these discussions went to the bottom of the subjects

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shall inhabite there," in building houses for their ministers, etc., and the church not being able to bear the whole charge, the court ordered an equal and proportionable rate of the £60, to be laid on all the inhabitants, to meet the demand; with power to levy by distress on refusal of payment, etc. [*Mass. Col. Rec.*, i: 216.] In 1647, a general act authorized towns by taxation to buy or build houses for their ministers' use [*Ibid*, ii: 217]; in 1654 the County Courts were ordered, on information of "any defect of any congregation or touneshipp within the shire," to "order and appointe wt majnetenance shallbe allowed to the ministers of that place," and issue warrants accordingly [*Ibid*, iv(1): 199]; and, in 1671, it was ordered that "the ministers of God's Word, regularly ordeyned ouer any church of Christ orderly gathered & constituted, shalbe freed from all rates for the country, county & church, & for the toune also, except where, by speciall contract wth the toune, they haue consented thereto." *Ibid*, iv (2): 485.

[162] *Dedham Church Records*, cited by ***Felt***, i: 276.

then especially of interest to them — their church estate was not organized until 8–18 November of the following year — will be made apparent from the following further extract, from the same Records, of conclusions reached, viz.:

"A church has from Christ not only a right to all ye institutions of ye gospel, but ye power of ye kies, whereby she may dispence ye same to hir members, and doth receiue this power immediately from Christ. Ye church ought to dispence all thes ordinances, and this power, in such an order as Christ has ordained, viz.: by officers rightly elected and ordained by ye church in ye name of Christ, which officers are pastours, teachers, rulers, deacons and widdowes. Yet till the church can be furnished with them, she may depute some guifted to exercise guifts to edificacion."

After the churches had settled well down to their work, a weekly lecture — essentially a repetition of one Sabbath service[163] — became a fixed institution; and there was early an annual Fast and Thanksgiving;[164] while occasional special fasts and thanksgivings were ordered as public exigencies seemed to suggest and require.[165]

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163 The Boston Lecture was on Thursday, (Mr. Cotton delivering at that time his famous sermons upon the Apocalypse, which were afterward printed); and in other townes different days at first were chosen, so that "such whose hearts God maketh willing, and his hand doth not detaine by bodily infirmitie, or other necessarie imployments (if they dwell in the heart of the Bay) may have opportunitie to heare the Word almost every day of the weeke in one Church or other, not farre distant from them." [Cotton, *Way*, etc., 70.] Gov. Winthrop tells us [*Journal*, i: 390] that, in 1639, so many of these lectures were held, sometimes till nightfall, or even later, and so many persons neglected their business to resort to them to the hazard of their health and the neglect of their affairs, and consequent damage to the public, that the General Court felt bound to take action in restraint thereof, which action was very ill received of many. As early as 1633, the Court enacted: "whereas it is found by common experience that the keepeing of lectures att the ordinary howres now obserued in the fore-noone to be dyvers wayes p.iudiciall to the comon good, both in the losse of a whole day & bringing othr charges & troubles to the place where the lecture is kept, it is therefore ordered, that hereafter noe lecture shall begin before one a clocke in the afternoone [*Mass. Col. Rec.*, i: 109]. But, by 1640, [*Ibid*, i: 290] the pressure was so great that the law was repealed, and it was: "ordered, that the time of the begining of lectures shalbee left to the churches."

164 The Barnstable Church, 22 Dec., 1636, kept its Thanksgiving thus: "In ye Meeting-house, beginning some halfe an hour before nine & continued untill after twelve aclocke, ye day beeing very cold, beginning wth a short prayer, then a psalme sang, then more large in prayer, after that an other Psalme, & then the Word taught, after that prayer — & thē a psalme.—Then makeing merry to the creatures, the poorer sort beeing invited of the richer." [*Chh. Records*, in *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, x: 39.] Of another, held 11 Dec., 1639, it is recorded: "The day beeing very cold or praises to God in publique being ended, wee devided into 3 companies to feast together, some att Mr. Hulls, some att Mr. Maos, some att Brother Lumbards senior." *Ibid.*

165 The church of Scituate and Barnstable kept four special fasts in 1634, two in 1635, two in 1636, two in 1637, two in 1638, and three in 1639. One was "for the grevious

By the still unspent force of their great recoil from Papal ways and modes of thought, marriages were made a civil contract, and solemnized by the magistrate; he offering the prayers proper to the occasion.[166] While, of funerals, Lechford says:[167]

"At Burials, nothing is read, nor any Funeral Sermon made, but all the neighbourhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and there stand by him while he is buried. The Ministers are most commonly present."

Nearly a century later (1726) Cotton Mather testified:[168]

"In many Towns of *New England* the Ministers make agreeable *Prayers* with the People come together at the *House*, to attend the FUNERAL *of the Dead*. And in some, the Ministers make a short *Speech* at the *Grave*. But in other Places both of these Things are wholly omitted. However, they are not *forbidden*, as they are in the *Discipline* of the *French Churches*, where the Prohibition runs in these Terms; *There shall be no Prayer nor Sermon at Funerals; to shun Superstition.*"[169]

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affliction uppon Gods people in Jermany & elsewhere." Thirteen were kept by it, between August, 1640, and November, 1649, for "old England." *Ibid*, 37, 38.

166 "There was a great marriage to be solemnized [6–16 June, 1647] at Boston. The bridegroom being of Hingham, Mr. Hubbards [Hobart's] church, he was procured to preach, and came to Boston to that end. But the magistrates, hearing of it, sent him to forbear. The reasons were: (1) for that his spirit had been discovered to be averse to our ecclesiastical and civil government [see note 87, p. 436 *ante*], and he was a bold man and would speak his mind; (2) we were not willing to bring in the English custom of ministers performing the solemnity of marriage, which sermons at such times might induce; but if any ministers were present, and would bestow a word of exhortation, etc., it was permitted." [*Winthrop*, ii: 382.] In the early days of New England there was "maintained a Solemnity called a *Contraction*, a little before the Consumation of a *Marriage* was allowed of. A *Pastor* was usually employed, and a *Sermon* also preached on this Occasion." [C. Mather, *Ratio*, etc., 112.] Mr. Savage, in his edition of *Winthrop* [ii: 382], by overlooking the distinction between these *Sponsalia*, where our fathers held a sermon to be in order, and the marriage itself, where they thought it was not in order, has been led into an unjust accusation against Cotton Mather as having spoken [*Magnalia*, iv: 155] "with his usual looseness," in the matter of Samuel Danforth.

167 *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 39.

168 *Ratio*, etc., 117.

169 John Canne [*Necessitie of Separation*, etc. (1634)], with some needless severity of language, probably fairly stated the ground of the Separatist feeling on this subject [Hansard Knolly's Society's reprint (1849), 112]: "concerning burials, this they [Nonconformists] say: all prayers either over or for the dead, are not only superstitious and vain, but also are idolatry, and against the plain Scriptures of God. No such thing was used in the apostles time, and as for their prescript form of service, appointed for this business, it is taken wholly from the stinking portass [a mediæval term for a Roman Breviary], and for this cause they name themselves popish apes. Besides, prayer for the dead is maintained and partly gathered out of some of their prayers: as for the white or black cross, set upon the dead corpse, and ringing a threefold peal, the practice is popish: mourning in black garments for the dead, if it be not hypocritical, yet it is superstitious and heathenish: funeral sermons, they also utterly condemn, because they are put in the place

Scrupling, as did their Nonconformist contemporaries in England, the rightness of continuing the use of names of heathen origin, the Massachusetts men styled the first day of the week either the Lord's Day or the Sabbath, or First Day; and, about 1636, they carried that idea through the calendar, numbering all the days, and the months, as well. As the year then began with March, they would, for example, style the third Tuesday in May "the third third day of the third month" — and in like manner with all.[170]

But one thing remains to put us in sufficient possession of the quality of the Congregationalism which characterized the early settlement of New England, and that is for us to look at it, as, in the judgment of that time, it stood related to the Presbyterianism which became for a short period the established religion of the Father-land.

The careful reader of the numerous volumes which discussed the relations between our fathers with their Independent brethren in England, and the Presbyterians of the Westminster Assembly, will find four subjects as to which there was decided difference between them.

The first related to the terms of membership of the Church. We have seen that it had always been fundamental with the Separatists that all who joined their churches be, in their own conviction and in the hope and belief of the body, regenerate persons; but that Cartwright and the Genevan influence

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of trentals [see note 139, p. 37 *ante*], and many other superstitious abuses follow thereby. . . . The Nonconformists will have the dead to be buried in this sort (holding no other way lawful) namely, that it be conveyed to the place of burial, with some honest company of the church without either singing or reading, yea without all kinds of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and sobriety as [that] those that be present may seem to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin, which is the cause of death; and thus do the best and right reformed churches bury their dead, without any ceremonies of praying or preaching at them."

[170] See *Plaine Dealing*, etc., 21; *Wonder Working Providence*, etc., i: 59; and Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.* (1795), i: 377. Gov. Winthrop began his change of date thus in his Journal, 13 Jan., 1634–5 [*Hist. N. E.*, i: 182]. The Mass. Records make the change more than a year later, 13 April, 1636 [i: 173]. Hutchinson [as above] says "this was a scruple of the Brownists." But if it were, there is no trace of it in Bradford's History, the Plymouth Records, or Morton's *N. E. Memoriall*; and Dr. Palfrey [*Hist. N. E.*, ii: 44, *n*,] no doubt correctly, says that "the practice did not establish itself in the other [than the Massachusetts] Colonies — to judge from their records."

leaned toward a State Church, which though governed in its congregations by an Eldership and in its entirety by Synods, should be as comprehensive as the Establishment it was intended to displace. The following extract from a letter written by Robert Baillie while in attendance upon the Assembly, will make it clear that the majority of that body were still of like mind. He says, in describing the peculiarities of the Independents:[171]

"They will admitt of none to be members of their congregations [churches] of whose true grace and regeneration they have no good evidences. *By this means they would keep out* [of] *all the Christian Church, fourty for one of the members of the best Reformed Churches.*"[172]

The second touched that silent power of assent which was accorded to the brotherhood; or, as Baillie put it:[173]

"They make it necessare to have all the men who are communicants, present at every act of jurisdiction of the consistorie: though they give them not suffrages, yet nothing must be done without their consent."

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[171] Letter to Mr. Buchanan. *Letters and Journals*, etc. (ed. 1841), ii: 254. The same writer said soon after, in his *Dissvasive*, etc. [108]: "The *Independents* minde about the gathering and erecting of Congregations, may be clearly perceived by their late practice in the *Sommer Islands*, wherein they are applauded by the Churches of *New England*, and defended by Master *White* against Master *Prynnes Fresh Discovery*, with a great deale of confidence and high language: there hee justifies the necessity of the dissolution of all the Churches in the *Barmudaes* (which yet he professes were among the best of all the English Plantations); there were above 3000 people in the Isle, who had lived without all controversie with any of their Ministers from their first planting till the yeare 1641, when their Ministers perswaded by some writs [writings] of the Brethren of *New England*, found it necessary to lay down their charges and become meere private men, denying to administer to their old flocks any Ordinance, till three of them entring in a Covenant, and thereby becomming a new Church, did perswade of the 3000 Islanders some thirty or forty at most to joyn with them in their new Church Covenant; these covenanted persons did chuse one of their old Ministers for their Pastor, and two others of them for Ruling Elders, who as gifted men were content to joyne with the Pastor in preaching, not only to the Church members, but to the whole Isle, to fit them to be Church members; but all the three refused absolutely to celebrate any Sacrament, or administer any Discipline, or do any act of a Pastor to any but to the forty named only. All this Mr *White* maintains as just and necessary, and petitions Parliament in print for their countenance and approbation, whereby it seems it is the Independents avowed and cleare intention when they have power to dissolve and annull all the Churches of *England*, yea of the world, to spoile all Ministers living of their pastorall charge, and all people of all Church priviledges, and to erect new Churches of their own framing, into which they are to admit at most not one of an hundred of those who now do count themselves Christians: all this you may see at length in Mr. *Whites* very peremptory *Reply* to Mr. *Prynnes Fresh Discovery*."

[172] It is fair to add here that the Presbyterians desired liberty "to keep the prophane [in the church] from the sacraments," and one of Baillie's letters, in 1645 [ii: 307] is full and explicit to the point, that "all the godly" in the Assembly were ready to separate from the House of Commons, "if there be not a power, and care," to that end.

[173] *Ibid.*

The third divergence — and, on the whole, the chief — had to do with the power of Synods. The New England men were clear that Synods are for advice, and for the moral power of persuasion only; the Presbyterians held that they exercise the lawful authority of Christ over the many congregations of the one Church. Said Baillie of the Independents:[174]

"They give [only] so much authoritie to a Synod, and to every neighbour congregation, when they receave no satisfastion from any scandalous congregation, [as] to abstaine from communion with it, and to pronounce their sentence of that non-communion with it."

This he complains of, and says: "the sooner all the Reformed declare against them, it will be the better."

The fourth distinction related to the subject of toleration, as to which the Presbyterians accused the New England men of the greatest looseness. To quote Baillie once more:[175]

"Many of them preach, and some print, a libertie of conscience, at least the great equitie of a tolleration for all religions; that every man should be permitted, without any feare so much as of discountenance from the magistrate, to professe publicklie his conscience, were he never so erroneous, and also live according thereunto, if he trouble not the publick peace by any seditious or wicked practise."[176]

It may serve to shed light more light upon the actual facts of Congregational toleration in New England in its early days, if I cite here John Cotton's testimony concerning that Episcopal

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174 *Letters and Journals*, ii: 254.

175 *Ibid.*

176 Baillie was perpetually charging the Congregational men with fostering what he conceived to be the deadly heresy of toleration. "A mighty faction is arisen to press liberty of conscience for all sects" [*Letters and Journals*, etc., ii: 179]; "He [John Goodwin] is a bitter enemie to Presbyterie, and is openly for a full liberty of conscience to all sects, even Turks, Jews, Papists," etc. [181]; "a new faction to procure liberty for sects" [231]; "they [the Independents] are deviating more and more towards old and new errours, especiallie libertie of conscience" [271]; "to come out expressly with their [the Independents'] much-desyred libertie of conscience" [280]; "we expect [from the Independents] a very great assault, how soone we know not, for a tolleration to we wot not what" [291]; "the Independents in their last meeting of our grand committee of accomodation have expressed their desyres for tolleration, not only to themselves, but to other Sects" [326]; "the Independents here plead for a tolleration both for themselfes and other sects" [328]; "blasphemous heresies are now spread here more than ever in any part of the world; yet they [the Independents] are not only silent, bot are patrons and pleaders for libertie almost to them all" [361]. And so Samuel Rutherford, [*A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*, etc., 258] says: "the Congregationall men . . . practise this day multiformity of Religions . . . that so they may buy with their lives, cursed Liberty of Conscience," and [259] calls liberty of conscience their "intended Idoll in the bottome of their hearte," obtruding "multiformity for uniformity."

lawyer, to whose *Plaine Dealing* we have been repeatedly indebted. Writing in 1647, he says:[177]

"Let no man think, he [Thomas Lechford] was kept out of our Churches, for maintaining the authority of Bishops. For we have in our Churches some well respected Brethren, who doe indifferently allow either Episcopall, or Presbyteriall, or Congregationall Government, so be it they governe according to the rules of the Gospel. Neither do we disturbe such, nor they us in our communion with them."

The Presbyterians charged that if every congregation were allowed to have sole church power within itself, with no other than merely advisory supervision, it must inevitably bring in a toleration of all religions, if not an ecclesiastical and spiritual anarchy. To which it was replied that, in reality, the Presbyterian system offers in this no important practical gain over the Congregational way, inasmuch as both go together so far as to acknowledge the usefulness of Synods, and the obligation to respect their judgment, in all things in accordance with the Word of God. The next step would be, for the Congregationalists, a solemn sentence of non-communion; and, for the Presbyterians, a perhaps not more solemn excommunicatory delivery to Satan. And for those who should not be moved even by such an extreme measure, both parties proposed to leave them, on the one hand, to the magistrate — if he were pleased to interpose; and, on the other, to the Providence of God. The Congregationalists were acute enough to see, and to insist, that, in this last analysis, their system could suffer nothing in comparison with the other, and to claim that it was unjust to denounce them in this respect without a cause. As the amiable and judicious Jeremiah Burroughs[178] said in his admirable *Irenicvm*:[179]

"Consider now, *my Brethren*, whether the Congregationall way be such, as if it be suffered, there will be no helpe to reduce an erring or hereticall Church, but all Religions, *Arrianisme*, *Mahumetisme*, any thing must be suffered. Surely men do not deale fairly, in raising such mighty accusations upon such poor and weak grounds; this great aspersion, and huge out-cry, that these men

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177 *Way of Cong. Chhs. Cleared*, etc., 71.

178 "If all the Episcopalians had been like Archbishop Usher; all the Presbyterians like Mr. Stephen Marshall; and all the Independents like Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, the breaches of the church would soon have been healed." *Richard Baxter*, cited by *Brook*, iii: 24.

179 *Irenicvm, etc. Heart-Divisions opened in the Causes and Evils of them*, etc. (1653), 45.

would have all religions suffered, and in that way, there is no help against any Heriticall Congregations, moulders and vanishes away before you. . . . . You [Presbyterians] have no further help from any intrinsicall power the Church hath; and as for subjection to the Magistrate, there we are upon equall ground; if he will interpose, he may assist and second the sentence of judging men subverters of faith, of withdrawing communion from them in the one, as well as the sentence of giving men up to Satan in the other; and we must still be subject here to suffer what is inflicted, if we cannot do what is required; onely we do not go so far as some do, in this one thing, whereas they lay a Law upon the consciences of Magistrates, that they are bound to assist with their power the decrees of the church, taking cognisance only of the fact of the Church, that they have thus decreed, not enquiring into the nature of the things; we dare not lay any such bond upon the Magistrates conscience."

Hugh Peter, in introducing (in 1643) the *Answer of the Elders* to the English public, said very emphatically:[180]

"We are much charged with what we own not, viz: *Independency*, when as we know not any Churches Reformed, more looking at sister Churches for helpe then ours doe, onely we cannot have rule yet discovered from any friend or enemy, that we should be under Canon, or power of any other Church; under their Councell we are. We need not tell the wise whence Tyranny grew in Churches, and how common wealths get their pressure in the like kind."

No complaint of Brownism, or Morellianism, was suggested by the Presbyterians. It is clear that, with all objection made against it, the New England, was not then violently suspected of being a democratic, way. Rutherford, whom John Cotton declared to be "a great part of the Assembly at Westminster,"[181] stood ready to meet the Independents on the basis of Cotton's *Keyes;* and volunteered to endorse the New Englanders as "well sound, if they had given a little more power to Synods."[182]

All of which goes to endorse the judgment which we have reached from other sources of evidence, that the early Congregationalism of this country was Barrowism, and not Brownism — a Congregationalized Presbyterianism, or a Presbyterianized Congregationalism — which had its roots in the one system, and its branches in the other; which was essentially Genevan within the local congregation, and essentially other outside of it. The

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[180] *Answer of the Elders*, iv.

[181] *Defence of Mr. John Cotton from the imputation of Selfe-Contradiction*, etc., 2d Pt. 38.

[182] *Ratio*, etc., 7. The quotation with which the lecture concludes is from Pope's *Windsor Forest*, l. 13.

forty or fifty churches, which, "for the substance of it," adopted the Cambridge Platform, held this general system indeed with varying degrees of strictness — from the almost Presbyterianism of Hingham and Newbury, to the large-minded and large-hearted Robinsonism of the mother Mayflower Church.

There were great expectations that this seed, thus sown two centuries and a half ago in prayer and hope, along these pine-fringed shores, would grow to a creditable and useful harvest, wherein the world, and heaven, would be glad. Not unconscious of inherent inadjustments of some main elements of their polity, our fathers yet trusted the event would prove them:

> "Not chaos-like together crush'd and bruis'd,
> But, as the world, harmoniously confus'd;
> Where order in variety we see,
> And where, though all things differ, all agree."

LECTURE IX.

Later New England Congregationalism.

All that was democratic in the policy of England, and all that was Protestant in her religion, they [the American Colonists] carried with them, in pronounced and exclusive forms, to a soil and a scene singularly suited for their growth.

Hon. W. E. Gladstone, N. A. Review, cxxvi: 185.

De comedẽte exiuit cibvs: et de forti egressa est dvlcedo.

Judicum xiv: 14.

To mynde he did vs call,
In our most base degree:
And from oppressors all,
In safetie set vs free.
For certaynely,
His mercyes dure,
Both firme and sure
Eternally.

Sternhold & Hopkins (1588). Ps. cxxxvi: 23, 24.

The voyce of him that cryeth in the Wildernes, is:
* * * * make his Pathes straight!

Matthew [Genevan Version], iii: 3.

Later New-England Congregationalism.

MORE than two entire generations lived and died after the adoption of the Cambridge Platform, before any important movement was made for its modification. Now and then, indeed, one may get glimpses of a considerable popular drift, which the careful investigator will note as indicating the feeling with which the churches were regarding that document, and the system which it enshrines.

That matters were not working as well as had been desired, and anticipated, became obvious within twenty years. As not all of the children of the first settlers, nor of those immigrants who with them constituted the second generation of colonists, saw their way clear to confess Christ and thus gain admission to full church privileges, it followed that many of the children who were to compose the third generation, were growing up, as Cotton Mather phrased it, "excluded from the *Baptism* of Christianity, and from the Ecclesiastical Inspection which is to accompany that Baptism." This was the greater grief to "*the Grand-fathers*" that, as he continues, "it was to leave their Offspring under the Shepherdly Government of our Lord Jesus Christ in his Ordinances, that they had brought their Lambs

into this Wilderness;" and with them it was a chief concern that the religious prosperity which had blessed their beginnings, "might not be a *Res unius ætatis*, a matter of one Age alone." They labored with their sons and daughters, "sober Persons, who professed themselves desirous to renew their *Baptismal-Covenant*, and submit unto the *Church-Discipline*, and so have their Houses also marked for the Lord's;" but did not find them ready to "come up to that experimental Account of their own Regeneration, which would sufficiently embolden their Access to the other Sacrament."[1]

It has been usual to represent the matter as further complicated by civil considerations, arising out of the law of the Massachusetts and New Haven colonies limiting the franchise to church members; making it important, as well to save the State from being enfeebled, as the church from being impoverished, that some wider door be opened into the latter.[2] That this is an error becomes obvious, however, on careful review of the facts. Such a reason does not seem to have been mentioned at the time. I am aware of no proof that half-way covenant members of the church, by that relation did acquire any further privilege in the State. Moreover, before the action of the Synod proposing the half-way covenant had been concluded, the king's letter of 28 June–8 July, 1662, had arrived, requiring that "all the freeholders of competent estates, not vitious in conversacõn & orthodoxe in religion (though of different persuasions concerning church gouernment) may haue their votes in the election of all officers, both ciuill & military,"[3] etc.; and in Massachusetts the old law was soon formally repealed, and the order passed that "henceforth all Englishmen presenting a cirtifficat, vnder the hands of the ministers or minister of the place where they dwell, that they are orthodox in religion & not vitious in theire liues," etc., be allowed the freeman's privileges;[4] so that any change in the

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[1] *Magnalia*, v: 63.

[2] Even so well-informed a student of New England history as the late Dr. J. S. Clark, fell into this error in his valuable — one might, in consideration of its nearly sole relation to all just hinting of the religious history of Massachusetts from its settlement down to the present generation, call it *in*valuable — *Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, from 1620 to 1858*, etc., 83.

[3] The Letter is in *Mass. Col. Rec.*, iv(2): 164.

[4] *Ibid*, 118.

constitution of the churches in this motive would hardly be natural at such a time. Which reasons are further enforced by the consideration that the controversy out of which the Council and the Synod, and the half-way covenant grew, originated in the Connecticut colony, where no such restriction of civil freedom had ever existed.[5] The motive, then, appears to have been with most a pure and religious one. But it grew, no doubt, out of the "fermentation of that leaven of Presbyterianism which came over not with the Pilgrims in the Mayflower, but with the later Puritan emigration,"[6] and it touchingly reveals to us how tenderly the best piety of that day regarded God's covenant with His people, and how highly it estimated the practical value of "regular church watch" and discipline, as means of grace.[7]

Connecticut, as I have said, was first to move. Unfortunate differences of opinion had for some time disturbed the church in Hartford, leading to the calling of several councils, whose results had failed to allay the excitement. There had grown up in that colony, moreover, a strong party which advocated a return to the ancient plan of admitting all persons of regular life to full communion in the churches. Obliged to contribute to the support of a minister in whose election they had no voice, and denied "the honours and privileges of church-members for themselves, and baptism for their children," because they "knew not how to comply with the rigid terms of the Congregational churches,"[8] they were uneasy and desired a change. In the hope of gaining wisdom and moral support upon a topic of common concernment, the magistrates of that colony suggested to the General Court of Massachusetts the calling of a council of some selected Elders to consider and advise in the premises. The Massachusetts Court thereon passed an order[9] that thirteen of the Teaching Elders within its jurisdiction

5 Dr. Bacon presses this point: "On such a theory how is it to be explained that the troubles which the theory accounts for, began in just that colony in which no such exclusion had ever been established or attempted?" *Contrib. to Eccl. Hist. Conn.*, 17.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Dr. Fiske has stated the case with great learning and fairness in his centennial address before the Essex North. *Contrib. to Eccles. Hist. Essex. Co., Mass.* (1865), 270–282.

8 B. Trumbull, *Hist. Conn.*, i: 298.

9 *Mass. Col. Rec.*, iii: 419. The Elders were Messrs. Norton, [R.] Mather, Allin and Thacher of Suffolk; Bulkley, Chauncy, Symmes, Sherman and Mitchell of Middlesex; and Norris, [E.] Rogers, Whiting and Cobbet of Essex.

meet in the following summer for the purpose named, desiring the coöperation of the confederate colonies therein. Plymouth did not respond. New Haven declined to send.[10] Connecticut delegated four of its Pastors, or Teachers.[11] The meeting began in Boston on Thursday, 4–14 June, 1657, and after a fortnight's consideration, concluded it to be the duty of adults who had been baptized when children "tho' not yet fit for the *Lord's Supper*, to own the *Covenant* they made with their Parents by entering thereinto in their own persons;" and the correlate duty of the church to call upon them for the performance of this, and to censure them for its neglect; and further declared its judgment that in case such parents "understand the *Grounds of Religion*, and are not Scandalous, and solemnly own the *Covenant* in their own Persons," there can be no sufficient cause to deny baptism to their children.[12]

This failed, however, to compose the strife. It indeed made matters worse. It alarmed many, as insidiously proposing a harmful innovation. And the opposition grew so formidable as "could not be encountred with any thing less than a *Synod* of *Elders* and *Messengers*, from all the Churches in the *Massachuset* Colony."[13] Such a Synod "of above seventy,"[14] met in Boston on Tuesday, 11–21 March, 1662, and after two adjournments, reached its result in the September following. The difficulty which pressed them lay in the fact that "through their own Doubts and Fears, and partly thro' other culpable Neglects," many of the children of the first colonists "had not actually come up to the covenanting State of *Communicants* at the Table of the Lord." This excluded their children not only

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[10] *New Haven Col. Rec.*, ii: 196.

[11] *Col. Rec. Conn.*, i: 288. Delegates: Messrs. Warham, Stone, Blinman and Russell.

[12] For the Hartford troubles, see especially *Collections Conn. Hist. Soc.*, ii: 51–125. See also *Congregational Quarterly*, iv: 272; C. Mather, *Magnalia*, v: 63. See also *A Disputation concerning Church Members and their Children*, etc., London, 1659, *passim*. See Thornton's *Lives of Heath, Bowles*, etc. (1850) [71, 72], for an extract from Dorchester church records, showing that that church in 1654–5 had brought this subject to the notice of the churches of Boston, Roxbury, Dedham and Braintree; and had voted that children of church-members having children "should have ym baptized if ymselves did take hold of their ffathers covenant." The church in Ipswich [*Cont. to Eccl. Hist. Essex Co., Mass.*, 271] soon passed a similar vote, and the church in Salem had done much the same two or three years before. See D. A. White, *N. E. Congregationalism*, etc. (1861), 60.

[13] *Magnalia*, v: 63. See record of action calling Synod, *Mass. Col. Rec.*, iv(2): 38.

[14] J. Mitchell, *Answer to Apologetical Preface* (by I. Mather) to J. Davenport's *Another Essay*, etc., p. iii.

from baptism, but from "the Ecclesiastical Inspection" which went with it. The question was whether any way could be legitimately devised by which such persons, who had not boldness of access to the Lord's table, could yet be admitted to some relation to the church which should difference their condition from that of pagans who might happen to hear the Word of God in their assemblies. Two expedients were possible. The terms of church-membership might be so far lowered, that any baptized person not scandalous in life might be admitted to full communion, and the right to have his children baptized, without evidence of regeneration. Or a qualified and subordinate membership, allowing baptized persons of moral life and orthodox belief to belong to the church so far as to receive baptism for their children, and all privileges but that of the Lord's Supper for themselves, might be established. The former would have been too flagrant a backsliding from the very essentials of Puritanism, and so the latter, though involving "a grave theological error hardening and establishing itself in the form of an ecclesiastical system,"[15] received the suffrage of the Synod, by a vote of more than sixty to less than ten;[16] the want of unanimity being emphasized by the quality of the opposition, more than by its quantity.[17]

This "Half-way Covenant," as it has been usually and aptly called, while it made a show of meeting the difficulty, and of keeping the church pure by this fond distinction between "half-way" and full membership, was earnestly opposed by Chauncy,[18] Davenport[19] and others,[20] because they had the

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[15] Dr. L. Bacon, Discourse at Norwich, *Contrib. to Eccles. Hist. Conn.*, 22.

[16] "More than seven to one." *Magnalia*, v: 77. "We suppose there were not *Five twice told* that did in any thing Vote on the Negative in the late Synod," . . . "in the Third Proposition . . . there appeared not above *Three* that dissented." *Mitchell*, as above.

[17] Mather says [*Magnalia*, v: 77] it came from "several Reverend and Judicious Persons in that Venerable Assembly;" and Pres. Chauncy [*Anti-Synodalia*, etc., 15] speaks of the minority as "many of Gods faithfull and conscientious people and ministers."

[18] "It is apparent unto all what a corrupt masse of unbelievers shall by this change throng into the fellowship of God's People, and the children of strangers uncircumcised in heart, shall be brought into God's sanctuary to pollute it, contrary to God's word, *Ezek.* xliv: 7–9." [Pres. Chauncy, *Anti-Synodalia*, etc., 10.] . . . "That practice which exposeth the blood of Christ to contempt, and Baptism to prophanation, the Church to pollution, and the Commonwealth to confusion, is not to be admitted; but the baptising of the children of such as are not visible believers doth all this," etc. *Ibid*, 30.

[19] "A man may do and be all that is there required [i. e., in the result of the Synod], yet have no Faith in Christ, but be an unregenerate person," etc. J. Davenport, *Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth*, etc., 25.

[20] "If we may do so [as the Synod advised],

sagacity to foresee that through the gradual effacement of all distinction in membership, it must result in filling the churches with unregenerate persons, and so poisoning at their fountain the streams of the Christian liberty and prosperity of the colonies. The contention, on the other hand, of the Synod and its apologists was, that, if something of this sort were not done, it would be impossible to prevent the churches from so lowering the terms of full communion as to admit unworthy persons to all privilege; than which evil they judged that any which might grow out of the new measure must be less. Even "matchless"[21] Mitchell, to whose earnestness the determination reached was chiefly owing,[22] urged, in subsequently defending the result:[23]

"There is apparently a *greater danger* of Corruption to the Churches by *enlarging the Subjects of full Communion*, and admitting unqualified, or meanly qualified persons to the *Lord's Table* and *Voting* in the Church, whereby the interest of the power of Godliness will soon be prejudiced, and *Elections*, *Admissions*, *Censures*, so carried, as will be hazardous thereunto. Now it is evident that this is, and will be, the Temptation, viz.: to *over-enlarge full Communion*, if *Baptism* be *limited* to the Children of such as are admitted thereunto. And it is easy to observe, that many of the Reasonings of our Brethren, and others, are more against the *Non-admission* of the Parents in question *to full Communion*, then against the *Admission* of their Children to *Baptism*. How unreasonable is it then to object against us as *Corrupters* of the Churches, when we stand for a *greater strictness* then they, etc. . . . In sum, we make account, that if we keep *Baptism* within the compass of the *Non-excommunicable*, and the *Lords Supper* within the compass of those that have (unto Charity) *somewhat of the Power of Godliness* (or *Grace in Exercise*) we shall be near about the right Middle-way of Church-Reformation. And as for the Preservation of due Purity in the Church, it is the *due Exercise of Dis-*

New England Christians are of all Christians in the world *most miserable* and foolish. We have *suffered many things in vain*, in leaving such a Countrey for this; our Estates, Friends, Comforts there, to enjoy God, and Christ, and our Consciences in the *Congregational-Way*, in a low afflicted condition in the Wilderness, for so many years together; and now we must lose those things which we have wrought, and may return to our former state when we please: which the Lord preserve us from." [N. Street, *Considerations upon the Seven Propositions Concluded by the Synod*, etc., *ad cal.* of *Another Essay*, etc., 71.] "There is danger of great Corruption and Pollution creeping into the Churches by the [this] Enlargement of the Subject of Baptism." I. Mather, *Apol. Pref.* to *Another Essay*, etc., xiv.

[21] 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i: 205.

[22] *Magnalia*, iv: 177; Increase Mather, *Discourse Concerning Baptism*, etc., 36; A. Holmes, Hist. Cambridge, 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii: 49. A letter of Eleazer Mather makes it clear that Mr. Parker of Newbury, was the great champion of Presbyterian notions in the body, although many of his motions there "were not attended." *Hutchinson*, i: 206, *n.*

[23] *Answer to Apologetical Preface*, etc., prefaced to *A Defence of the Answer*, etc., 45.

cipline that must do that, as our Divines unanimously acknowledge, for that is Gods own appointed way," etc.

Those who were in conscience opposed to the Synod's deliverance, hastened to make their appeal against it to the General Court, fortified by the testimony of Mr. Davenport, and his colleague Mr. Street.[24] But, after discussion of the Result, the Court "judged it meete to cōmend the same vnto the consideration of all the churches & people," and ordered that "an epistle or p.face suiteable to the sajd worke be forthwith prepared," and printed with it.[25] A sharp discussion followed, lasting through many years, in which some of the ablest pens of the colonies on either side engaged themselves; while Increase Mather — then scarcely twenty-three, but who survived to be more than eighty-four — lived to publish with equal earnestness, if not with equal ability, on both sides.[26] For a considerable period the controversy between the *Synodists* and the *Anti-Synodists* divided New England. As the rule in the Massachusetts colony the pastors appear to have favored the Result, while many of the more intelligent and influential laymen were "stiffly and fiercely set the other way."[27]

Steadily, now for some years, had been coming over from Father-land the weighty influence of the Presbyterians of the Long Parliament, the Westminster Assembly, and the Commonwealth, in favor of that larger liberty — in what Davenport stigmatized as the "parish way" — which had commended itself to them; and to which they had done their endeavor to reduce the Church of England.

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[24] Letter of Increase Mather to John Davenport, *Hutchinson*, i: 205.

[25] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, iv(2): 60, 62.

[26] He wrote for John Davenport's *Another Essay*, etc. (1663), *An Apologetical Preface*, etc. (4to, pp. 14), warmly dissenting from the Synod's Result; and having, as his son Cotton [*Magnalia*, v: 81] says, been convinced by Mr. Mitchell's arguments, he subsequently printed, in defence of the opposite view, *The First Principles of New England, Concerning the Subject of Baptisme, & Communion of Churches* (1675), 4to, pp. viii: 40, 7; and *A Discourse concerning the Subject of Baptisme, Wherein the present Controversies, that are agitated in the New English Churches are from Scripture and Reason modestly enquired into* (1675), 4to, pp. iv, 76. The former is an endeavor to prove that the principles maintained by the first founders of New England (and especially by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Stone, Richard Mather, John Norton, Ralph Partridge, Nathaniel Rogers, Henry Smith, Peter Prudden, John Wilson, John Allin and Jonathan Mitchell) involved, if they did not develop, the essential doctrines of the Synod.

[27] *Magnalia*, v: 82. See the Records of the First Church in Salem for a good illustration of the way in which response was made to the Synod's action. [*N. E. Cong.*, etc., 59–70.] The first "half-way" admissions in Salem were 30 July–9 Aug., 1665.

When John Wilson died in 1667 — following his colleague John Norton, who had rested from his labors a little more than four years before — the large majority of the First Church in Boston manifested its feeling on the subject of the half-way covenant, by inviting John Davenport, the champion of the opposing view, to come from New Haven to be Mr. Wilson's successor. His ultimate acceptance of the call was followed by the secession of twenty-eight male members; who — after much tribulation, and by the aid of the first well-marked (and perhaps the most important) *Ex-parte* council ever held in New England — were formed into what has long been honorably known as the "Old South" Church.[28] For "two sevens of years" there was no communion between the old church and the new, and "the whole People of God throughout the Colony, were too much distinguished into such as favoured the Old Church, and such as favored the New Church; whereof the former were against the Synod, and the latter were for it."[29]

In the New Haven Colony, where Davenport's influence was weighty, most of the churches earnestly opposed the new way,[30] which they called "large Congregationalism."[31] But there, as proved to be the case elsewhere, "as the aged ministers and other old men, honored and influential, who had resisted the conclusions of the Massachusetts synod, passed away, the half-way covenant came in with the new generation of pastors and church-members."[32] As first conceived, and practiced, this might

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[28] This was the *third* church in Boston. The second, familiarly called the "Old North," where the Mathers ministered, had been gathered 5–15 June, 1650, for sheer want of room in Mr. Cotton's meeting-house. The most respectable "Old South" has given symptoms in the present generation of having forgotten the hole of the pit whence it was digged; having been known more than once to decline an invitation to sit with other churches in Council *Ex-parte*, on the suspicion of a certain disreputable flavor essentially clinging to that precise form of the ordinance of Councils.

[29] *Magnalia*, v: 83.

[30] "The most of the churches, in this jurisdicõn, are professedly against this new way, both in judgment and practise, upon Gospel grounds, viz.: Newhaven, Milford, Stratford, Brandford, Gillford, Norwalke, Stamford, and those nearer to Hartford, viz.: Farmington, and the sounder parte of Windsor, together with their reverend Pastor, Mr. Warham, and, I thinck, Mr. Fitch, and his church also. . . . It is no slight matter, as de lanâ caprinâ [*de lana caprina rixari.*—Horace, *Epis.*, i: 18, "to contend about a trifle,"] that is now agitated, but that which concernes the preserving of Christian churches in peace, and Gospel-ordinances in purity: it is the faith and order of the Churches of Christ, which we are called to contend for, that they may be preserved intyre and [un]corrupted." *Letter of John Davenport to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr.*, in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, x: 60.

[31] *Contributions to Ecclesiastical History Conn.*, 26.

[32] *Ibid.*

not have worked serious harm, but it was laxative rather than astringent in its nature, and its tendency was steadily downward. Originally its provisions applied only to church-members who were admitted in minority, but before many years churches which adopted it construed it as admitting those not church-members by baptism, and even men of lax personal morality who might desire baptism for their children. While thus growing less and less scrupulous as to the character of those whom it gathered in to that connection which it offered with the church; it, at the same time, broadened its view of the amount of church privilege to which such persons should be entitled. Starting with the theory that some germ of true faith, in the absence of proof to the contrary, must be assumed in one who was a child of the covenant — sufficient to transmit a right of baptism to his children, but not sufficient to entitle him to partake of the Lord's Supper; not many years passed before the inference was reached that an amount of saving faith, even in the germ, which would justify the baptism of a man's children, ought to justify his own admission to the table of the Lord. Some churches silently acted on this theory, others openly voted that "those who wish to offer their children in baptism join with the church, and have a right to all the ordinances and privileges of the church;" while "if any have doubts with regard to their preparation for the Lord's Supper, they may have the liberty to stay away from that ordinance until their doubts shall be removed."[33] It was only necessary to add to this the theory which Solomon Stoddard of Northampton advocated in 1700, that "the Lords Supper is instituted to be a means of Regeneration," with the inevitable corollary, that men "may and ought to come [to it] tho' they know themselves to be in a Natural Condition;"[34] completely to efface all useful and evangelical distinction between the church and the world. Sometimes, indeed, nearly the whole body of the young people of a congregation would "own the covenant."[35] No wonder

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33 See Action of Church in W. Amesbury, Mass., in 1790, and of that in W. Springfield, 1785, in *Eccles. Cont. Essex Co.*, etc., 274, that of Northampton, *Cong. Quar.*, iii: 168.

34 *Doctrine of Instituted Chh's.*, etc., 21, 22.

35 "Sixty-nine persons male and female subscribed this [the covenant in Hartford] in February [1696]; on the 8th of March, one fortnight after, eighty-three more subscribed. In about a month, the number of subscribers

that the decline of piety was not long in making itself painfully visible.[36]

And so it turned out that scarcely more than half a generation had passed after this "large" had been entered upon, before the decay of morals and manners was such as to alarm the godly; the more that heavy calamities by sea and shore, shipwrecks, droughts, conflagrations, fightings,[37] pestilential

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amounted to one hundred and ninety-two; . . appears to have been nearly the whole body of young people in that congregation." [B. Trumbull, *Hist. Conn.*, i: 471.] It may be interesting for the reader to glance at two specimens of the "half-way" covenants thus employed. The one appears to have been in use in the "Old North" in Boston, the other in the First Church in Hartford, Conn. I put them in parallel. [See the forms used in W. Amesbury, W. Boxford, Rowley, and Ipswich, Mass., in *Contrib. to Eccl. Hist. Essex Co.*, etc., 276–278.]

"You now from your Heart professing a serious Belief of the Christian Religion, as it has been generally declared and embraced by the Faithful in this Place, do here give up your self to God in Christ; promising with his Help to endeavour a Walk, according to the Rules of that Holy Religion, all your Days; Choosing of God as your best Good, and your last End, and Christ as the Prophet and Priest, and King of your Soul for ever. You do therefore submit unto the Laws of his Kingdom, as they are administred in this Church of his; and you will also carefully and sincerely labour after those more positive and increased Evidences of Regeneration, which may further encourage you to seek an Admission unto the Table of the Lord." *Magnalia*, v: 84.

"We do solemnly, in the presence of God and this congregation, avouch God, in Jesus Christ, to be our God, one God in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that we are by nature children of wrath, and that our hope of mercy with God, is only through the righteousness of Jesus Christ, apprehended by faith; and we do freely give up ourselves to the Lord, to walk in communion with him, in the ordinances appointed in his holy word, and to yield obedience to all his commandments, and submit to his government. And whereas, to the great dishonour of God, scandal of religion, and hazard of the damnation of many souls, drunkenness and uncleanness are prevailing amongst us, we do solemnly engage before God, this day, through his grace faithfully and conscientiously to strive against these evils and the temptations leading thereunto." Trumbull, *Hist. Conn.*, i: 471.

36 "A little after 1660, there began to appear a *Decay:* And this increased to 1670, when it grew very visible and threatening, and was generally complained of and bewailed bitterly by the Pious among them: And yet much more to 1680, when but few of the first Generation remained." [Sermon by Thos. Prince: *Christian History*, etc., i: 94.] "Ah how doth the Unsoundness, the Rottenness and Hypocrisy of too many amongst us make itself known." [Stoughton, *Election Sermon* (1668), 16.] "How is New England fallen! The Land that was a Land of Holiness, hath lost her Holiness." [T. Walley, *Plym. Elect. Sermon* (1669), 11.] "Doth not a careless, remiss, flat, dry, cold, dead Frame of Spirit grow upon us secretly, strongly, prodigiously? . . . Pride, Contention, Worldliness, Covetousness, Luxury, Drunkenness and Uncleanness break in like a Flood upon us; and good Men grow cold in their Love to God, and one another." [S. Danforth, *Election Sermon* (1670), 13.] "The *Body* of the *Rising Generation* is a *poor, perishing*, UNCONVERTED, and (except the Lord pour down his Spirit) an *undone Generation*." [Increase Mather (1678), *Pray for Ris. Gen.*, etc., 18.] "O there is little or nothing of the Life of Religion to be seen, or appearing either in the Frame, or Way, Hearts, or Lives of the generality of the Professors of it. And that which remains thereof, *ready to die!* [S. Torrey, *Election Sermon* (1683), 21.] "There is a general, and an horrible *Decay of Christianity* among the Professors of it." [Cotton Mather, *Good Old Way*, etc. (1706), 4.]

37 Philip's War, which, precipitated by the murder of *Sassamon* on Assawompset Pond in Mass., in the winter of 1674–5, broke out in the middle of the following summer, and ended with Col. Ben. Church's capture of old *Conscience* at Swansey in January, 1676–7; which had utterly depopulated ten or twelve towns, and scattered the inhabitants of some twoscore more; and which had cost the colonies engaged in it from five to six hundred lives, and more than £100,000 in treasure; naturally took chief place in this census of sorrows.

sicknesses, and commercial disasters — which the Judaistic tendency of the piety of that day inclined to interpret strongly in the light of special divine judgments — had fallen upon the land. So deep became the feeling among the leaders of Christian sentiment, that, in the spring of 1679, reverend Elders of the Massachusetts Colony petitioned their rulers to take action in the matter, and the Court ordered a Synod to assemble on Wednesday the 10–20 September following, to consider:[38]

"*Quaest. 1.* What are the euills that haue provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England?

"*2. Quaest.* What is to be donn that so those evills may be reformed?"

The churches of the Massachusetts Colony observed a day of general fasting and prayer for God's blessing on the movement, and the Synod itself began with a like service. Rev. John Sherman of Watertown, and Rev. Urian Oakes, who held the double office of Pastor at Cambridge, and President of Harvard College, were its moderators. It spent several days in the discussion of the two subjects submitted, "with utmost Liberty granted unto every Person, to express his Thoughts thereupon." A committee then digested these opinions into a Result which "as to the *Substance, End and Scope* thereof,"[39] was unanimously adopted, reported to the Court at its October session, and by it commended "to the serious consideration of all the churches and people." The Court further enjoined and required:[40]

"All persons in their seuerall capacitjes concerned, to a carefull and diligent reformation of all those provoking evills mentioned therein, according to the true intent thereof, that so the anger and displeasure of God, which hath binn many wayes manifested, maybe averted from this poore people, and his favour and blessing obteyned, as in former tjmes."

The evils which the Synod particularly specified were thirteen: (1) the decay of godliness among professing Christians; (2) pride, showing itself in the unwillingness to submit to due order, and in contention, as well as in "Strange Apparel;"[41] (3) breaches of the second commandment in the neglect of baptism and church fellowship, and that Quakers and Anabaptists

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38 *Mass. Col. Rec.*, v: 215.

39 *Magnalia*, v: 87.

40 *Mass. Col. Rec.*, v: 244.

41 "Servants, and the poorer sort of People

have "set up an Altar against the Lord's Altar" without having been "fully testified against;" (4) the profaning of God's name by imprecations, and by irreverent behavior in the sanctuary; (5) Sabbath breaking; (6) lax government and the want of household worship in families; (7) inordinate passions, backbitings, censures, revilings, and law-suits even between church-members; (8) intemperance, tavern-haunting, and putting the bottle to the lips of the Indians, to convert whom the first planters came into this land; heinous breaches of the seventh commandment, with wanton and seductive dress and behavior, mixed dancings, gamings and idleness; (9) promise-breaking and other untruthfulness; (10) inordinate affection for the world, showing itself in too great a desire for landed estates, leading men "to forsake Churches and Ordinances, and to live like Heathen, only that so they might have Elbow-room enough in the World," causing others to sell goods at excessive rates, still others to demand unreasonable wages, and inclining many to "strait-handedness as to Publick Concernments;" (11) opposition to the work of reformation and making excuses for sin; (12) a lamentable want of public spirit, causing schools of learning and other such common interests to languish, and raising murmurs as to philanthopic expenditures; and finally (13) sins against the Gospel in the refusal to repent, and in general unfruitfulness under the means of grace. These sins it was thought safe to assume to be the ground of the Lord's controversy with New England, because they were so common; because they had been acknowledged on days of public humiliation and yet had not been repented of; and because many of them were not punished (and some not punishable) by man, wherefore it was assumed that the Lord himself was punishing them.

Twelve prescriptions were suggested for the moral diseases thus diagnosed: (1) that the chief persons in the Church and State, "as to themselves and families become every way Exemplary;" (2) that — since a generation had passed — the Cambridge Platform be reaffirmed; (3) that care be taken to

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are notoriously guilty in this matter, who (too generally) go above their Estates and Degrees," thereby transgressing the laws both of God and man. *Magnalia*, v: 88.

admit none to the communion in the Lord's Supper who have not made full profession of saving faith; (4) that discipline in the churches be re-invigorated and "Diligently attended, not only towards Parents, but also towards the Children of the Church, according to the Rules of Christ;" (5) that utmost endeavors be used to have the churches fully officered with pastor, as well as teacher, and with Ruling Elders; (6) that the magistrate see to it that these officers have "due encouragement and maintenance;" (7) that wholesome laws be established,[42] and particularly that those for the regulation of public houses be rigorously enforced, and that for constables and tithing-men be chosen from among the ablest and most prudent;[43] (8) that the churches make a solemn renewal of their covenant with God; (9) that in such renewal the sins of the times be specially "engaged against;" (10) that in such renewal "such things as are clear and indisputable be expressed, that so all the Churches may agree in Covenanting to promote the Interest of Holiness, and close walking with God;" (11) that effectual care be taken that the college,[44] and all schools of learning in every place, be promoted and encouraged; and, finally (12) — since every expedient must be ineffectual unless divine grace attend it — that all "cry mightily unto God, both in ordinary

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42 "At night, reading in course in the family the Eleventh of the Revelation, it brought fresh to my mind what I had said to Mr. Mather a pretty while agoe, that if we could pass the Law against Incest [marrying a deceased wife's sister] might help to finish our Testimony." *Diary of Samuel Sewall, 5 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v: 407.

43 "The tythingmen are required diligently to inspect the manners of all disorderly persons, & whereby more private admonitions they will not be reclaymed, they are from tjme to tjme, to present their names to the next magistrate or cõmissioner invested wth magistratticall power, who shall proceed against them as the law directs; as also they are, in like manner, to present the names of all single persons that liue from vnder family government, stubborne and disorderly children & servants, night walkers, typlers, Sabboath breakers, by night or by day, & such as absent themselves from the publicke worship of God on the Lords dayes, or whateuer the course or practise of any person or persons whatsoeuer tending to debauchery, irreligion, prophaness, & atheisme among us, wherein by omission of family gouernment, nurture, & religious dutjes, & instruccon of children & servants, or idlenes, profligat, vncivill, or rude practises of any sort; the names of all which persons, wth the fact whereof they are accused, & wittnesses thereof, they shall present to the next magistrate or cõmissioner, where any are in the sajd toune invested wth magistratticall power, who shall proceed against and punish all such misdemeanors by fine, imprisonment, or binding ouer to the County Court, as the law directs." [Statute of 15 Oct., 1679. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, v: 241.] As this is but a *part* of the duties of tithing-men, it must have been extremely desirable, beyond a doubt, that they be both "able" and "prudent!"

44 There was then, of course, but one — that at Cambridge; the first order for the founding of which had been taken 28 Oct.–7 Nov., 1636.

and extraordinary manner, that He would be pleased to Rain down Righteousness" upon the land.[45]

This action of this Synod produced a good effect. Faithful ministers were much strengthened by it in laboring with their people,[46] and devout Christians provoked to a more earnest piety. Many churches made solemn renewal of their covenant with God.[47] And the other colonies, particularly those of Plymouth and Connecticut, to a considerable extent followed the lead of Massachusetts.

In the estimation of the good men of the time, however, the judgments of God were not stayed in consequence. Lamentable disasters on sea and land came thick and fast. A French and Indian war; the old Charter gone; Gov. Andros come, and a Church of England service forcibly intruded into the South meeting-house;[48] privateers infesting the coast; fires, hurricanes, very extraordinary hail-storms,[49] floods whose violence changed the channels of rivers, ministers' houses struck with lightning;[50] news of a tremendous earthquake swallowing two thousand victims followed by a pestilence sweeping away three thousand more, in Jamaica; the small-pox raging in New Hampshire and again in the Carolinas;[51] great losses of cattle;[52] a scarcity of food, bringing grain up to the highest price ever known; the coldest weather in winter since the country was settled; and the heavy cloud of the witchcraft delusion settling like a pall over some of the best places and best peo-

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45 See Cotton Mather's account of this Synod and his reprint of its result, *Magnalia*, v: 85–100.

46 The reader who is curious to possess himself in the most graphic way of the facts of these times will find many passages of marked interest in the first volume of the *Diary of Samuel Sewall* [*5 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi] He will find brief notes of sermons by Cotton Mather, Joseph Eliot, etc., 169, 194, etc.

47 Mather gives [*Magnalia*, v: 95] what he says was the form, with little variation, very generally used in thus re-covenanting.

48 For the procedures connected with this, and for illustrations of the tribulation of those who could not with a good conscience consent that their meeting-houses be used for the "Common Prayer Worship," see Sewall's *Diary*, as above, 162, 171, 172, 218, etc.

49 Sewall [402] describes one, 29 April, 1695, where the hail was "as bigg as pistoll and Musquet Bullets; It broke of the Glass of the New House about 480 Quarrels [squares] of the Front; of Mr. Sergeant's about as much; Col. Shrimpton, Major General, Govr. Bradstreet, New Meeting House, &c."

50 "He [Cotton Mather] had just been mentioning that more Ministers Houses than others proportionably had been smitten with Lightening; enquiring what the meaning of God should be in it." *Ibid*, 402.

51 *Ibid*, i: 503.

52 "To Horses, Swine, Net-Cattell, Sheep and Deer,
Ninety and Seven prov'd a Mortal yeer."
Ibid, i: 479.

ple of Massachusetts;[53] who can fail to see that, to our fathers, this going out of the seventeenth century must have seemed almost like the very dawning of the day of doom?

Before leaving this Reforming Synod, we shall do well to glance at another vote passed by it, which sheds light upon the latitude and longitude of the Congregationalism of that generation. In phrasing the order which had called it together, the Court stated that the Reverend Elders had asked that it be held: "for the reuisall of the platforme of discipljne agreed vpon by the churches, 1647, and what else may appeare necessary for the preventing schishmes, hæresies, prophaness, & the establishment of the churches in one faith & order of the gospell;" and had directed the body to assemble generally "for the ends aforesajd."[54] Apparently the first question, therefore, to come before the assembly was the inquiry how its members stood affected towards the Cambridge Platform? Having read and considered the same, the Synod voted that it did "unanimously approve of the said *Platform*, for the *Substance of it;* desiring that the Churches may continue steadfast in the *Order of the Gospel*, according to what is therein declared from the Word of God."[55] Cotton Mather, writing within twenty years,[56] calls attention to this qualifying phrase, and proceeds to explain precisely what, and how much, was meant by it. He specifies four particulars in which the current New England judgment had then departed from the exact language of the Platform. That instrument only by implication, if at all, permits the pastor of one church to administer the sacraments to another, and Mather says Mr. Phillips of Watertown was, so far as he knows, the only pastor who had then done so;[57] as to which subject public sentiment had changed so far as to justify the occasional officiation, in both ordinances, with

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53 For many of these details, see A. Holmes, *Annals of America*, etc. (sub. ann. 1681–1700), i: 401–481.

54 *Mass. Col. Rec.*, v: 215.

55 *Magnalia*, v: 39. The Salem Chh. Records [under date of Sept. 7–17, 1679] say that their vote was "*nemine contradicente*," which was the sort of unanimity most likely to be expected, under the circumstances.

56 The *Magnalia* was printed in London in 1702, but the latest date of the introductory matter is 16 Oct., 1697.

57 Increase Mather [*Order of the Gospel*, etc. (1700), 117] adds to his son's mention of Mr. Phillips: "And thus did Mr. *Eliot* (a zealous man for the Order of the Gospel, practised in the *Platform* of Discipline) practice forty years ago in the *Indian Churches*." The following extract will illustrate the common custom: "*Sab. 31 May* [*10 June*] *1696.* Mr.

a destitute church by the pastor of another, care being taken that such aid should not interfere with the speedy reëstablishment of the regular pastoral service.[58]

The second point respected the office of the Ruling Elder, which the Platform specifically enjoins as essential to its idea of the normal working of a church of Christ. Partly because of doubt whether the New Testament directs and appoints such an office, partly because of "Inconveniencies, whereunto many Churches have been plunged by *Elders*, not of such a Number, or not of such a *Wisdom*, as were desirable," and partly "through a *penury* of men well qualified for the Discharge of it," the churches were now "generally destitute of such *Helps in Government*." This the Synod felt to be a calamity. In its judgment, "unless a Church have *Divers Elders*, the *Church-Government* must needs become either *Prelatic* or *Popular*." And, if we may trust the action of an assembly of ministers about that time held in Cambridge, we may be sure the body threw its influence with the doctrine of the Platform in this respect, and against the popular feeling of the churches.[59]

The third point related to lay ordination. The Platform, while it exceptionally permits the ordination of a pastor by the Elders of other churches, in case his own church lack Elders for the work; contemplates, as regular, only imposition of Hands by the Ruling Elders of that church, or, if there be none, by some of its "Brethren orderly chosen by the Church therunto."[60] As to this the opinion of the churches, and especially of the ministry, had drifted, to the extent not only that there had been very few of these "*Plebeian* Ordinations," but that such an one would then be matter of "Discourse and Wonder."[61]

Willard [pastor of the Old South] is so faint with his Flux, that is not able to come abroad, and so there is a disapointment of the Lord's Supper, which should otherwise have been celebrated this day. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches [he had now been for more than eleven years the ordained colleague of his father at the Old North, and of course was fully competent on the theory of that day to administer the ordinance, but for the Platform], exhorts us to examine our selvs, whether we were prepared for that Ordinance. And said *that Humiliation for the disapointmt, and mourning after Christ, God might make as profitable to us as the Ordinance.*" Sewall's *Diary*, i: 427.

[58] *Magnalia*, v: 40.

[59] *Ibid*, v: 45.

[60] *Platform*, etc., Chap. ix, Secs. 3, 4.

[61] *Magnalia*, v: 42.

The fourth point — "which hath been as Difficult as any of the rest" — concerned the admission of members to the church. The Platform, while it advises the acceptance of the "weakest measure" of what in the judgment of charity, is real faith, and discourages "severity of examination;" does yet teach that "a personal and publick *confession*, and declaring of Gods manner of working upon the soul, is both lawful, expedient and useful."[62] This had led in practice to what many conceived were "unscriptural severities," which were "as a *Scare-Crow* to keep men out of the *Temple*," and which, "instead of having any Divine *Precept* for the bottom" of it, had no bottom at all, "but this, that it *has been a Practice*." As to this too — and with pastoral favor — there had been such "progress" that the matter of examination for admission to church privilege now rested mainly in the hands of the pastor, who communicated his satisfaction, privately obtained, to the church.[63]

These explanations of Cotton Mather, with what may easily be gathered from other sources, are enough to assure us, that by the time they passed into the eighteenth century, the churches of New England had become so far spiritually devitalized by the Half-way Covenant, that while many were ready openly to avow that baptism and a morally correct life entitled those who made no claim to experimental piety to full communion in the Lord's Supper; the remainder, who were not yet themselves prepared to go so far, were willing to acquiesce in such a view to the degree that it produced "no troublesome *Variance* or *Contention* among them."[64]

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62 *Platform*, Chap. xii, Sec. 5.

63 *Magnalia*, v: 43. *Ratio Disciplinæ*, etc., 88.

64 *Ratio Disciplinæ*, etc., 84. Progress on this point at this date seems to have been rapid. In 1700 Solomon Stoddard of Northampton published *The Doctrine of Instituted Churches Explained and Proved from the Word of God*, to which I have already referred, in which [6] he defined visible saints to be "such as make a serious profession of the true Religion, together with those that do descend from them, till rejected of God;" and taught [21] that "such persons as have a good Conversation and a Competent Knowledge," both "may and ought" to "come to the Lords Supper, with a good Conscience," . . . "tho' they know themselves to be in a Natural Condition." . . . "As no Man may neglect Prayer, or hearing the Word, because he cannot do it in Faith, so he may not neglect the Lord's Supper." To this book Increase and Cotton Mather made a speedy joint reply, in an introduction to the reprint of Rev. John Quick's *Young Man's Claim unto the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* (1700), in which [54] they say they "would not for Ten Worlds, run the Hazard of bringing the Blood of so many Souls upon our Heads, as we might, if we should bid men in their *Known Unregeneracy* to come unto the *Tremendous Mysteries*" of the Lord's Sup-

Differences of judgment at this time existed also in regard to the seat and amount of power over churches, and in churches. The solemn expressed judgment of a body of the most prominent ministers of the colony associated at Cambridge, shows us that, as to Synods, the clergy had advanced so far as to teach that:[65]

"*Synods* being of *Apostolical example*, recommended as a necessary Ordinance, it is but reasonable, that their Judgment be acknowledged as DECISIVE, in the Affairs for which they are ordained; and to deny them the Power of such a Judgment, is to render a necessary Ordinance *of none effect*."

And as to the *fons potestatis* within the church, while they frankly conceded that there are "certain Cases wherein the *Elders* in the management of their *Church Government* are to take the Concurrence of the *Fraternity*," they went on to say:[66]

"Nevertheless, the Pastor of a Church may by himself *Authoritatively* suspend from the *Lord's-Table* a Brother accused or suspected of a *Scandal*, till the Matter may and should be regularly examined. . . . The *Elders* of the Church, have a *Negative* on the *Votes* of the *Brethren;* who, indeed, in the Exercise of their Liberty and Privilege are under the conduct of the *Elders*. To take away the *Negative* of the *Elders*, or the Necessity of their *Consent* unto such Acts, indeed is to take away all *Government* whatsoever, and it is to turn the whole *Regimen of the Church* into a pure *Democracy*. And, if the *Positive* of the *Brethren* can supersede a *Negative* of the *Elders*, either the *Elders* may be driven to do things quite contrary unto the Light of their Conscience, or else the *Brethren* may presume to do things which belong not unto them."

If the whole truth be told, indeed, this "concurrence of the Fraternity" was, at least in some places, extremely limited in its scope. It meant that the brethren had the privilege of expressing assent if they were so disposed, and of keeping silence if they did not agree with the action proposed. Even

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per, and [55] accuse Mr. Stoddard and those who think with him of "Undermining our *Churches*." Mr. Stoddard replied in *An Appeal to the Learned; being a Vindication of the Right of Visible Saints to the Lords Supper, Though they be destitute of a Saving Work of God's Spirit on their Hearts*, etc. (1709), in which [25] he insists that "this Ordinance has a proper tendency in its own nature to Convert men," and [98] that the true way to save New England, and prevent its churches from a "great defection," is not to deny the Lord's Supper to the parties under dispute, but, "to give them that, and a good and strict Watch over their Lives and Manners, together with it." And now, in 1726, we find Cotton Mather asserting that the different views on this subject which exist in New England neither interfere with fellowship, nor disturb the peace.

[65] *Magnalia*, v: 45.

[66] *Ibid*, v: 46.

at Plymouth we are told — but this was after Elder Brewster's day — that:[67]

"When the elders called for the vote of the brethren, they *never called for a negative*, or contrary vote; *as judging it would be the using of ax or hammer in temple-work:* Only care was taken, before the vote was called for in any case to gain the consent of every brother; and in case any could not actually vote, yet expressing that they could rest in the act of the church, it was satisfying."

It will be remembered as one of the Reforming Synod's specifications of the evils of the times, that most of the churches had "only one Teaching officer:"[68] while Cotton Mather testifies that they were then "generally destitute" of Ruling Elders.[69] Putting these things together, it becomes obvious that at least, in the vast majority of cases, by the first quarter of the eighteenth century, this original Barrowistic Presbytery, or College of Elders, which by the Platform existed in every church, and which to all intents and purposes was that church, had come in New England to consist of only one man — the pastor; who received from it the legacy of general control, with a specific veto power which made his sole negative outvote "the Positive" of the whole church beside![70]

The *Ratio Disciplinæ* (1726) thus describes the method then usual in joining the church — candidates having first had private conference with the pastor.[71]

"Before the Persons who have thus privately addressed the *Pastor* for Admission into the Church, are publickly admitted, he propounds their *Names* unto the Congregation, with an Intimation of what they have desired. He takes his Time to *Read* or *Tell* unto the *Church*, (and sometimes as many of the *mixed Assembly* as please, are allowed also to stay,) what he judges proper

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67 John Cotton, Esq., 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv: 138.

68 *Magnalia*, v: 92.

69 *Ibid*, v: 40. "As to matter of fact, we find it [the Ruling Elder] to be *rara Avis in Terra*, like a black swan in the Meadow; and tho' the whole Species is not quite rooted out, yet it is grown very rare to find one Individual." J. Wise, *Chhs. Quarrel*, etc. (ed. 1715), 15.

70 The case of the Rev. Samuel Fisk of Salem illustrates this statement. Judge White says of him [he was pastor of the First Church, from 1718 to 1735]: "He appears to have dispensed entirely with Church meetings, excepting when he stayed the Church after religious exercises for some particular purpose. Even when importuned to call the Church together to consider impending difficulties, occasioned by his official conduct, he persisted in refusing compliance." [*N. E. Cong.*, etc., 111.] This is confirmed by the Result of the Council held 17–28 July, 1733, which declared: "we judge that the Rev. Pastor . . . has unworthily treated the Church with regard to their Priviledges, in refusing so often to call Church-Meetings when properly apply'd to therefor, etc." *Just and Impartial Narrative*, etc. (1735), 111.

71 *Rat. Disciplinæ*, etc., 90.

of the *Examination*, which [in his private interview with them] has been taken of their Pious *Dispositions* or *Experiences;* Adding, that he has received an Incouraging Testimony of their Conversation [that is, has had favorable answer to his inquiries as to their manner of life].

"The Candidates of the Communion, at the proper time for it, standing forth, now the Pastor calls upon the *Brethren* of the Church, to signify their Consent unto the Admission of these Persons unto their Communion, by *lifting up their Hands;* [For in all these Points, their *Church-Government* is not unlike the Government reported by *Plato* to have been sometimes in *Athens*, which *Grotius* also tells us was the Government of the Primitive Churches; *ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΗΘΟΥΣ*: *An Aristocracy ordering all things with the good liking of the People.*"]

The freedom — which the half-way covenant had brought in — with which those who did not profess to be regenerate would enter into the most solemn engagements, will be graphically illustrated by the account of what took place in Taunton, Massachusetts, in the early spring of 1705, as it was described by the pastor, Rev. Samuel Danforth, and published by Thomas Prince in the *Christian History*.[72]

"It was a most comfortable Day the *first* of *March*, when we renew'd the *Reformation Covenant*. . . [clearly all was done with the most devoutly Evangelical *intent*] only we added an Engagement to reform *Idleness*, unnecessary *frequenting Houses of public Entertainment*, *irreverent Behaviour* in *Public Worship*, *Neglect of Family-Prayer*, *Promise-breaking*, and *walking with Slanderers* and *Reproachers of others;* and that we should all in our Families be subject to good Orders and Government. It was read to the *Brethren* and *Sisters* [that is, to all already church-members] in the *Forenoon;* they *standing up* as an outward Sign of their inward Consent, to the *rest* of the *Inhabitants*. In the *Afternoon they* [that is, the 'rest of the inhabitants'] standing up also when it was read; and then every one that stood up, brought his *Name* ready *writ in a Paper*, and put into the Box, that it might be put on Church Record. . . . We gave Liberty to all Men and Women Kind, *from sixteen Years old and upwards* to act with us; and had *three hundred Names* given in *to list under Christ*, against the Sins of the Times. . . . We have *a hundred more* that will yet bind themselves in the *Covenant*, that were then *detained* from Meeting. Let God have the Glory."

That this covenanting was not, however, quite equivalent, in their estimation, to even a half-way joining of the church, is made clear by the next sentence of good Mr. Danforth's letter:

"*Yesterday* [he was writing on Monday, 5–16 March, 1704–5, while the covenanting spoken of had taken place on the previous Thursday] fourteen were

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[72] *The Christian History*, etc., *of the Revival* | *and Propagation of Religion* (1743), i: 110.

propounded to the *Church;* some for *full Communion;* others for *Baptism,* being adult Persons."

So saintly a man as Jonathan Edwards, more than a generation later [16–27 March, 1741–2], administered a most solemn covenant — so minute in its terms as to contain one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight words, and to occupy four closely printed octavo pages — to his "Congregation in general, that were above fourteen Years of Age;" one specification of which bound them to examine themselves strictly, "especially before the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."[73]

It is clear that the assumptions which had come to be made by the ministers — or by most of them — of well-nigh autocratic power, were steadily resisted by many of the churches. There runs through both Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* and *Ratio Disciplinæ*, a vein of frequent intimation of cross-purposes between the two. The pastors seem to have inclined to lay much of the blame for the universally felt decline of piety, upon the laxness of the churches; especially in their ignoring largely the proper use, and often the advice, of councils, and in their employment of unqualified and unsuitable persons in pulpit service. As the churches became filled with half-way covenant members, they grew less to be depended on for standing squarely by the ancient lines, and oftener needed advice and something like control from without; while at the same time becoming constantly less submissive under that regimen. Rev. John White, of Gloucester, writing soon after, forcibly thus describes the condition of affairs:[74]

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73 *Ibid*, 374–378. It has often been intimated that Pres. Edwards opposed and destroyed the half-way covenant. He did oppose Stoddardism, or the doctrine that the Lord's Supper is a converting ordinance, and that unconverted men, because they are such, should be encouraged to partake of it. But Dr. Fiske seems to be right when he says [Centennial Discourse, *Cont. to Eccles. Hist. Essex Co.*, etc., 281]: "For aught that appears to the contrary in his published writings, he [Jonathan Edwards] could consistently have approved and administered that form of it [the half-way covenant] then generally current among the churches, and very likely did so." I regard the clause respecting the Lord's Supper, which I have cited from this covenant administered by him to his entire congregation over fourteen years of age, as proof positive that he did so. That the trend of his theological system was adverse to it, is however obvious, and no doubt his principles, when applied by the New Divinity men, did have much to do with bringing the system to disfavor and discontinuance.

74 I copy from the extract from Mr. White's *New England Lamentations*, etc. (1734), appended to the third (1772) edition of John Wise's *Vindication of the Govt. of N. E. Churches*, etc., 165.

"The present weak and shattered state of our CHURCHES, on the account of their Order, Government and Discipline, is matter of LAMENTATION. This is evident to every person of observation. Hence particular churches run into confusion. Many are aggrieved, and abide year after year in their sorrowful circumstances. And a farther evidence thereof, is the ineffectualness of councils to relieve the aggrieved, and to make peace. As also anti-councils, whereby contrary results are given on the same case, to the great reproach of councils, and blemish of our church government, and discouragement of the aggrieved, who are ready to lie under their troubles as remediless. Hence it is that some councils have perswaded the church and aggrieved, to promise to acquiesce in the determination of the council before they heard the case, by which their consciences have been ensnared, and the council turned into a solemn Arbitration. This, therefore, is matter of just Lamentation."

Here was abundant confirmation of the declaration which Increase Mather had lately made, that:[75]

"The *Congregational Church Discipline*, is not Suited for a Worldly Interest, or for a *Formal Generation* of Professors. It will stand or fall as *Godliness in the Power of it* does prevail or otherwise."

Was there not also as abundant justification for the plaintive prognostication which he had added to the above deduction:

"If the begun *Apostacy* should proceed as fast the next thirty years as it has done these last, surely it will come to that in *New England* (Except the Gospel it self *Depart* with the *Order* of it) that the most Conscientious People therein, will think themselves concerned TO GATHER CHURCHES OUT OF CHURCHES."[76]

The first decade of the eighteenth century saw two endeavors made for the correction of whatever was deemed amiss in what then passed for New England Congregationalism; in 1705 in Massachusetts, and in 1708 in Connecticut. The Connecticut plan involved a Synod, which assembled at Saybrook in that colony on Thursday, 9–20 September, of the latter year; being authorized and summoned by the General Court, and composed of twelve clergymen and four laymen, delegated for that purpose by the ministers of all the churches met on the last Monday in June previous, in the respective county towns, with such messengers as the churches saw fit to send with them.[77] This Synod first readopted the Savoy Confession, and

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75 *The Order of the Gospel*, etc. (1700), 11.

76 The typographical emphasis upon the last six words is mine.

77 Dr. Trumbull gives the minutes and Result of this Synod. *Hist. Conn.*, i: 482–486.

recommended the General Court to give a public testimony to it "as the FAITH of the Churches of this Colony." It next agreed that the Heads of Agreement which had been assented to, eighteen years previous, by the principal Congregational and Presbyterian ministers of London,[78] "be observed by the churches throughout this colony;" in so doing significantly suggesting that its members were looking toward some church government more Presbyterian than the Congregationalism of their fathers. These Heads of Agreement favor the admission to the church of "such persons as are knowing and sound in the *fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion*, without Scandal in their Lives; and to a Judgment regulated by the Word of God, are persons of visible Godliness and Honesty; credibly professing cordial subjection to Jesus Christ:"[79] but they distinctly repudiate the idea that any "particular Churches, their Officer, or Officers, shall exercise any *Power*, or have any *Superiority* over any other Church or their Officers"[80] — falling behind the Cambridge Platform in its provisions for dealing with a delinquent church by the aggrieved sisterhood. Something more than this was clearly necessary to satisfy the mood of the hour. It was provided in fifteen original propositions. Their principal feature, and that which gave name to the system they introduced, comes out in the second article, which enacts "that the churches which are neighboring to each other, [usually those of a county] shall *consociate*, for mutual affording to each other such assistance as may be requisite, upon all occasions ecclesiastical."[81] It was further provided that all cases of scandal arising within a church be heard by such a district Consociation of Elders — and messengers when the churches see cause to send them, also; that nothing be deemed the act or judgment of such a Consociation, which is not the act of the

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[78] The Restoration had convinced the Presbyterians of England that they were not to be the National Church, while, under the pressure which now rested on all alike, their isolated congregations scarcely differed appreciably from those of the Independents. The latter seem to have ceased to insist on formal church covenants; and, altogether, both parties were so situated that they could manage by a few liberal and adroit statements to arrange the real differences between them, so as to allow of the appearance — and something more — of a considerable, and, as then appeared, highly creditable, coöperation. See Dr. J. Stoughton, *Church of the Revolution* (1874), 420.

[79] *Heads of Agreement*, etc. (1691), 3; *Magnalia*, v: 59.

[80] *Heads*, etc., 11; *Magnalia*, v: 61.

[81] *Trumbull*, i: 483.

major part of the Elders, with concurrent messengers enough to constitute a majority of the body; that such act or judgment be final — unless orderly appealed to a joint tribunal of two Consociations — the Consociation to see it enforced; that any pastor or church refusing due attendance on Consociation, or due submission to its decision, shall be put out of fellowship, the churches being bound "to approve of the said sentence." Cases too broad for successful treatment by a local body were to be taken up jointly by two Consociations. A church might call a council of the Consociation for advice before sentence on an offender, but that offender had no such liberty, except with consent of the church. Standing delegates (messengers) were to be chosen by the churches, to compose the lay portion of this standing tribunal. Associations of ministers were also established, to assemble at least twice a year, having four functions, viz.: (1) to consult as to ministerial duty; (2) to consider the "common interest of the churches;" (3) to "resolve questions and cases of importance;" (4) to examine and recommend candidates for the ministry. It was further provided, that these Associations take notice of ministerial heresy or scandal, and, on just occasion "direct to the calling of the council, where such offenders shall be duly proceeded against;" that churches wanting pastors take advice of the Association, and if a church neglect seasonably to call and settle a pastor, then the Association should complain of it to the Court; and, finally, that these Associations by delegation meet annually in a General Association.

Taken by themselves, these fifteen articles were stringent enough to satisfy the most ardent High Churchman among the Congregationalists of that day; taken, however, in connection with the London document previously adopted, and by the spirit of which — apparently — they were always to be construed, their stringency became matter of differing judgment, so that what on the whole was their intent has never been settled to this day;[82] strict constructionists insisting on them

[82] "What the meaning of those articles is, or rather what their meaning was when they were new, remains to this day a doubtful question; and I believe that I may say that, even now, one of our heads of agreement, here in Connecticut, is that on that question we agree to differ." Dr. Bacon, *Cont. to Eccles. Hist. Conn.*, etc., 37.

as they read, and those of liberal turn maintaining, with like tenacity, that they cannot honestly be taken out of nearest possible conformity with the Heads of Agreement. Clearly, from the first, they were explained in a different sense in different localities.[83]

The General Court coolly assumed that "the elders and churches in this government" were present at Saybrook, and that in the vote of these twelve Elders and four messengers the Platform had been "unanimously agreed and consented to" by them; and then imposed the result upon the colony by making it the religion sanctioned by the State, to the exclusion and disownment of any who might persist in the ancient Congregational way.[84]

The kindred movement in Massachusetts had been three years earlier, and took a different — yet resemblant — shape. Among Associations of ministers which had sprung up,[85] that at Boston then was, presumably, by far most influential. On Thursday, 13–24 September, 1705, this Association assembled

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[83] Dr. Bacon shows conclusively that in New Haven County the written interpretation at the time placed on the articles "makes the Platform a purely and thoroughly Congregational confederation of Congregational Churches;" while in Fairfield County "an extended ultra-Presbyterian interpretation and construction of the Articles" was put upon the record. *Ibid*, 41, 42.

[84] *Trumbull*, i: 486.

[85] "It has been the care of the Ministers, in the several *Vicinages* throughout the most part of the Countrey, to establish such *constant Meetings* whereat they have *informed* one another of their various Exercises, and *assisted* one another in the Work of our Lord, etc." [*Magnalia*, v: 58.] There is evidence of such a meeting of the ministers in the Bay fortnightly, as early as in 1633, to which Skelton and Williams objected, "as fearing it might grow in time to a presbytery, or superintendency, to the prejudice of the churches' liberties." [*Winthrop*, i: 139.] The Cambridge (which seems to have become the Boston Association, and to be the one to which Mather referred) was formed (as is proved by its book of records now in the MS. Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc.) 13–23 Oct., 1690. [*Cong. Quarterly*, 1863, 294.] On the other hand John Wise said in 1710: "About Thirty years ago [1680], more or less, there was no appearance of the Associations of Pastors in these Colonies, and in some Parts and Places, there is none yet. But after the Country had suffered much in the slaughters and depredations committed by the *Heathen*, and by many other Afflictions, the Neighbouring Ministers in some Counties, met to Pray together, &c., and for no other intent, that I ever knew or heard of. But after they had continued their Meetings for some years, and others following the Example, began to Converse together, and communicate Cases, as best suited each Person; and, at last perceiving they were almost gotten into a Classical Form, before they tho't of it, they began to give their Meetings the specious Titles of *Classes Associations*, and *Ecclesiastical Conventions*, &c., as securely as tho' these Titles were a Fruit growing out of our own Constitution; and by degrees began to dream that they were really, and, *de Jure*, what their new Titles and late Custom had made them only *de Facto*; and time increased their inclinations and purposes to compass a more formal and compleat Settlement." *Churches Quarrel Espoused*, etc. (ed. 1715), 79.

by former agreement, and adopted certain proposals which, on the 5–16 November following, it publicly commended to the due consideration of the "several Associated Ministers in the several parts of the Country, to be duly Considered, that so, what may be judged for the Service of our Great Lord, and his Holy Churches, may be further Proceeded in." They were shaped in answer to the question:[86]

"What further Steps are to be taken, that the Councils may have due Constitution and Efficacy in supporting, preserving, and well ordering the Interests of the Churches in the Country?"

The substance of the course proposed was: (1) that all the ministers form themselves into Associations, each with a stated moderator having power to call them together on emergency; (2) that questions and cases of importance be answered in the meetings of these bodies; (3) that associated pastors advise with the Association before undertaking important church matters, and that if any minister be accused of scandal, or heresy, the Association examine into it, and, when needs must, call a council; (4) that all candidates for the ministry be examined by these Associations, and that no Pastor or church employ any occasional preacher not by one of them previously recommended; (5) that "Bereaved Churches" apply to these Associations to propose to them suitable candidates for their vacant pulpits; (6) that when churches need the advice of council they refer "the Direction of Proceeding" therein to some Association; (7) that these Associations maintain correspondence and a delegated meeting together once a year; (8) that ministers unreasonably neglecting such Associations be labored with "in the most efficacious manner" that "they would not expose themselves to the Inconveniences that such Neglects cannot but be attended withal."

It was further propounded: (9) that the pastors forming such an Association, with "a proper Number of Delegates" from the respective churches, constitute a Standing Council for the determination of all affairs for which a council might be needed; (10) that, to this end, these associated pastors conso-

[86] I cite from Wise's reprint of this "Question and Proposals," as it is prefixed to the second edition (1715) of the *Churches Quarrel Espoused*, etc., 1–4.

ciate and combine, and that each church choose and depute one or more messengers to attend the pastor in stated sessions, or in emergencies; (11) these messengers to be chosen annually; (12) that such consociated churches statedly meet as often as once in each year "that they may Inquire into the Condition of the Churches, and Advise such things as may be for the Advantage of our holy Religion;" (13) that the Associations direct when the Standing Council shall meet, and whether the whole, or only a part of the same, be assembled; (14) that no act of such council be "reckoned as Concluded and decisive, for which there has not been the Concurrence of the Major part of the Pastors therein concerned;" (15) that the determinations of such a council "are to be looked upon as final and decisive, except agrieved Churches and Pastors, have weighty Reasons to the contrary, in which Cases there should be Provision for a further hearing" — by a larger council "convened for this purpose by the Ministers of an Association, near to that whereto these of the former Council belonged;" and, finally, (16) that if a church will not by this council be reclaimed from gross disorders, the council is to declare such church no longer fit for communion with the faithful, and "the Churches represented in the Council, are to Approve, Confirm and Ratifie the Sentence, and withdraw from the Communion of the Church that would not be healed" — members of such a church not sharing its contumacy being, however, receivable elsewhere.

This was obviously very strong Presbyterian meat for Congregational palates; some, indeed, insisted that it had a most offensive prelatical, if not papistical, flavor. Many were prepared to favor some points in it, to whom other points, and indeed, its main purpose, seemed most objectionable. Nobody disfavored meetings of ministers simply for mutual acquaintance and improvement. Clearly the loose old way by which candidates came within the notice, and appealed to the confidence, of pastorless churches,[87] was susceptible of improvement;

[87] The original New England plan was for a church to select one of its own most gifted members to be its pastor, and its own vote was first "license," as it would be afterward ordination, for him. Lacking such a fit member, a church naturally looked to the membership of its sister churches; and, as naturally, took the advice of their pastors to aid its search; but "licensed" and ordained, as before, the candidate when by such help they had found him. When, later, candidates came largely from the College, they advised

and the judgment of experts promised to be of material aid therein. But, except in that circle, where, since the landing of Richard in the summer of 1635, the Mather family — in the person of that "incertum est, utrum Doctior an Melior"[88] progenitor, of his illustrious son Increase, and his even more widely-known grandson Cotton — had won and held so wide an influence, these Proposals, taken as a whole, found but partial favor. Connecticut, indeed, as will have appeared from our examination of the Saybrook Platform which borrowed some of their provisions, was in the main prepared to accept them; but, in Massachusetts, from the first, "some very considerable Persons among the *Ministers*, as well as of the *Brethren*, who thought the *Liberties* of *particular Churches* to be in danger of being too much *limited* and *infringed* in them,"[89] opposed them. They proved, nevertheless, to be by far the most important deliverance as to church government which the country had ever seen; but their execution was at the breech and not at the muzzle, for they drew out a reply, and provoked a discussion which in time revolutionized the internal philosophy of the New England polity, cast out Barrowism with all its belongings, and brought back the original Brownism, purged of its connate inconsistencies, and harmonized and perfected for the great uses of the future.

In the summer of 1652 had been born in Roxbury — the fifth child of his father, and he a serving man[90] — John Wise.

with its President. In 1653 (perhaps moved thereto by the disturbance about Mr. Powell whom the Second Church in Boston desired for their pastor, but to whose "vnsutableness" [*Mass. Col. Rec.*, iii: 293, 294, 331; C. Robbins, *Hist. Sec. Chh.*, 8] the Court objected), the Mass. Court "passed an order concerninge public preachinge without allowance," [*Mass. Col. Rec.*, iii: 317.] But [*Ibid*] this proved so unsatisfactory that it was repealed at the next session. In 1699, so much trouble had arisen from grievous "Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing" that [*Magnalia*, vii: 30–32] Increase Mather with nine others issued an appeal to the churches "relating to the Dangers that may arise from Imposters pretending to be Ministers," in which they warned the churches not to run after new and illiterate preachers, and urged that no stranger be invited into the pulpit until after proper examination had. This was followed in a year or two [*Ratio*, etc., 118] by set proposals from the Convention of Ministers (as would seem, that held in Boston in Anniversary week until this day) for a "due Trial of them that stand Candidates of the Ministry," at the hands of four or five settled Pastors. Thus the matter stood at the date of the action of the Boston Association.

[88] *Magnalia*, iii: 131.

[89] *Ratio*, etc., 184.

[90] His father Joseph was servant of Dr. George Alcock of Roxbury, who at his death in 1640 [see will in *N. E. Gen. Reg.*, etc., ii: 104] left him a young heifer, and "the rest of his time from after mid-somer next."

Remarkably endowed both in body and mind, he soon pushed up and on, graduating at Harvard College in 1673. In 1680 he went, under the endorsement of the General Court,[91] to be the first minister of the Chebacco parish in Ipswich, since known as Essex; where his ordination was postponed until 12–22 Aug., 1683, by vexatious hindrances thrown in the way, under the law as it then was, by the first church.[92] Four years after when Sir Edmund Andros's lawless order for a Province tax came before the freemen of Ipswich for action, he opposed the measure with such effect that the town passed by the article in the warrant. For this he was arrested, deposed, fined and imprisoned.[93] After Andros's overthrow he resumed his pastorate; in 1689 was sent to Boston by his town to help reorganize the government, and in various ways made himself patriotically helpful, until in 1690 Sir William Phips, the new Governor, led his troops to Canada, when Mr. Wise by appointment of the Legislature, accompanied the expedition as its chaplain. Thus acting, he gained confidence and renown by his great personal bravery, his fecundity of resource, and military skill; not less than by his devout and indefatigable discharge of the more appropriate duties of his sacred office.

Well read in the history and literature of the past, yet never afraid of the new,[94] fertile in original suggestion, acute in ratiocination, careless as to what direction might need to be taken in finding truth, and fearless in upholding what commended itself to him as truth when found, and by birth and conviction a man of the people; such a training had prepared John Wise to deal with these "Proposals" in a very thorough, if an unexampled manner.

For a while he seems to have tried Cotton Mather's imported plan of "generous silence, and pious contempt."[95] But when the Connecticut Colony took up the matter and settled down

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91 *Mass. Col. Rec.*, v: 285.

92 *Vindication*, etc. (ed. 1860), Introductory Notice, xiv.

93 See detailed account in Palfrey, *Hist. N. Eng.*, iii: 525–528.

94 He was among the few philanthropists who came forward early to advocate inoculation as a preventive for the small-pox, in the face of deep-rooted prejudice and general reproach. J. B. Felt, *Hist. Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton*, etc., 259.

95 *Ratio*, etc., 185. It was a pity that the really great though conceited, whimsical, and fussy, Doctor of Glasgow Divinity, could not recognize the real greatness of his remarkable antagonist.

upon Consociationism, as its established religion, his blood was stirred, and his solicitudes kindled, lest the churches of the Bay should in like manner go down into the Egypt of the strong governments, to escape from whom their fathers had crossed the seas. So, in 1710, there came out a little book entitled "*The Churches Quarrel Espoused: or a Reply In Satyre, to certain Proposals made, etc. By John Wise, Pastor to a Church in Ipswich*," etc.[96] My narrow limits — as I can best briefly handle both treatises together — compel me to advance at once to the statement that, in 1717, he published again — this time "*A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches, Drawn from Antiquity; the Light of Nature; Holy Scripture; its Noble Nature; and from the Dignity Divine Providence has put upon it*," etc.

These two books taken together, and considered in the light of their time, and the influence which it is easy to see that they exerted, were very remarkable. Their author's mind made progress while engaged upon them; and yet, through all, he "builded better than he knew." He did not himself see, nor did his generation comprehend, either the exact bearing, or the entire force, of the principles which he enunciated. It was in his intent to justify, and bring the churches back to, the Cambridge Platform as their fundamental law; but in so doing he generated a momentum which overthrew the Platform and carried New England Congregationalism as far beyond that, as that had been beyond the Presbyterianism of the Westminster Assembly.

The first treatise was a direct criticism upon the "Proposals," hunting down their assumptions, absurdities, inconsistencies and impertinences, *seriatim*, with an incisive logic and a merciless ridicule. It begins with a direct appeal to the fraternity of the churches, conceived with ingenuity, and carried out with surpassing skill, intended to conciliate their attention, to lighten their estimation of the value of their ancient polity, to make them suspect the "Proposals," and to open their minds cordially toward what was to come. It then proceeds, one by

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[96] The two mottoes on the title-page are significant at once of the fidelity and modesty of the man: "Wherefore rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the Faith;" and "*Abjiciendus Pudor, Quoties urget Necessitas.*"

one, to try these new propositions as in a court of justice, and condemn them. He says:[97]

"They seem a Conjunction of almost all the Church Governments in the World, & the least part is Congregational. Indeed, at the first Cast of the Eye, the Scheme seems to be the *Spectre or Ghost of Presbyterianism*, or the Government of the Church by Classes; yet if I don't mistake, in Intention there is something considerable of *Prelacy* in it, only the distinct Courts of *Bishops*, with the *Steeples* of the *Churches*, *Tythes*, *Surplice*, and other Ornaments, do not shew themselves so visible, as to be discerned at the first look; yet with a Microscope you may easily discern them really to be there *in Embrio, et in Rerum natura*, for this is a known Maxim, *Quod necessario Subintelligitur non Deest:* What is necessarily understood, or lies hid in the Intention of a Design, is really there by a just Interpretation. . . . There is also something in it, which *Smells very strong of the Infallible Chair.*"

He is easily able to show that in almost every particular the clerical gentlemen who have issued this remarkable document, have run without being sent, have proposed to overturn ancient authorized usages, and are inviting the churches to the suicide of their own rights in favor of a new polity, which "smells so strong of the Popes Cooks and Kitchen, where his Broaths and Restoratives are prepared, That they are enough to strangle a *Freeborn Englishman*, and much more these Churches, that have lived in such a clear Air, and under such enlargements so long a time."[98]

And if any one thinks him to be making too much ado about a plan possibly as harmless as it is ridiculous, he retorts:[99]

"Though it be but a *Calf* now, yet in time it may grow (being of a thirsty Nature) to become a sturdy Ox, that will know no *Whoa*, and it may be past the Churches skill then to subdue it. For if I am not much mistaken (and *Paraeus* too), *That great and terrible Beast with seven Heads and ten Horns, described in the* Revelations 13. *was nothing else a few Ages ago, but just such another Calf as this is.* . . . Therefore to conclude and infer, *Obsta Principiis!* It is Wisdom to nip such Growths in the Bud, and keep down by early slaughter such a breed of Cattle. *Nam omne malum nascens facile opprimitur.*"

He calls attention to the fact that, while the Proposal for the novelty (in New England) of a Standing Council contains what looks like a very fair arrangement for lay coöperation, yet if they "will but view the Proposal again, in the hindermost part

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97 *Churches Quarrel Espoused*, etc. (ed. 1715), 38.

98 *Ibid*, 108.

99 *Ibid*, 81.

of it," they "will see a Backdoor very Artificially finished and left upon Latch, for their Exclusion;" and suggests that as when the drone males have impregnated the female bees they are slaughtered out of the hive, so what can be expected when the Lay-delegates have done the former Jobb, but that they shall be laid by, for their Wisdom and Capacity is no ways Admired in these Proposals."[100]

Three things were especially intended in the first of these treatises, viz.: to alarm the churches with the thought that their inherited liberties were in danger;[101] to stigmatize these "Proposals" as treasonable to the ancient polity; and to make the lay brethren feel that they had rights, and incite them to stand up for those rights like men. And in the conviction that in no other way so well could the laity make themselves felt, they were here urged to elect Ruling Elders in all the churches, who, "naturally Caring for your Affairs, will, like wakeful Sentinels, curiously and with Courage guard your Liberties."[102] Seven years later, in the second treatise, Mr. Wise — still fancying that he was defending the Cambridge Platform — in the face of a prejudiced and unbelieving generation, advanced to the position that "Democracy is Christ's Government, in Church and State."[103] I cannot ask you to dwell upon this argument here further than to note its clear conclusion, "*That the People, or Fraternity, under the Gospel, are the first Subject of Power; . . . . that a Democracy in Church or State, is a very honourable and regular Government according to the Dictates of Right Reason:* And therefore, *That these Churches of* New England *in their ancient Constitution of Church Order; it being a Democracy, are manifestly Justified and Defended by the Law & Light of Nature.*"[104]

But if you wish to study the natural rights of man, the qual-

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[100] *Ibid*, 84.

[101] "And here" — he says [85], on reviewing one portion only of the scheme — "we may dig a Grave to bury all our Antient Priviledges in, and hang our Harps upon the Willows, and when we are thus wasted, should you [the ministers] call us in once more to sing one of the Songs of *Sion*, all our Notes must be *Elegie et De tristibus*, yet the Broken Accents, and lowly Murmurs of our Sorrow will *serve* for *Elahs* and sweet *Diapasans*, in your Conquering Song of Triumph."

[102] *Ibid*, 14.

[103] Mr. Bancroft [*Hist. U. S.*, ii: 429] quotes this as if, as it stands, it were the saying of Mr. Wise. As usual, he gives no citation. Perhaps Mr. Wise said this in so many words. It surely most fairly epitomizes the doctrine of the *Vindication*.

[104] *Vindication*, etc. (1717), 67.

ity of political obligation, and the relative aspects and claims of the monarchic, the aristocratic and the democratic forms of government both for State and Church; I know of no discussion which, for density, for clearness, for largeness of vision, for conclusiveness, and for general ability and beauty of style, approaches this little 16mo tract of one hundred and five small pages from this great Ipswich father of American democracy. It singularly illustrates how a prophet lacks honor at home, that Duyckinck's voluminous Cyclopedia[105] contains no mention of his name. It has been left for the latest and ablest historian of American Literature to discern and proclaim his imperial place among the political and ecclesiastical writers of the eighteenth century.

"Upon the whole [says he], no other American author of the colonial time is the equal of John Wise in the union of great breadth and power of thought with great splendor of style; and he stands almost alone among our early writers for the blending of a racy and dainty humor with impassioned earnestness. . . . Perhaps even greater than the distinction he deserves for his brilliant writing, is the distinction due him for the prophetic clearness, the courage, and the inapproachable ability with which, in that unfriendly time, he, almost alone among Americans, avowed his belief in civil governments founded on the idea of human equality. He was the first great American democrat."[106]

In this second discussion Mr. Wise pleads for the old New England way, as he understands and advocates it with Ruling Elders holding their place, not that they may rule, but represent, the people, that:[107]

"It has the best ballance belonging to it of any Church-Government in the World. Other Governments have generally too high a Top, and are very lop-

[105] *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, etc. (1856), 2 vols. (together), pp. 1488; Supplement (1866), pp. 164; in all, pp. 1652.

[106] Prof. Moses Coit Tyler [*History of American Literature*, etc. (1878), ii: 114, 115]. Prof. Tyler [*Ibid*, ii: 106, 110] styles *The Churches Quarrel*, etc., "a book that by its learning, logic, sarcasm, humor, invective, its consuming earnestness, its vision of great truths, its flashes of triumphant eloquence, simply annihilated the scheme which it assailed. . . . It is, of its kind, a work of art; it has a beginning, a middle, and an end, —each part in fit proportion, and all connected organically. . . . It is a piece of triumphant logic, brightened by wit, and ennobled by imagination; a master-specimen of the art of public controversy." The late Dr. Joseph S. Clark was perhaps the first to direct the attention of this generation prominently toward Mr. Wise. He said twenty years ago [*Hist. Sketch Cong. Chhs. Mass.*, 119] of the *Vindication:* "It is unquestionably the clearest and most convincing demonstration of the Congregational polity ever put forth in the same number of pages. It would have left its mark on any age that could produce it. . . . Especially forcible is his argument 'drawn from the light of nature.'"

[107] *Vindication*, etc. (1717), 8S.

sided too: Nay [of] the best we can meet with, without vanity or Envy it may be said, that not only seemingly like *Grantham* Steple, but really, it stands awry, and being so over loaded on Natures corrupt side, with Learning, Power and high Trust, it plainly hangs over several Degrees from a true perpendicular towards *Babylon:* And if it falls it burys you; and then you must remember it has Monopolized all Power, so that you have none left to stir under your load, or creep out with. But here's a Government so exactly poyzed, that it keeps its Motions Regular like the stupendous Spheres, unless some *Phaeton* chance to mount the Chariot Box, and becomes the driver. I have sufficiently, I think, evinced the Power in the Brotherhood."

The effect of such publications at that day must have been prodigious. The writers of the "Proposals" undertook to look down upon them and their author. Cotton Mather, with some appearance of whistling to keep his courage up, said — nine years after the *Vindication*, and one year after the earlier tract had come to its second issue:[108]

"There was indeed a Satyr, Printed against these *written Proposals*, and against the Servants of GOD that made them. Nevertheless, those *Followers of the Lamb*, remembring the Maxim of *Not Answering*, used the Conduct which the University of *Helmstadt* lately prescribed under some Abuses put upon them; *Visum est non alio Remedio quam generoso Silentio, et pio Contemptu, utendum nobis esse.*"

But in the same breath he had to acknowledge that the attempt of the proposers proved a failure, their suggestion having never been "prosecuted, beyond the Bounds of *meer Proposals.*" Two years only after the *Vindication* had been issued, a contention arose in the New North Church in Boston, in reference to the settlement of Rev. John Webb as associate pastor with Rev. Peter Thacher, which in its issue demonstrated that the public sentiment of that community, in its decided majority, already repudiated all synodical sway over the local church, and vindicated the right of such a church to manage its own affairs, with advice, but without control from any outside party, or parties, whatsoever.[109] In 1725, the Convention of Ministers which met in Boston in Election week, sorrowing over the mournful decadence of what they esteemed to be good order in the churches, and no doubt stimulated by the shock-

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[108] *Ratio*, etc., 184.

[109] See Clark, *Hist. Sketch*, etc., 131–135. See also four pamphlets of the day, giving the various versions of different parties to the controversy, in the Mass. Hist. Society's Library.

ing celerity with which the Ipswich novelties were prevailing to disturb their peace, led by Cotton Mather, petitioned the General Court to call together a Synod as of old to advise:[110]

"What are the Miscarriages whereof we have reason to think the Judgments of Heaven, upon us, call us to be more Generally Sensible; and what may be the most Evangelical and Effectual Expedients to put a Stop unto those, or the like, Miscarriages?"

The Council favored the suggestion, but the House did not concur. By agreement of all parties it went over to the next session. But the Episcopalians, perhaps aided by Congregationalists who opposed or were indifferent, prevented the project; the Lieutenant Governor was reprimanded for allowing matters to go so far; and the days of Synods after the ancient way were over in the land.

For the next half-century church polity was less discussed in New England than were some other subjects. The Great Awakening of 1734–1742, with the controversies in regard to Whitefield and others engendered by it, and the great declension that succeeded, were followed in turn by the war of the Revolution. Two facts, however, let us here note. One, that Samuel, son and successor in the pastoral office of Cotton Mather, ten years after his father's death (1738) published *An Apology for the Liberties of the Churches in New England*, etc., in which again and again he indicates that *he* stood essentially on the Ipswich platform; as, for example, where he says:[111]

"Let them [the churches] never blindly *resign themselves to the Direction of their Ministers;* but consider themselves, as *Men*, as *Christians*, as *Protestants, obliged to judge and act for themselves in all the weighty Concernments of Religion*," etc.

The other, that, early in 1772, an edition of Wise's two tracts — the third of the first, and the second of the second — was published in Boston; and so eager was the perusal of them, and so extensive the demand for their clear reasoning in favor of democracy as the best government, that another edition, of which more than one thousand copies were bespoken before its issue, was put to press in the same city in the same

[110] Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, ii: 292.

[111] *Apology*, etc., 32.

year."[112] An examination of the appended names of subscribers curiously suggests the interesting fact that John Wise, now in his grave seven and forty years, was yet speaking, as a political reformer, in the ear of fellow patriots who were still eager to listen to his voice."[113] It should be added here that this re-issue brought out an attempt on the part of the Rev. Dr. Whitaker, the Presbyterian pastor of the Third Church of Salem, to confute these tracts."[114] Although respectable in ability his review produced about as much impression upon the popular estimate of the publications which it aimed to overthrow, as a pistol shot might upon an iron-clad. One of the positions most emphasized by him was this:"[115]

"The brotherhoods of the churches, taken collectively, cannot be supposed to be so knowing, and therefore not so capable judges in many, or any, difficult cases, as a chosen number of the most knowing and judicious among them, appointed for this work may be: Therefore they are acting *collectively*, more likely to do wrong and tyrannize, through ignorance, than an *aristocracy*."

But this was precisely the wrong thing for a man who desired to carry the public sentiment of New England, in 1774, to say.

The Great Awakening had a two-fold influence. It added from forty to fifty thousand members to the churches of New England;"[116] struck a death-blow at the half-way covenant, and

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[112] Another edition (the fifth of one treatise and fourth of the other) was issued in Boston in 1860, by what is now the *Congregational Publishing Society*, which has it still on the market.

[113] If I have counted correctly, there are but one Doctor of Divinity, four Bachelors of Arts, five Masters of Arts, eight Deacons and twenty-five clergymen, on the roll; which, of civilians, has 3 Honorables, 3 Colonels, 2 Majors, 10 Captains, 1 Ensign, 6 Lieutenants, 7 Doctors, 21 Esquires and 165 Misters. The first class subscribed for 140 copies, the second class for 903.

[114] *A Confutation of Two Tracts entitled A Vindication, etc., and The Churches Quarrel Espoused*, etc., 1774 [8vo, pp. 98]. The only thing I find worth quoting is the following somewhat apocryphal statement [27]: "I have been credibly informed, that the Synod of Cambridge in 1698, was composed chiefly of independents or congregationalists, together with a less number of Presbyterians who endeavored to have the Presbyterian government adopted; but being outvoted in all points, they proposed a public debate, in which all was carried by numbers. They then proposed among themselves to withdraw and set up the Presbyterian government for themselves: This alarmed the independants, who fearing a division, condescended to them in several things. Hence several clauses were inserted which contain the very essence of Presbyterian government, particularly chap. 15, sect. 2, chap. 10, part of sect. 7, and sect. 11, &c. This helps us to account for the double appearance of this piece. It seems to have two faces, which look two ways at once, or is like a nose of wax, *bendable* to either side of the face, as occasion requires, and hence no certainty what is designed by it."

[115] *Ibid*, 51.

[116] Trumbull, *Hist. Conn.*, ii: 263; J. Tracy, *The Great Awakening*, etc. (1842), 389; J. S. Clark, *Cong. Chhs. Mass.*, 172.

its introduction of unconverted men to the communion table, if not to the pulpit; gave a mighty impulse to Christian education; reinvigorated Christian missions, and founded the Monthly Concert of Prayer for the conversion of the world."[117] On the other hand, it thrust out to greatly increased prominence as pulpit themes the distinguishing doctrines of grace, and in so doing, and by its vigorous antagonism to Arminianism, Pelagianism and the Socinianism which was already springing here, it began that cleavage which, by the end of the next half-century, had fulfilled Increase Mather's prediction, and, in the "Unitarian Conflict," effected the gathering of "Churches out of Churches."[118]

In 1760, Rev. Dr. Stiles — then of Newport, R. I., but who eighteen years after assumed, and adorned, the Presidency of Yale — preached a sermon before the Reverend Convention of the Congregational ministers of the Rhode Island Colony, in which he elaborately reviewed the ecclesiastical history of the country, commended that enfranchisement of the body of the churches which had followed John Wise's labors, and, for himself, declared:[119]

"The exigencies of the Christian church can never be such as to legitimate, much less render it wise, to erect any body of men into a standing judicatory over the churches. If on some extraordinary occasions it may be necessary to cede up the united power into an extraordinary commission; yet when the public work designed is accomplished, let the commission end, the power revert and rest in the bosom of the churches. . . . Let them be taught to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made them free."

In Connecticut, Consociationism, which had from the first been interpreted and administered with varying strictness in different localities, after the Great Awakening began to wane everywhere. Gov. Thomas Fitch — but anonymously — in 1765 came out with an *Explanation*[120] of it, which being "collected from" the "Plan of Union," naturally leaned toward a low

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[117] "Princeton and Dartmouth Colleges both grew indirectly out of it; as also the mission of David Brainard to the heathen, and the monthly concert of prayer for the world." *Clark*, 173.

[118] See *ante*, p. 488.

[119] *Discourse on Christian Union*, etc., 91.

[120] *An Explanation of the Say-Brook Platform; or, The Principles of the Consociated Churches in the Colony of Connecticut: Collected from their Plan of Union — By one that heartily desires the Order, Peace and Purity of these Churches.* Hartford [Conn.], 1765 [4to, pp. 40].

church interpretation. This called out a speedy reply[121] from Rev. Noah Hobart of Fairfield, in which he not obscurely intimated that the best way to combat the evils which were admitted, on all hands, to exist:

"is not that of destroying our constitution by explaining it in a Sense contrary to the very Design, and the most strong and determinate Expressions of it; but that of defending it by Scripture and Reason, and of acting in conformity to it with steadiness, and yet with Prudence, Gentleness and meekness."

About 1770 a case occurred, causing great excitement at the time; and, in the discussion which it produced, leaving decided impress upon the public mind. The Rev. Thomas Goss, pastor of the church in Bolton, Mass., was so unfortunate as to be guilty in several instances of an indulgence in strong waters which even for that time was deemed excessive. A council was called in to advise with reference to the difficulty which arose in consequence. It was thought Mr. Goss showed some lack of proper penitence, and it is clear that he claimed and largely used the pastoral prerogative of a negative upon the brethren; even going so far as, *pro arbitrio*, to dissolve church meetings "contrary to the mind of the Church." Other councils followed. All was in vain. At last the exasperated church, seeing no other way to obtain what they felt to be their just right of freedom, turned sharply upon their oppressor and, without advice of council, by vote "discharged" Mr. Goss "from his Offices as Pastor and Teacher in that Church," and, in a legal town-meeting, the town concurred. The Ministerial Association to which Mr. Goss belonged took up the case, and, it was charged, endeavored to prevent the Bolton people from having the gospel preached to them. The Rev. Zabdiel Adams of Lunenburg went to Bolton, and, 26 August, 1772, preached a discourse there on "Christian Unity," in which he administed a severe rebuke to that "new and upstart practice" which had been there taken.[122] His discourse being printed, Rev. Ebenezer Chaplin of Millbury, under the signature of "A

[121] *An Attempt To illustrate and confirm The ecclesiastical Constitution of The Consociated Churches, . . . Occasioned by a late "Explanation of the Saybrook Platform." By Noah Hobart, A. M., etc.*, 44.

[122] *Sermon*, etc. (1772), 37.

Neighbour," published a *Treatise on Church Government* in criticism thereon, to which Mr. Adams replied, and Mr. Chaplin rejoined. Mr. Goss — insisting that the church-meeting which assumed to have dismissed him had not been legally called; that only twenty-five out of a possible fifty-two brethren of the church had voted for the sundering of the relation; and that the action had been taken not only without the advice, but in the face of the advice, of a venerable council — claimed to be still pastor; while the majority of the church and the town proceeded to call Mr. John Walley to be their minister, and a council was gathered for his settlement. Mr. Goss and his friends imported likewise a council composed of representatives of four churches in Boston, with those in West Cambridge, Roxbury and Dedham. The two councils were in simultaneous session, and held repeated conferences, but finally both dissolved without effecting any adjustment of the difficulty, which appears to have ended in the settlement of Mr. Walley by another council.[123] The Convention of Ministers — without naming the Bolton case — indicated how seriously it had disturbed the general peace, by sending forth, in 1773, an address to the churches, in which it made many citations from the fathers of New England to show how dangerous it must be for a church to disregard its obligations to the sisterhood, and especially exhorted them:[124]

"To seek the Advice of neighboring Churches in all Matters of common Concernment, more particularly those of peculiar Weight and Importance; and when it is afforded them to receive it with Meekness, seriously and impartially to consider it, and not lightly to depart from it, or pertinaciously to oppose it."

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[123] This story may be read in *The Happiness and Pleasure of Unity in Christian Societies considered, A Sermon*, etc., by *Z. Adams*, etc., 1772 [8vo, pp. 44]; *A Treatise on Church Government, in Three Parts*, etc., by *A Neighbour*, 1773 [8vo, pp. 40]; *An Answer to A Pamphlet lately published Intituled A Treatise*, etc., by *Z. Adams*, etc., 1773 [8vo, pp. 87]; *A second Treatise on Church-Government, in Three Parts*, etc., by *A Neighbour*, 1773 [8vo, pp. 78]; and *The Result of an Ecclesiastical Council Convened at Bolton, Ms., Aug. 3, 1773, at the desire of the Pastor, and Church of Christ in that Town*, 1773 [8vo, pp. 24].

[124] *Observations Upon the Congregational Plan of Church Government, particularly as it respects the Choice and Removal of Church-officers, supported by the Testimony of the Fathers of New England, and Unanimously offered to the Consideration of the Churches, by the Convention of the Ministers of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, at their annual Meeting in Boston, May 26, 1773, and continued by Adjournment to July 23, 1773* [8vo, pp. 22], 20.

The political conflict which ended in the Independence of the colonies and the establishment of the National Republic, with the discussions which accompanied and accomplished the movement, naturally tended to favor a sympathetic construction of the Ecclesiastical constitution. And the extent to which many of the churches were then disposed to assert their rights, seems to be hinted in some *Observations upon the Present State of the Clergy of New England, with Strictures upon the Power of dismissing Them usurped by Some Churches*, which were issued in 1783 by Rev. Peter Thacher of Malden, in which he says:[125]

"If this power of dismissing its pastors is determined to be lodged in the church, without the intervention of any indifferent persons, the clergy of New England *are, of all men, the most miserable!* . . . There is an uncertainty in our ecclesiastical constitution, which calls loudly for attention and redress: Some measures ought to be taken to remove this uncertainty."

The Hon. James Sullivan, thirteen years after Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, thought it worth his while to reply, and, in his *Strictures on The Rev. Mr. Thacher's Pamphlet*, he suggested:[126]

"There needs, however, to be but very little said in order to prove that a church [though] impotent and weak, . . . hath a right, beyond all obligation that human laws can lay upon them, to dismiss their pastor when they please. Churches may advise churches, and members may reason with members; but to advise will always suppose that the advice may be accepted or rejected: and should it be rejected, I know not to what earthly tribunal the pastor, as a pastor, could repair with his complaint against his church."[127]

By the year 1800, the principles enunciated by John Wise, with a single exception, had effectually leavened New England. That exception was embodied in that one of the "Proposals" combated by him, which advocated the examination and certified approval by the clerical Associations of those proposing to enter the ministry; which, notwithstanding his ridicule, had commended itself to general good sense, and, without much opposition, had become embodied, 26 May, 1790, in "A Rec-

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[125] *Observations*, etc., 11, 14.

[126] *Strictures*, etc., *by J. S., a Layman*, etc., 19.

[127] Mr. Thacher soon published *A Reply to the Strictures of Mr. J. S., a Layman*, etc. [8vo, pp. 22.]

ommendation"[128] from the Convention, at Boston, to candidates and churches, which has, from that day to this, maintained the force of a self-justifying law.

John Wise had put his new wine, however, into the old bottles of the Cambridge Platform, and the wine had been too much for the bottles. Some confusion necessarily ensued. Principles discordant in part, although in the main tending toward possible harmony, did not at once adjust themselves to symmetry and peace; while in the various Ecclesiastical conflicts which grew out of, or were promoted by, the Unitarian controversy of the first quarter of the present century, there were frequent causes of disturbance.

In the springtime of 1745 — within a few days of exactly twenty years after the Ipswich church had been bereaved of its great pastor — was born in East Haddam, Conn., the man who I think, more than all others, must be regarded as the second father of the New England Congregationalism of the present period — Nathanael Emmons; for more than fifty years pastor of the Congregational church in Franklin, Mass., for more than forty years in himself a theological seminary, graduating in all at least one hundred pupils; the first President of that Massachusetts Missionary Society which was the faithful parent of those great Evangelizing organizations, Home and Foreign, which have been the glory of the Christianity of this generation; one of the most original thinkers, one of the closest and most unanswerable reasoners, one of the most solemn, quickening and convincing preachers, one of the most consistent and influential theologians, and one of the most pious and noble men whom this, or any other country, has ever produced. An uncompromising antagonist of what in his day called itself Democracy in the State, Dr. Emmons was yet a real and radical democrat in church polity. The following will indicate the shape which his mind gave to some of the principal elements of the Congregational way:

1. A specific form of church government was instituted by Christ in the eighteenth of Matthew — which is Congregationalism.[129]

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[128] *An Historical Sketch of the Convention of the Congl. Ministers in Mass.*, etc., Cambridge (1821). 12.

[129] "If they should tell you that Christ has not instituted any particular form of church government, refer them to the eighteenth of

2. Christ is the sole lawgiver of His church, and all the power which Congregational churches have is to interpret and apply His law; being entrusted with no legislative, but only with ministerial, functions.[130]

3. A Congregational church is a pure democracy.[131]

4. The pastor of such a church has never the right to negative its votes; being simply its moderator, and one of its brethren.[132]

5. No Congregational church is superior, and none inferior, to any other. Their fundamental relation to the Great Head makes them, whatever their outward estate, equal sisters.[133]

6. There can be no appeal from the authority of a particular church to any higher Ecclesiastical tribunal, for God has constituted no such tribunal. Churches may ask advice of each other, and may associate for mutual advantage; but such an

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Matthew, which ought to silence them. But if they deny that any platform of government is there instituted, ask them to show you the passage, or the passages, in the New Testament, in which Christians are required to exercise any kind of ecclesiastical authority or discipline over one another. No man can tell. All who depart from Christ's platform of church government, make one of their own, which must be unscriptural, unreasonable and tyrannical. . . . Every mode of church government is destructive of the rights and liberties of every Christian church, except strict Congregationalism." *Platform of Eccl. Govt. Established by the Lord Jesus Christ. Works of N. Emmons, D. D.*, etc. (1860), iii: 589, 586.

[130] "Christ is the sole lawgiver in the church. He has made all the laws by which it is to be governed. He has delegated no legislative power to a church, by which it has authority to make ecclesiastical laws or canons. . . It has only the right to execute the laws which Christ has made and published in the gospel." *Ibid*, iii: 577.

[131] "It [a Congregational Church] is neither monarchical, like the church of Rome, nor aristocratical, like the Presbyterian Church; but a pure democracy, which places every member of the church upon a level, and gives him perfect liberty with order. If any one commits an offence, he is to be tried by his peers, by his Christian friends, and by the whole ecclesiastical body to which he belongs," etc. *Ibid*, iii: 587.

[132] "It appears from the nature of church government, that a pastor has no right to negative the votes of the church. This right has been too often claimed and exercised by Congregational ministers. But there is no ground in reason, or Scripture, for this arbitrary power. . . . If the pastor might negative all the votes and doings of the church, they would really have no power at all, and never be able to determine any point, or decide any cause. The truth is he is but a mere moderator; and, in respect to voting, stands upon the same ground with a private brother. If the church vote any thing contrary to his opinion, he may object, like any other member, but is bound *ex officio* to put the vote, without personally approving it. Or, if the church should pass a sentence of such a nature, and so circumstanced, that he thinks himself bound in duty to do all in his power to obstruct the execution of the sentence, he may refuse to put the vote, and relinquish his office. No man is obliged to violate his conscience in any office he sustains." *Ibid*, iii: 582.

[133] "One church has as much power as another. All churches are sisters, and stand upon a level. . . . Since every Christian Church is a free, voluntary society, it is in its own nature absolutely independent." *Ibid*, 584, 617.

association can take from those churches no power higher than theirs, and consequently can possess none.[134]

It is easy to see that from these premises the iron logic of this close reasoner would make short work with many questions which had long been disturbing elements in the religious circles of New England. From the very first there had been, now and then, on the part of certain who appeared to lack faith in the Divine ability to manage the multitude, an urgent demand for some "stronger" government. As early as 1665, so good a man as John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, printed for private distribution a little tract of thirty-eight pages[135] in which he proposed an exaltation of the "Divine Ordinance of Councils" far beyond any thing thought of by the Cambridge Platform. His notion was that the churches can fairly maintain and duly manifest that unity which Christ contemplates for them, in no way so well as by Councils, or Synods — not called together exceptionally for special uses, but meeting regularly for systematic labors. So highly did he exalt the gospel power of such bodies, that Cotton Mather says[136] he would not belong to "any Church that will not acknowledge itself *accountable* to rightly composed *Synods*, which may have occasion to enquire into the Circumstances of it." The system which he proposed provided that every twelve churches[137] — or any greater number less than twenty-four — be united in what he called a *First Council*, to meet statedly once a month (and oftener if necessary) and to be composed of the Teaching Elders of the churches, with messengers from the Ruling Elders and principal brethren.[138] Twelve — or any greater

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[134] "It appears from the very nature of church government, that there is no appeal from the authority of a particular church to any higher ecclesiastical tribunal." [*Ibid*, 585.] John Davenport [*Power of Cong. Chhs.*, etc., 134] had said this as far back as 1672: "A Congregational church . . . is the highest Ecclesiastical Tribunal, under Christ, in its own matters."

[135] *Communion of Churches: or, The Divine Management of Gospel-Churches, by the Ordinance of Councils, Constituted in Order according to the Scriptures*, etc. Cambridge, 1665. ["It is, doubtless, the first privately printed American book." *Brinley Catalogue*, 1878], 16mo, pp. 38.

[136] *Magnalia*, iii: 189.

[137] His fancy was that the number twelve — there having been twelve Tribes, twelve Apostles, twelve loaves of shewbread, twelve precious stones in the breast-plate of the High Priest, twelve foundations to the New Jerusalem, and twelve gates giving entrance thereto — had special Biblical honor put upon it. *Communion*, etc., 6, 7.

[138] *Ibid*, 7, 22. Of the charges necessary, he says [38]: "Their entertainment may be 8d, *Ordinary* at noon, and 6d, at night, pro-

number less than twenty-four — of these First Councils, he would have send each one Teaching and one Ruling Elder, to meet once a quarter to constitute a *Provincial Council.*[139] Twelve — or any greater number less than twenty-four — of these Provincial Councils, he would have send each one Teaching and one Ruling Elder, to meet once a year to constitute a *National Council.*[140] Still further, twelve — or any greater number less than twenty-four — of these National Councils, he would have delegate each one Teaching and one Ruling Elder, to constitute an *Oecumenical Council* — which he thought might possibly employ "the holy Hebrew Language" as the medium of its intercommunications.[141] But his little book "sancke as lead in the mightie waters" of forgetfulness, sending up scarce a bubble to the surface to tell even the most diligent antiquary where it lies.[142]

In 1700, Solomon Stoddard of Northampton came out with a plea for a National Church "to be divided into provincial, and those again subdivided into Classical." He said:[143]

"The supream Ecclesiastical Authority doth not lye in particular Congregations; if there be no National Church, then every particular Congregation is absolute and independant, and not responsable to any higher Power: This is too Lordly a principle, it is too ambitious a thing for every small Congregation to arrogate such an uncontroulable Power, and to be accountable to none on Earth; this is neither a probable way for the Peace of Churches, nor for the safety of Church Members; appeals are admitted in all Kingdoms; and it is more probable that in a whole Country, Persons may be found that may rectify the Miscarriages of particular Congregations, then that particular Congregations will not miscarry, etc."

This[144] treats the subject baldly upon its purely human side,

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vided they be necessitated to tarry all night, otherwise their charges are but their dinner and horse-meat. For the defraying of which charge, the *Deacons* of that church where they meet may be authorized so to order the matter with the *Deacons* of all the Churches in that combination, as that the charge shall be by them defrayed, and not put to the account of any of the Elders."

139 *Ibid*, 8, 22.

140 *Ibid.*

141 *Ibid*, 8, 17.

142 I have never heard of but two copies of it, and never saw but one, bound with another smaller tract of the same author — which I once owned, and was tempted by what I thought a large price [$75.00] to sell, keeping by me a careful manuscript transcript. It illustrates the value of such property as an investment, that these same two tracts, at the late Brinley sale, together, at auction, are said to have fetched $255.00.

143 *The Doctrine of Instituted Churches Explained and Proved from the Word of God*, etc. 1700, 4to [pp. ii, 34], 28, 27.

144 There was at least one gleam of good sense in Stoddard's book. He says [9]: "Where a Church hath teaching, or Ruling

and reasons as if Congregational matters were habitually to be handled by recourse to the same principles which might govern a town-meeting; while it was a conviction very dear to thousands of humble New England laymen that the churches are Christ's, and that His wisdom may more confidently be expected to manifest itself through them, and their sanctified common sense, than through the convocations of the wise and the mighty and the noble — not many of whom are "called," and whom God hath sometimes appointed "the weake things of the world, to confound."

A whole generation later the Rev. William Homes, of Chilmark, Martha's Vineyard, who had come hither from the north of Ireland bringing strong Presbyterian attachments with him, "humbly offered to Consideration" certain *Proposals of Some Things to be done in our administring Ecclesiastical Government*, etc., looking strongly in the direction of his own personal preferences.[145] His suggestions were three:[146] (1) that instead of the brethren in common acting for church government, a competent number of the most judicious, prudent and skillful, and such as are in highest esteem, be chosen by the rest and set apart for the management of all such work, under the conduct of the minister; (2) that each Ministerial Association (each minister having with him a messenger from his church) make up an Ecclesiastical Council, or Presbytery, to hear and determine all affairs too mighty for disposal by a single church; (3) that two or three ministers, and as many messengers, be every year selected from each Association, to constitute a Synod "to hear and finally determine all such appeals, and references, as shall be made to them, by any person or persons that shall have

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Elders, or both, there is no necessity that they should consent to the choice [of deacons, etc.], if they do not consent, yet if there be the consent of the major part [of the voting members of the church], the choice is vallid; the Officers ought to submit thereto, unless they have some weighty Objection, the Act of the Major part, is the Act of the Community, that which is the Priviledge of the Community, must not be wrested out of their nands; It is beyond the Power of the Officers to disanul their Act."

[145] *Proposals of Some Things to be done in our administring Ecclesiastical Government; Whereby it may more effectually reach it's End in some Respects, than now it seems to do, viz.: The Peace, Purity, and Edification of our Churches*, etc., Boston, 1732, 8vo, pp. iv, 36. This tract was reprinted (doubtless under Dr. Whitaker's auspices) at Newburyport in 1774, with an introduction bewailing the existing condition of things and commending "this excellent treatise" as "a good means of delivering the church from those confusions and disorders it has long groaned under." [v.]

[146] *Proposals*, etc., 6, 7.

any cause depending before any of the councils mentioned in the second proposal."

Dr. Benjamin Colman, first pastor of the Brattle St. Church in Boston, was about this time, and afterward, also known as favoring some further approach toward Presbyterianism than the churches were willing to adopt. In 1735, he wrote thus:[147]

"The *Consociation of Churches* is the very Soul and Life of the Congregational Scheme, necessary to the very *Esse* as well as *Bene* of it; without which we must be *Independent*, and with which all the Good of *Presbyterianism* is attainable."

He advocated stated meetings of such Consociations (each church represented by its pastor and one delegate), and would have them not only hear appeals made from the churches, but inquire in what these churches may have gone out of the way.

As late indeed as 1815 — when Dr. Emmons was an old man of seventy years — one more attempt was made toward Consociationism in Massachusetts. The Unitarian controversy had developed evils, and a good many of them, which minds inclining toward Presbyterianism fancied would be better dealt with by a church government that should have some kind of "tribunals" among its assets. So in the meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts for 1814, held in Dorchester, an "Ancient Document" of date 1704, which Rev. William Jenks had carefully copied from an autograph manuscript of Cotton Mather, and which proposed to serve the great and lamentably decaying interests of religion, by resorting to some form of Consociation, was presented, viewed with proper awe,[148] and referred to a committee of seven, to examine and report whether it might be well to adopt some such plan. At the meeting of the body holden at Royalston in the following year, that committee reported that it was the original of the "Proposals" which had stirred up John Wise one hundred years before; that there seemed to be need of some action, and sug-

[147] *Letter to a Brother Minister.* E. Turell, *Life and Character of Benjamin Colman*, etc. (1749), 107.

[148] It is a rather curious comment on the state of antiquarian study and knowledge at that date, that, in the *Minutes* of 1814, this document was "published, so far as is known, for the *first time*." Not till the next year does it seem to have been discovered that it had been put into type at least five times previously; once at the hands of the Convention, and four times by John Wise — in a book which had had four widely circulated editions before 1773.

gested ten carefully drawn Articles of Agreement for the adoption by the churches of the Consociation plan. The Association considered the subject, and waited a year, when, in their meeting at Leicester, they finally ventured timidly to vote that they "had no objection" to the churches taking this course, "in those parts of the Commonwealth in which the sentiments of Ministers and Churches are favorable to its adoption," if they felt so disposed.[149] The event proved that they did not feel so disposed, and the matter dropped again.

These circumstances make it clear that, while the powerful reasoning of John Wise had — like a torpedo under a venerable and barnacle-covered hulk — exploded the ancient Barrowism of the Cambridge Platform; the very impetus which it had given to popular rights, had introduced an element which had not yet been able to work itself into harmony with such portions of the early polity as were still received, for substance, by the churches. Particularly was the subject of councils one hard to handle; while the pastors found it very difficult to resign any of the ancient dignity which, under the old way, had come to be associated with them. To a community thus agitated, Dr. Emmons said:[150]

"All the present disputes about councils mutual, and ex-parte councils, in respect to their authority, are vain and useless; because *they have no divine authority at all.* And all the present disputes about the power of ordination, and the power of ordained ministers, are equally vain and absurd. For there is no power of ordination but what is lodged in every church of Christ; and no church of Christ can give any power to their officers, but what Christ has given to every one of his ministers. The disputes about ecclesiastical power never will be, nor can be, settled, until the churches will return to the platform of ecclesiastical power contained in our text [*Matt. xviii: 15–17*], from which not only Papists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, but even Congregationalists, have too far departed."

There was something about this Franklin divine's incisive way of putting things which had a singular fascination for a certain — and an influential — class of New England minds. And when he opposed even General Associations, that should

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[149] See *Minutes Mass. Gen. Assoc.*, 1814, 1815, 1816. Also *Panoplist*, x: 320; xi: 359; xii: 369; Clarke's *Cong. Chhs. Mass.*, 252.

[150] *Works*, iii: 584.

comprise all the district Associations of a Commonwealth, in his famous axiom:[151]

"Associationism leads to Consociationism; Consociationism leads to Presbyterianism; Presbyterianism leads to Episcopacy; Episcopacy leads to Roman Catholicism; and Roman Catholicism is an ultimate fact:"

although comparatively few went with him to the full length of his conclusion, his proverb shone in the popular obscurity of that time with a lambent brightness which made it almost like a star in the East to the magi. While he did carry a vast multitude with him in his endeavor so to readjust New England Congregationalism, that it should purely rest upon the corner stone of Christ's one command; insisting:[152]

"If we depart from the platform of church discipline which Christ has given us in this eighteenth chapter of Matthew, there is nothing in Scripture to prevent our being Presbyterians, or Episcopalians, or Papists."

Without knowing that he was, Dr. Emmons was, to all intents and purposes, a Brownist after Robert Browne's own heart. And the influence of Wise and Emmons together, so transformed and made over the original Barrowism of the New England polity, that, although the Cambridge Platform has continued to be appealed to as our unrepealed Charter — the more especially when any disputant, or party, has fancied such a reference might prove remunerative — for the last two generations, the young Middelberg exile would have found, and would now find, himself quite at home in the business or other meetings of almost any of our Congregational churches; more so, in fact, than would Henry Ainsworth, or — truth asks that it be said — even than the good John Robinson himself.

Not, indeed, that the generation of those who look toward Egypt for help in perplexing exigencies, has wholly died out from among us. On Wednesday, 29 May, 1844, a meeting of Congregational ministers who were in attendance upon the Anniversaries, was held in Boston, which resulted in the appointment of Rev. Drs. Leonard Woods, Heman Humphrey, Thomas Snell, Thomas Shepard, Timothy Cooley, Richard S. Storrs, and Parsons Cooke, as a committee "to take into

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[151] E. A. Park, *Memoir*. *Works*, i: 163. | [152] *Works*, iii: 581.

consideration what measures are necessary for the reaffirmation and maintenance of the principles and spirit of Congregationalism."[153] In the December following, this committee printed privately a tentative Report, which it sent to the several Associations in the State for their criticism. Its main suggestions fell under the head of Councils, and were these: (1) that their calling should be under the direction of the Associations; (2) that their results should be "ordinarily" decisive; (3) that, where appeal be allowed, the constitution of the second council should be fixed beforehand, and its result be final.[154] How much of suggestion may have been returned to this committee from the Associations, does not appear; but, a year later, its revised and amended Report, which had finally taken shape largely in the form of a suggested *Manual of Church Principles, and Discipline*, was printed, and distributed among the "whole body of Congregational ministers and churches in Massachusetts, and to those in other States," so far as they were disposed to receive it.[155] It sang the old Consociational song very sweetly once more, but it once more found the great body of Congregationalists in that condition "which heareth not the voyce of the inchanter, though hee bee most expert in charming."[156]

The last twenty-five years have shown a marked advance of our polity in the direction of conventions, conferences, and other attempts to develop and invigorate the co-working unity, and denominational force, of our churches. Four hundred and sixty-three Elders and messengers from churches in seventeen States assembled in Convention in Albany, N. Y., on Tuesday, 5 Oct., 1852,[157] and brought Congregationalists of the East and the West into a friendly acquaintance and sympathy, which had been lacking before. One result was

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[153] *Unfinished Report of the Committee on Congregationalism in Mass.* Boston, 1845, 12mo [pp. 52], 7.

[154] *Ibid*, 26–31.

[155] *Report on Congregationalism, including a Manual of Church Discipline*, etc. Boston, 1846. 12mo [pp. 44], iii.

[156] Ps. lviii: 5. [Genevan version.]

[157] Rev. Dr. W. T. Dwight of Maine was President; Rev. Dr. Noah Porter of Connecticut, and Rev. Asa Turner of Iowa, were Vice-Presidents; and Rev. Messrs. R. S. Storrs, Jr., of Brooklyn, N. Y., J. C. Holbrook of Dubuque, Ia., and S. L. Hobart of Ann Arbor, Mich., Secretaries. The Convention had been called by the General Association of New York, and was composed of pastors and delegates from such Congregational churches throughout the United States as elected to send them. It sat three days.

the speedy raising of fifty thousand dollars to aid feeble Congregational churches in the West in obtaining houses of worship. Another, the discontinuance of what had been called the "Plan of Union," which had been entered into in the year 1801, between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church on the one part, and the General Association of the State of Connecticut on the other part, for the harmonious adjustment of the Home Missionary labors of the two denominations represented therein; but whose practical working, partly by its actual provisions, and still more by an unfair construction subsequently put upon the same by one of the parties, had resulted in Presbyterianizing hundreds of churches out of New England which might otherwise have been — and which in right should have been — Congregational.[158] Another result was the formation, in the city of New York, in the May following, of the *American Congregational Union* (with other good designs), especially intended to assist feeble Congregational churches to erect and occupy, free of debt, suitable houses of worship; a society which has been greatly blessed of God in this endeavor, and which deserves the vigorous support alike of every faithful son of the Pilgrims of Plymouth, and of the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay.[159]

On the 14th June, 1865, five hundred and two Elders and messengers delegated by the Congregational churches of five and twenty States, met at the Old South meeting-house in Boston,[160] in Council to inquire as to the special duties which had been imposed on those Congregational churches by the war of the Rebellion; with peculiar reference to the duty of Home Evangelization at the West and South; the setting forth of some simple declaration of the common faith and polity; and

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158 See *Proceedings of the Albany Convention*, etc.; *Year-Book of the American Congregational Union*, for 1854, pp. 338–348; also, *The Plan of Union of 1801, etc., and Reasons why it should be abandoned*, etc., New York, 1852, 12mo, pp. 12.

159 See statement in its *Year-Book*, etc., for 1854, pp. 29–33.

160 There we e also 14 honorary members, and 16 delegates from foreign countries, making the total membership 532. Hon. W. A. Buckingham of Conn., was moderator, Hon. C. G. Hammond of Ill., and Rev. Dr. J. P. Thompson of New York, assistant moderators; and Rev. Messrs. H. M. Dexter of Mass., E. P. Marvin of Mass., P. R. Hurd of Mich., and M. K. Whittlesey of Ill., with Dea. S. Holmes of New York, were scribes. The sessions of the Council extended through ten days.

the responsibility of spreading the gospel throughout the world.[161]

A great deal of time was spent by this Council upon the subject of Polity, and it authorized a committee to publish, as having in the main its general approval, an extended report which had been made to it on that subject. But it unanimously adopted as its own statement of belief, only the following,[162] viz.:

"RESOLVED, that this Council recognizes as distinctive of the Congregational polity:

"*First*, The principle that the local or Congregational church derives its power and authority directly from Christ, and is not subjected to any ecclesiastical government exterior, or superior, to itself.

"*Second*, That every local or Congregational church is bound to observe the duties of mutual respect and charity which are included in the communion of churches one with another; and that every church which refuses to give an account of its proceedings, when kindly and orderly desired to do so by neighboring churches, violates the law of Christ.

"*Third*, That the ministry of the gospel by members of the churches who have been duly called and set apart to that work, implies in itself no power of government, and that ministers of the gospel not elected to office in any church are not a hierarchy, nor are they invested with any official power in, or over, the churches."

When, as the result of a feeling which had been gathering strength for many years, and especially since the great increase of Congregational churches at the West, and (after the subsidence of the war of the Rebellion) at the South, two hundred and seventy-five delegates from the churches of five and twenty States, commissioned for the purpose, met on Wednesday, 15 November, 1871, at Oberlin, O.,[163] and organized THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF THE UNITED STATES, they were careful first of all to incorporate into their fundamental law these two provisions, by which all danger of the subversion of the indwelling rights of the churches should be effectually precluded, viz.:

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161 See *Official Record of the National Congregational Council*, etc. Boston (1865), 8vo, pp. 184; and especially *Debates and Proceedings of the National Council*, etc. [phonographic report.] Boston (1866), 8vo, pp. xvi: 530.

162 *Official Record*, etc., 165; *Debates and Proceedings*, 463.

163 *Minutes of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States of America, at the First Session*, etc. (1872), 30, 63. The citation with which the lecture concludes is from John Norton's *Responsio ad Totam Questionum Syllogen à clarissimo Viro Dom. Guilielmo Apollonio*, etc. (1648), 115.

"They [the Congregational churches of the United States, by delegation assembled] agree in belief that the right of government resides in local churches, or congregations of believers, who are responsible directly to the Lord Jesus Christ, the One Head of the Church Universal, and of all particular churches; but that all churches, being in communion one with another as parts of Christ's Catholic Church, have mutual duties subsisting in the obligations of fellowship.

"The churches, therefore, while establishing this National Council for the furtherance of the common interests and work of all the churches, do maintain the Scriptural and inalienable right of each church to self-government and administration; and this National Council shall never exercise legislative or judicial authority, nor consent to act as a Council of Reference."

This seems perhaps sufficiently explicit, and yet a jealousy — let us hope a godly one — has persistently been felt in some quarters, lest any advantages anticipated from such a movement may be more than counterbalanced by dangers arising from it to threaten the liberties of the churches. But so long as these first principles are regarded, surely the most sensitive and solicitous soul need fear no evil. As John Norton phrased it more than two hundred and thirty years ago:

"Quod non est Ecclesia, non potest exercere jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam: Synodus non est Ecclesia: *Ergo.*"

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